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SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

By the same Author

SAINTS AND HEROES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

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SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

C. P. S. CLARKE, M.A.

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OF CHICHESTER, AND ARCHDEACON OF CHICHESTER

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PREFACE

It has been my aim in this work to present the more salient facts of the history of the Church in an interesting and intelligible manner. How far I have succeeded it is for others to judge. But if those who read the book find only a fraction of the enjoyment in reading that I have found in writing it, there will be no need to complain of its reception.

The great difficulty in the way of making the book interesting was the vital need of compression. In order to make it available for as large a number of readers as possible, it has been necessary to keep down the price, and the price could only be kept down by a rigid economy in words. But history, if too much compressed, ceases to be interesting. It becomes a collection of dry bones which, even if articulated into a skeleton, are devoid of colour and warmth and life. Accordingly I have endeavoured to clothe my bones with an integument of flesh and skin. But for the certainty of being misunderstood, I would have called it An Illustrated Church History, because I have aimed at illustrating general statements by concrete examples. To make up for this copiousness in one direction, there has been need of compression or omission in others.

In selecting subjects for comparatively full treatment I have been guided mainly by what seemed their intrinsic interest and importance, but to some extent by the neglect with which they have been treated. For instance, it may seem to some critics that I have given more space to the Anglican Church in America and Scotland than its numbers in those countries warrant. But if there is any principle involved in *Anglicanism* both these branches of it have an importance out of proportion to their numbers. Both have been 'suffering' churches, and both have an honourable history of which the ordinary English churchman knows little. Every schoolboy knows about the voyage of the *Mayflower* and the persecution of the Covenanters, but who has heard of Timothy Cutler or Archbishop Leighton?

PREFACE

The book is not intended solely for the use of theological students, and it is hoped that it may also reach a much larger public, both clerical and lay, who have an interest in the Church and wish to be informed as to the stages of its growth. All the questions that agitate the Church of to-day have come up at different times in the past. Revised prayer-books and alternate uses, questions of authority, of the relations of Church and State, even the Call of the World, which has such a very modern air, have all had their counterpart in days gone by.

I have done my best to consult the original authorities, and have quoted them as much as possible. But all has been grist that has come to my mill, and I have laid under contribution the labours of a vast array of scholars, which are acknowledged more particularly in the appropriate place. If through an oversight I have taken the fruit of any man's brains and labour without acknowledgment, I hereby ask forgiveness.

References have been a difficulty. In the interest of economy they have had to be as few as possible. But I have tried to give them, when (1) the quotation was from a secondary authority; (2) when the subject was controversial and the quotation might be questioned; (3) when the authority was important and reasonably accessible and the reference might tempt the reader to look up the authority.

I have given no list of authorities, but the references provide a rough and ready list for each section. It must not be assumed, however, that I have not read books, or do not recommend them as authorities, because they are not mentioned. I only claim that if the inquiring student looks up the references given, he will be put in the way of acquiring, if not all that is known about any particular subject, at least a considerable amount of information. Except in a few cases where the meaning of the Latin or French is fairly obvious, I have not given quotations in any language except English.

My debts are many. Dr. Kidd, not content with providing me with the stores of learning set out in his books, has read through the work in typescript. Perhaps I ought to safeguard him by saying that since he read through the typed copy I have made some additions which he has not seen. If any reviewer discovers a blunder, he may be sure it is in one of these additions.

Mr. George Greenaway, Lightfoot Scholar of Cambridge University, read through Periods IV and V and the section on the Papal States and helped me with many valuable suggestions. To Dr.

PREFACE

A. E. J. Rawlinson, Archdeacon of Auckland, the Rev. Edgar Vincent, Sub-Warden of St. Deiniol's, the Rev. J. W. C. Wand, Dean of Oriel College, and Mr. P. J. Lamb, who have read through parts of the book I am indebted, as I am to my friend and neighbour the Rev. W. Goodchild. The Rev. J. F. Clayton, Lecturer at Salisbury Theological College, has read the whole in proof as well as much of it in typescript, and his criticism has been most useful. Mr. Gordon Crosse, author of *Authority in the Church of England*, has given an additional proof of a long friendship by giving me valuable criticism and advice, especially on constitutional points.

I am indebted to many Libraries, and am under a special obligation to the Librarian and officials of the London Library for the courtesy and patience with which they have treated me, and also to St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, and its Warden, the Rev. C. R. N. Blakiston. That Library, as few people seem to know, is the national memorial to the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone. There is attached to it a hostel, where students can reside, and it is the only first-class library I know of where the hours of study are practically unrestricted. To scholars who live in Oxford or Cambridge or London this may be a small matter, but for those who live far from libraries and can only spare a few days, or at most a few weeks at a time, the hours of closing at the great libraries in those towns seem calamitously early.

Finally I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Miss F. J. Hill for her invaluable assistance in preparing the book for the press.

C. P. S. CLARKE.

Donhead St. Andrew.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is very gratifying to me to know that the continued demand for my *Short History* has called for a second edition, especially as it has given me the opportunity to repair mistakes and omissions in the first edition. I am very grateful to kind readers who have pointed them out, especially to Dr. Blagden, Bishop of Peterborough, who sent me a complete list of those he had discovered within a few weeks of the publication of the book. All these errors and omissions have been made good, so far as I know, not to mention others that I have found out for myself, which no one else seems to have noticed. I have rewritten the section on the Reformation in England, and have inserted an account of the Malines Conversations ; and I have done my best to bring the whole book up to date.

C. P. S. Clarke,
The Chantry, Chichester.

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ABBREVIATIONS

D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography.
D.E.C.H. Dictionary of English Church History.

PERIOD I

THE AGE OF PERSECUTION

PERIOD I

THE AGE OF PERSECUTION

I

THE PREPARATION OF THE WORLD FOR CHRIST

Saint Paul says that when the fullness of the time was come, Christ was born. Certainly, in the whole course of the world's history there has been no time more suited for the propagation of a world religion. And this for two principal reasons.

1. **Political and Cultural.**—The world was internationalised, as never before or since. This was owing (i) *To the Roman Empire.*—Its boundaries touched the Atlantic, the Rhine, the Danube and the Euphrates. Within its circle there was peace. Internationalism was a fact; disarmament, except for the imperial police force, an achievement. The roads were excellent. As road-makers the Romans were never surpassed. Throughout the empire there was a network of communications by land and sea, connecting all the chief towns and made reasonably safe for travellers. Merchants were everywhere. 'Free trade never had a wider field with a single empire and currency.' Nor was trade confined to the empire. There was regular trade with India and Ceylon. The East Coast of Africa was known as far as Zanzibar. Roman coins have been found in India in abundance, in Dublin, and in China. According to Chinese chronicles Marcus Aurelius sent an embassy to China in 166. In north Europe Roman coins and articles have been found all over Germany, in West Prussia, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

(ii) *To the Greek Influence.*—'The conquests of Alexander and the political and commercial relations which followed them had made the Eastern Mediterranean and most of the old Persian Empire into what was for all its diversities a single cultural unit.'[1] Greek philosophy, Greek ideas, and Greek language were widespread. The first preachers of the Gospel had no language difficulty.

(iii) *To the Dispersion of the Jews.*—We read in the Acts of Jews

[1] G. H. Nock in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation.*

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'out of every nation under heaven' listening to the Apostles on the Day of Pentecost. Outside the Roman Empire they were most numerous in the kingdom of Parthia. 'They were counted by millions in Mesopotamia, Media, and Babylonia'; this last became the centre of the new Jewish life which spread over all parts of the Persian Empire.

2. Religious.—The other cause that predisposed the world to accept Christianity was its need of religion. The established state religion was Polytheism based on the worship of the Greek deities, with Emperor worship superadded. These gods and goddesses were the departmental chiefs of the universe. Apollo, for example, was the sun-god, Mars the god of war, and so on, with Zeus, the father of the gods, exercising a general and somewhat ineffective superintendence. If a man died suddenly he was said to have been shot by Apollo, the god of archery; if he fell in love, by Eros the god of love; if, when hunting, he missed his aim, some offended deity had diverted the missile.

Some centuries before Christ, Greek philosophers discovered the law of general causation, resolved popular religion into myths, and assumed the existence of a Supreme Being or Universal Mind. But this was too thin an abstraction to be a satisfactory substitute for religion, the need for which was specially insistent when Christ came, on account of a growing pessimism which Professor Gilbert Murray calls a failure of nerve.

Dr. Bevan says the ancient world was frightened—frightened of life, but even more of death. 'Till the Unknown has been realised as something terrible, till we have had the feeling of helplessness and ignorance in the face of an immense Universe, the feeling of a lost child in a huge strange city, we can hardly understand the mood which led men so eagerly to seek for *knowledge* and catch at anything which seemed to promise them light and safety. Speaking generally, indeed, of the ancient world about the Christian era, it has often appeared to me—I do not know whether others have got the same impression from the documents—that the fear of death was much more powerful and more widely diffused than it is among ourselves. When the Gnostics spoke of the world as "evil," they seem, for one thing, to have had prominently in mind the subjection of men to death. A New Testament writing speaks of men as being "through the fear of death all their lifetime subject to bondage."'[1]

Men therefore needed a saving religion, and when Christ was

[1] *Hellenism and Christianity.*

born were looking for it, not among the official religions, but in a kind of mystery underworld, where met the mystery religions, various gnostic systems, astrology, and magic. Hence the vogue of Gnosticism among the intellectuals and the Mystery Religions among all classes. Hence also the great opportunity of Christianity. It met a felt want, and that want was salvation.

II

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

Christianity begins with Christ, and for our knowledge of Christ we are dependent on the gospels, than which no documents have been subjected to such minute and searching, not to say hostile criticism. Yet they have stood the test. This is not to deny that their authorship is more complex than was formerly supposed, or that they include *strata* of varying degrees of primitiveness. Still, if the question of the miraculous did not enter in, it would be agreed that the synoptic gospels at least give an authentic and vivid picture of Jesus Christ, as far as they go. But the miraculous element does enter in, and critics who start with the assumption that 'miracles do not happen,' have, like Marcion, 'to mend the gospels,' to make them fit their assumptions.

Taking them as authentic documents, and as giving us a true, if imperfect, account of Jesus, what do we find? Emphatically not the inspired Socialist of Mr. H. G. Wells, or the crazy prophet of the imminent end of the world, portrayed by the root-and-branch eschatologist. Five features stand out:

(1) *The Christ of the Gospels is more than man.*—This comes out clearly, even if we confine ourselves to the Gospel of St. Mark as the oldest gospel that has survived in its present form. To quote Dr. Rawlinson,[1] 'If St. Mark thus portrays a Jesus who was genuinely human, he proclaims also a Christ who is unmistakably, for him as for all Christians in Apostolic days, the supernatural Son of God. As used by St. Mark, this title means more than the Son of David. It means plainly a supernatural Being, supernatural in origin, and therefore supernatural in power. St. Mark is familiar with the Pauline and the Gentile-Christian designation of Jesus as Lord, but he does not habitually use it; he thinks and speaks rather

[1] *The Gospel according to St. Mark.*

of our Lord as the Christ and the Son of God, who has witness borne to Him by miraculous voices from heaven ; who is recognised by the demons, with their uncanny supernatural knowledge, as their destined destroyer, who is manifested in the works of supernatural power, who is clothed with authority from heaven as the Anointed of the Spirit.'

(2) *He is a sufferer by choice.*—Again : ' It is this, the doctrine of the Cross, that distinguishes and differentiates the specifically Christian conception of the Messiahship of Jesus from the Messianic doctrines of Judaism. St. Mark points sharply the contrast in connexion with the story of Cæsarea Philippi, from which point onwards the doctrines of suffering, crucifixion, and martyrdom are the leading ideas of the Gospel. Jesus is, for St. Mark, the Messiah, not in spite of His sufferings . . . as the earliest believers of all may for a time have been disposed to express it . . . but precisely because of His sufferings. The saying about the life given as a ransom for many is a fundamental key-word of the Gospel.' [1]

(3) *He speaks with authority.*—He claims to supersede even Moses, the great law-giver. ' Moses said, but I say. . . .' Moreover, He speaks by His own authority. The Old Testament prophets began : ' God says unto you.' Jesus, ' I say unto you.' The novelty of His moral teaching lay not in the nature of the law, which could be paralleled in the Old Testament, but in the authority with which it was enunciated.

(4) *He is the Deliverer or Saviour.*—This view is common to all the Gospels but is most prominent in St. Luke, to whom Jesus is pre-eminently one who is moved by compassion to deliver man from suffering and sin, as we see in the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Shepherd, and the incidents of the sinful woman and Zacchæus.

(5) *His Teaching*, which is, (*a*) A revelation of God's love for man. He tells his disciples that the very hairs of their heads are numbered, and that God hears our prayers as a loving father hears those of his son. He promises forgiveness to the dying thief on the cross. In the parables of the Lost Sheep and the Prodigal Son He teaches the same lesson of God's love in words of matchless beauty ; and (*b*) The insistence of love as the basis of human life. ' Thou shalt love (or serve) God, and thou shalt love (or serve) thy neighbour as thyself.' This Jesus takes expressly as summing up the moral teaching of the Old Testament. The ceremonial law must express these two principles or be discarded. Incidental to the love of God

[1] *The Gospel according to St. Mark.*

is comparative indifference to earthly possessions, and incidental to the love of neighbours a readiness to lavish possessions on the needy ; (*c*) Insistence on moral righteousness. Though full of compassion and mercy to the penitent sinner, to those who through pride, or hardness of heart or some other cause, remain wilfully impenitent he can be very stern indeed. The parables of the wicked husbandmen, of the unmerciful servant, of the foolish virgins, among others, remind us of this side of his teaching, as do such phrases as, ' casting into outer darkness,' ' the worm that dieth not,' ' the fire that is not quenched,' ' weeping and gnashing of teeth.' The Jesus of the gospels is no mere sentimentalist.

The Result.—Christ was a dynamic figure, and such teaching was bound to repel as well as to attract, and the people repelled were likely to be the rich and powerful. Such was in fact the case. The Pharisees, who were not a sect but the strict party among the Jews, bitterly resented His denunciation of them and His claim to supersede the law. The Sadducees, the pro-Roman party, feared that His popularity might lead to an outbreak against the Romans and their own supersession. Pharisees and Sadducees combined for His destruction. The mob fell away in apparent resentment at His failure to make good His kingship, and He died the death of a felon on Calvary, defeated, discredited, and leaving disillusioned disciples. 'We thought it had been he that should have redeemed Israel,' was a cry from the heart to which one of them gave utterance.

Yet on the third morning after the crucifixion, something occurred that made them think He had risen from the grave. The strength of this conviction made possible belief in the outpouring of the Spirit, and the boldness of the preaching of which the burden was : ' Jesus, whom ye crucified, God hath raised up.' Belief in the Resurrection and the possibility of a breach in the observed order of nature make credible both what preceded—that is, the gospel story in the main as it stands—and what followed, as recorded in the Acts. But if we are to reject the Resurrection and the deity of Christ, He remains the greatest unsolved enigma of history. It is sometimes asserted that the gospels were the creation of the Church. If so, Dr. Headlam pertinently asks, ' What created the Church ? '

III

EXPANSION

The Christian Mission

The task of converting the world to Christ seems to have come to the Church as an afterthought prompted by circumstances. The society of Christians remained in Jerusalem for some three years after the Resurrection, waiting for the *parousia* or second coming of Christ. The first preaching to non-Jews was the result of the persecution after the death of Stephen. About the same time the converted Greek-speaking Jews at Antioch began to preach to Greeks,[1] who were uncircumcised, but presumably in the position of 'hearers.' In A.D. 46, the first missionary expedition was despatched when Barnabas and Paul were sent from Antioch. Even they began by preaching to Jews. It was only at Antioch in Pisidia that they 'turned to Gentiles.'

St. Paul was not, therefore, the first or the only Christian to understand the importance of the world-wide mission of the Church, but he did far more than anyone else to carry it into effect. His conviction grew out of his belief in the universality of the saving power of Christ, from which two conclusions were drawn: (1) All must be told, and (2) the Jewish law was not of universal obligation. If man could be saved by Christ, keeping the law was not necessary to salvation. It was this attitude to the law which provoked such bitter opposition from Jews, both within and without the Church. When St. Mark left Paul on his missionary journey it is far more likely that he left him because he was alarmed by his attitude to the Gentiles than because he was afraid of robbers or was tired of the journey. Galatians and Romans are mainly concerned with this controversy.

As a missionary, St. Paul was alive to the greatness of the Roman Empire, of which he was a citizen. His aim was to plant churches in strategic centres in as many provinces as possible of the empire. He thought in provinces. He established churches in Pamphylia at Perga, in Pisidia at Antioch, in Galatia at Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, in Macedonia at Philippi and elsewhere, in Achaia at Corinth, and in the province of Asia at Ephesus, then a great centre of communications. Dr. Streeter says that in the Acts 'all roads lead to Rome.'[2] The author of Acts certainly makes us feel that Rome is

[1] Reading *Hellenas*.

[2] *The Four Gospels*.

the goal of St. Paul's missionary endeavours, and that in leaving him there the book ends with an appropriate climax.

St. Paul was not the only missionary. Christians went everywhere, and wherever they went they carried the Gospel. It was early taken to Rome, though we do not know by whom. We know that it reached Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia from 1 Peter and Crete from the Epistle to Titus. There is no mention of Spain, except that St. Paul announced his intention of going there, or of Gaul or North Africa, but considering the conditions, it is likely that by the end of the first century churches had been planted in all the chief towns of the empire. By 110 Ignatius was speaking of bishops being settled in the ends of the world. In 112 Pliny complained that in Bithynia temples were emptied of worshippers owing to Christian propaganda. Before the death of Marcus Aurelius (180) Christianity had spread very rapidly in Asia Minor and Egypt. We read of martyrdoms in North Africa and in Gaul, at Lyons and Vienne, and of churches in Germany, Thrace, and Thessaly. Tertullian, writing about 197, says that 'there are Christians in almost every town.' Origen, on the other hand, some years later, wrote that there were still a number of nations, both within and without the empire, to which Christianity had not penetrated. Harnack[1] calculates the strength of Christianity in Carthage in Cyprian's time (248–260) at ten to fifteen thousand, and in North Africa at three to five per cent. of the population.

The great increase of numbers came in the peace which the Church enjoyed (260–303) between the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, and that of Diocletian. Eusebius tells us that during this period Christians became members of the imperial household and even governors of provinces, and increased rapidly in numbers. 'Who could describe,' he writes, 'those vast collections of men that flocked to the religion of Christ, and those multitudes crowding in from every city and the illustrious concourse in the houses of worship? On whose account, not content with the ancient buildings, they erected spacious churches in all the cities. These, in course of time, were enlarged and improved without hindrance.'

Harnack has made a careful estimate of the numbers of Christians at the outbreak of the Diocletian persecution in 303. He puts down the Christian population in Asia Minor at nearly one-half of the whole—in Antioch, Syria, Egypt, Cyprus, Rome and Lower Italy, Africa, Spain, Greece, Southern Gaul, Western Persia as a con-

[1] *Expansion of Christianity.*

siderable minority: in Palestine, Phœnicia, Arabia, parts of Mesopotamia, Pannonia, North Italy, a small and scattered minority: in Northern Gaul, Germany, Belgium, Rhaetia, which were within the empire, and in Eastern Persia, India, and Scythia as either non-existent or else very few and scattered.

The great tribute to the strength of the Church in the beginning of the fourth century was the action of the emperors. Diocletian persecuted it because it was a menace. Constantine patronised it because he saw in it a potential prop of empire.

IV

PERSECUTION

From the time that St. Paul and St. Barnabas left Antioch for their first missionary journey until Constantine issued his Edict of Toleration in 313 the Church had to face persecution. First by the Jews: the Apostles were beaten, and Stephen stoned by Jews. Paul found in them his fiercest adversaries, who would have killed him if they could. As late as 155 we find Jews prominent in stirring up persecution at the martyrdom of Polycarp.

Persecution by the Roman Empire began in A.D. 64 under Nero, who found Christians a convenient scapegoat to bear the blame of the fire of Rome, which had been attributed to him. A second stage was reached when Christians were persecuted not for alleged crimes, but for 'the name'; that is, for being Christians. This stage may have been reached when 1 Peter was written, as the author writes: 'If ye be reproached as a Christian, happy are ye. . . . But let none of you suffer as a murderer. . . . Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed.'

Persecution, however, was for a long time occasional and local. In 112 Pliny, the Roman governor of Bithynia, wrote to Trajan to ask how he was to treat Christians, and was told that he was not to receive anonymous accusations, but that those who were accused and remained obstinate must suffer. The correspondence shows (1) that persecution could not have been very common, or Pliny would have known the procedure; (2) that numbers of obscure people like those condemned by Pliny may easily have perished without leaving a trace. The position was that Christians were not to be sought out, but if accused were to be punished. Tertullian scoffed at this illogicality. Robbers and criminals were tracked down. Christians alone, though they may be accused, were not to be hunted out.

At this stage, persecution was due, in part, to popular demand. Pagan society was honeycombed with idolatry. Nearly every wedding, funeral, party, ceremonial or festive occasion was associated with some kind of sacrifice. And to the Christians any connexion with idolatry was taboo. The games and the theatre were universally popular as amusements, and both were forbidden to Christians. It was as though the cinema, race-meetings, and football matches were forbidden to-day. Mixed marriages were discouraged by Christians and celibacy was commonly regarded as the ideal. In the story of Paul and Thecla, a second-century romance, Thecla, while betrothed to a young pagan, is converted and breaks off the engagement, which causes great indignation against Christians. In consequence, they were never safe. They might be left alone for a long time, but any disaster—a failure of the crops, an epidemic, a flood—might make them unpopular and lead to persecution, which was as often due to the clamour of the mob as to the zeal of the magistrate.

As Tertullian wrote : ' If the Tiber has left its bed, if the Nile has not poured its waters over the fields, if there is an earthquake, if famine or pestilence threatens, the cry immediately arises, " The Christians to the lions ! " '

Again, persecution might be due to an over-conscientious governor like Pliny, or to the influence of the intellectuals. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius was believed to have become a persecutor through the influence of the philosopher Fronto ; for Christianity was hated and despised by them. Celsus, whose treatise has only come down in a fragmentary form in Origen's reply to it,[1] voices their objections. An incarnate god, who suffered and was crucified, who allowed Himself to be betrayed, who lived in a poor, mean way, whose chosen associates were fishermen, was to him unthinkable. He accused Christians of being ignorant folk, whose teachers say, ' Do not examine ; only believe,' and says that they appealed only to working men, women, and children. In particular he complained that they invited sinners to join them. Others, he complains, when they invite people to be present at their services say, ' Every one who has clean hands and a pure tongue approach,' but the Christian says, ' Every one who is a sinner, who is devoid of understanding, who is a child, and to speak generally, who is unfortunate, will the Kingdom of God receive.'

These spasmodic local persecutions came to an end with the death of Severus (211). After that, the Church had peace until

[1] *Origen against Celsus.*

250, when Decius, an emperor of the old Roman conservative type, inaugurated a new kind of persecution by issuing edicts against Christians throughout the empire which were aimed specially at the clergy. The object was to destroy the organisation of the Church and to produce apostates rather than victims. Persecution was henceforward an affair of state, deliberately engineered from above and having as its object the destruction of the Church. The persecution begun by Decius lasted with intervals until 260. After that the Church had peace until 303, when Diocletian began the last and greatest persecution. For two years it was as wide, or nearly as wide, as the empire. After 305 it was confined to the Danubian provinces and Asia Minor until the death of their ruler, Galerius, in 311, and to Syria and Egypt until the death of Maximin in 313.

No very clear reasons for persecution have been formulated by any ancient writer. Celsus and Porphyry tell us very plainly why they disliked Christianity, but not why Christians were persecuted. There were, however, at least three reasons, besides the irritation felt by intellectuals like Celsus and conservatives like Decius.

1. *Suspicion of Disloyalty.*—The established religion in the empire was the worship of the emperor, which was looked on not so much as a religion as the cement of empire. To refuse to sacrifice to the emperor as a divine being, therefore, was an act of disloyalty. It is doubtful, however, if the emperors took this refusal very seriously.

2. '*Incivism.*'—Celsus makes a great appeal to Christians 'to help the King with all our might and to labour with him in the maintenance of justice, to fight for him,' 'to take office in the government of the country.' It was, of course, very difficult for Christians to serve the State as soldiers or civilians without some recognition of idolatry, but an emperor would hardly recognise this as an excuse.

3. *Fear.*—The chief motive was fear. All societies were looked on with suspicion by the State and required its sanction before they could exist. A letter exists from Pliny, Roman governor of Bithynia, asking Trajan for permission for Nicomedia to have a fire brigade, its numbers not to exceed 150. Permission was refused on the ground that it would form a dangerous precedent. Celsus objects to the Church as a 'secret society, maintained in violation of the laws.' Fear of secret societies was traditional with the emperors, and here was a secret society, unrecognised by the law,

rapidly growing in numbers, wealth and influence. Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian and his colleagues tried to crush it. Constantine, by becoming a Christian, sought its support. One or the other was the only logical course to take.

[For a detailed account of the persecutions and Christian life under persecution the reader is referred to the author's *Church History from Nero to Constantine*.]

V

RIVAL RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

Christ came into a world which badly wanted a religion of salvation, and was seeking to find it not so much in the official religions of the empire as in the old Greek mystery religions combined with new ideas coming in from the East. According to Dr. Bevan, ' the Greek townsman was given his choice of numberless varieties of magic, with all the prestige of barbaric names and unintelligible formulas. The worship of Isis and Serapis spread from city to city. Chaldean astronomers came into universal request. Between the occult religions already rife in Greek soil, the Orphics and others, and the new influences from the East there was a natural affinity.'

These religions may be divided for convenience into two groups, the Mystery religions and Gnosticism. Both offered salvation, of which each claimed to possess the secret. But the Mysteries depended on participation in a ceremony, and the various systems of Gnosticism on the possession of knowledge (*gnosis*).

The Mystery Religions

They were amalgams of Greek and Oriental ideas. The best known were the cults of Cybele, Isis, and Mithras, the Persian sun-god. They were in the Roman world before Christ was born, but did not attain their hey-day until after A.D. 150. They appealed primarily to the emotions and provided a warm, sensuous religion with thaumaturgic revelations and promises of ecstatic union with the Divine. In the worship of Cybele devotees mutilated themselves before the shrine of the goddess.

Their Likeness to Christianity.—Professor Angus in a learned work has produced an imposing array of parallels between the Mysteries and Christianity. Unfortunately, he is parsimonious with dates, and dates are important, as all the mystery religions were syncretistic ; that is, they borrowed freely, and were as ready to borrow from the Church as from one another. Dr. Angus gives

an inscription—*renati in aeternum* (reborn for eternity) referring to those who had undergone the *taurobolium* or ceremony of sprinkling with the blood of a newly slaughtered bull, which appears to afford a close parallel with Christian baptism. But Dr. Rawlinson tells us that no such inscription has been found earlier than 305 ![1] A good deal has been made of their use of the term *soter* or saviour. As in most systems of Gnosticism, we commonly find in the Mysteries a *Saviour* or *Lord*, who saves his votaries from the malign influences of the planets here and hereafter. But Old Testament literature is steeped in the idea of a Saviour as applied to the Messiah. The Psalms are full of it. It was regarded by the Church as a fulfilment of prophecy.

On the other hand, Dr. Bevan writes: 'No real parallel in current paganism has been discovered to the belief of the Divine One taking upon Him for the love of men the form of a servant, coming into the sphere of darkness in order to redeem. We cannot, of course, prove a negative, but it is noteworthy that there is no Redeemer, as was pointed out, in the Hermetic literature or the system of Posidonius. We have, of course, the conception of Divine Beings who, long ago, delivered to men the arts of life or occult wisdom; we have inspired prophets and revealers; we have myths of gods who have been slain and entered into immortality; we have myths of gods who fought with the monsters of darkness and overcame them. The just craving of the anthropologist to establish connexions must, however, it appears to me, have risen to a degree which destroys the finer instinct of discrimination before he can suppose that by making any combination of elements taken from these one could create the Christian idea of the Saviour.'

St. Paul has been accused of having borrowed the idea of sacraments from the mysteries. Professor Gavin[2] has completely discredited this hypothesis, never a very convincing one, by demonstrating the Jewish antecedents of the sacraments.

In morals, there was more contrast than likeness. The mystery religions encouraged asceticism, but found room for the licentious. In *The Golden Ass*, Apuleius gives an account of his conversion and the preliminaries of his initiation. There is no hint of any moral change. It does not seem to have occurred to him that anything of the kind was needed. There is a deep cleavage here between these religions and Christianity. The essence of salvation

[1] *The New Testament Doctrine of Christ.*
[2] *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments.*

lay in initiation, for which a moral change was not indispensable.

It would be rash to say that the Church was uninfluenced by the mysteries. St. Paul was certainly acquainted with their language as he was with Gnostic phraseology. Such influence as there was would seem to be unconscious. It is almost incredible that St. Paul or his immediate followers with their lively horror of idolatry would have deliberately plagiarised from what they considered to be the doctrine of devils. Still certain ideas were in the air, such as belief in the personality of *Kosmo-kratores* or world-rulers, asceticism, the necessity of a long probation before initiation, the craving for a female deity, the virtue of initiation into a religious cult apart from moral change. And these ideas, especially after 313, may have had an influence more or less subconscious. But, so far, there is no evidence that the central doctrine of a divine Redeemer or the sacramental teaching of the Church was derived from this source. The explanation of such resemblances as there are on these points must be sought elsewhere.

Just as Jewish sacrifices were types or shadows of the Christian sacrifice, the resemblance found in the mystery religion to Christianity must be regarded as witnesses to the needs of human nature, to meet which a highly sophisticated race was groping its way.[1] Men wanted a saviour, delivery from death, communion with God, and assurance of these things through outward means, and until the Church brought something better, they had to devise means of satisfying these desires as best they could. The fact that they had these needs and were trying to satisfy them helps more than anything else to explain the success of Christianity.

These religions soon became popular. From the accession of Commodus (180) for more than a century, Mithraism was actively patronised by the emperors. In 307, during the great persecution, Diocletian, Licinius, and Galerius consecrated a temple to Mithra. Julian the Apostate, the last pagan emperor, was an ardent disciple of the mysteries.

Gnosticism

The salvation which Christians sought by the Cross, and devotees of the mysteries by participation in a secret ceremony, others tried to attain by knowledge and so were called Gnostics. Gnosticism was both a religion and a philosophy. A religion because it offered salvation. A philosophy because it attempted to explain the problem

[1] See N. P. Williams in *Essays Catholic and Critical.*

of evil. There were endless varieties, but certain fundamental ideas underlay them all. (i) That the material world was evil in itself. The Supreme Being, therefore, had to be separated from such a degrading connexion. This was done by interposing a series of emanations or æons between the Supreme Being and the Creator, who was sometimes called the *Demiurge*, and was generally identified with Jehovah of the Old Testament and regarded as maleficent. (ii) That though man was mixed up in this evil world there was in him—at least in some men—a spark of the divine essence through which it was possible for him at last to attain the heavenly sphere. This divine spark was in the mind, of which the body was the earthly prison. (iii) That the planets exercised a maleficent influence on the lives of men. 'Sphere rose above sphere, shutting men in, but beyond all, far, far away, the Great God abode in a realm of bliss, above fate and death and evil gods. And the wonderful thing was that in men (some men, the Gnostics said) creeping on the low earth, in bondage under the Elements, there was something, a spark, a seed, a breath, which belonged by origin to that far-off divine world. . . . But how was a man to escape from the prison-house, to get through all those enveloping spheres, that rose, one above the other, the realm of the Seven, and regain the natural home of his spirit beyond them all? How else than by mastering the celestial topography, by knowing the order of the gates he would have to pass, by knowing what god or demon would confront him at each gate, and the proper password for each? It was all-important, for instance, that, when his soul was confronted by the god with the lion's head, he should be able to say instantly, "I know thee for Jabaldaoth," or whatever the name might be; for it was an old idea that to know a demon, to name his name to him, was to deprive him of his power to thwart. All this knowing was gnosis.'[1]

Gnosticism passed through three stages. 'In origin it was wholly non-Christian, indebted partly to Oriental, partly to Hellenic influences.'[2] We do not know who the first Gnostics were. The earliest whose names have come down were contemporaneous with our Lord. One of them, Dositheus, was said to have been a disciple of St. John Baptist. Simon Magus was the most famous. We read in the Acts that the Samaritans regarded Simon as 'that power of God which is called great.' Irenæus says of him, 'This man, then, was glorified by many as if he were a god; and he taught

[1] *Hellenism and Christianity.*

[2] B. J. Kidd, *The History of the Christian Church to* A.D. 461.

that it was himself who appeared among the Jews as the Son, but descended in Samaria as the Father, while he came to other nations in the character of the Holy Spirit. He represented himself, in a word, as being the loftiest of all powers, that is, the Being who is Father over all.' He also claimed to be himself an emanation from the Deity, that a female companion was an emanation from him, that she in her turn emitted more emanations, and that these emanations created the world. At least so Irenæus says. 'Having redeemed from slavery at Tyre, a city of Phœnicia, a certain woman named Helena, he was in the habit of carrying her about with him, declaring that this woman was the first conception of his mind, the mother of all, by whom, in the beginning, he conceived in his mind the conception of forming angels and archangels. This conception leaping forth from him, and comprehending the will of her father, descended to the lower regions (of space), and generated angels and powers, by whom also he declared this world was formed.' Simon Magus also claimed to be Christ.

In its second stage, Gnosticism remained essentially heathen but used Christianity freely to fill up gaps and round off its own system, Christ, for instance, generally appearing as the Redeemer. Basilides and Valentinus, who both taught at Alexandria, belong to this stage. Valentinus 'came to Rome under Hyginus but flourished under Pius, and continued even to Anicetus.' He must have been a man of mark, as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria all wrote against him. Like other Gnostics, he invented an elaborate system of æons. 'He called his deities æons, and believed in a Pleroma or fullness of thirty æons, all apparently deriving their descent from one pre-existent and eternal æon. The last of the æons, who was called Sophia or Achamoth, fell a prey to passion, and at last gave birth to the Demiurge, who created the visible world, and is the father and God of everything outside the Pleroma. He is the God of the Old Testament. The Pleroma is separated from the rest of the universe by Horus or Saturos. The Demiurge created the material part of man, but his mother infused her spiritual essence into him unknown to the Demiurge.'

Docetism

The Gnostic dislike of matter and suffering as associated with God led them to adopt docetic views about our Lord's human nature. By Docetism is meant the belief that our Lord's body was not a real

body. Jerome writes, ' while the Apostles were still surviving, while Christ's blood was still fresh in Judæa, the Lord's body was asserted to be but a phantasm.' The author of 1 John iv. 2 had such a view in mind when he speaks of those who confess that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh. Cerinthus taught that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, and that at his Baptism Christ descended on him in the form of a dove, withdrawing before the crucifixion, leaving the man Jesus to suffer. Basilides that Jesus ' did not Himself suffer death, but Simon, a certain man of Cyrene, being compelled, bore the Cross in His stead ; so that the latter being transfigured by Him, so that he might be thought to be Jesus, was crucified in ignorance and error, while Jesus Himself received the form of Simon and standing by laughed at them.' Ignatius wrote against them, notably in his epistle to the Trallians. ' Be deaf, therefore, when anyone speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died—and moreover was truly raised from the dead . . .' He goes on to ask, ' But if He suffered only in semblance, why am I in bonds ? Why do I desire to fight with wild beasts, that I die in vain ? '

In its third stage, Gnosticism was a form of Christianity modified and adapted so as to make it acceptable to religious-minded and intellectual pagans of that day. Marcion (100–160) is its chief exponent. He was the son of a bishop in Pontus and was born at Sinope on the Black Sea. He is said to have been a sailor, but was more probably a bishop, as he transmitted orders to his followers. At some time during the episcopate of Anicetus (154–166) he taught at Rome and was rebuffed by the Roman presbyters. His followers were organised into a separate body and were known as Marcionites, Dr. Burkitt calls them the first Dissenters. That is, while separated from the main body, they claimed to preach a purer kind of Christianity than did the Christians from whom they separated. They were persecuted by pagans before Constantine and by Christians afterwards, but maintained their corporate existence until the fifth century.

Marcion's writings have perished and his tenets are only to be found embedded in the works of his opponents. Tertullian, for instance, wrote a lengthy tract, *Against Marcion.* Marcion, reacting from the moral teaching apparently inculcated by the Old Testament, upheld the ideal, so popular to-day, of a god of pure benevolence. This he found in the Gospel but not in the Old Testament. He

therefore assumed the existence of two gods—one the God of the Old Testament, the Creator, whom he calls the Just God, who is angry and jealous and punishes: the other, the Kind God, who took pity on mankind and sent his Son to succour them. The Just God being jealous caused the crucifixion. But Jesus, being delivered by the good God, demanded satisfaction from the Just God, and in payment was given the souls of all who should believe on Him. This Gospel was revealed by Jesus to Paul, and proclaimed by him. 'I was ignorant,' said the God of the Law to Jesus, 'and because I sinned and killed thee in ignorance there shall be given to thee in revenge all those who shall be willing to believe in thee to carry wherever thou wilt.'[1] The feature of Marcionite preaching was that man was delivered by grace, as the result of the payment made on the Cross by Jesus. 'The Good Stranger with a price bought us from the Lord of Creation.'[2]

Believing that all matter was evil, Marcion rejected the reality of Christ's body and any physical resurrection. He rejected all the Gospels except Luke, which he edited to suit his views. 'I am come not to destroy but to fulfil the law' became 'I am come not to fulfil but to destroy the law.' But he did a work of real importance by making the first collection of St. Paul's Epistles, omitting Timothy i., ii., and Titus, and laying the foundation of a New Testament canon, in which he preceded Irenæus by a few years. He would not allow marriage after baptism. He divided his disciples into two classes, the baptised or perfect, who led lives of extreme asceticism, and the unbaptised, who led ordinary lives, supported the perfect, and looked forward to baptism at the end of life. This practice was adopted by the Manicheans and their imitators.

VI

EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS OUTSIDE THE CANON

The Apostolic Fathers

Clement of Rome.—Clement is the earliest, and *pace* Professor E. D. Merrill, was, according to the most authentic lists, the third Bishop of Rome (*c.* 90–100), not counting St. Peter. The anonymous letter ascribed to him was written during the persecution of Domitian, 95 or 96, being an intervention in the affairs of the Corinthian Church which had expelled its presbyters. Its chief

[1] Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission.* [2] *Ibid.*

interest consists in the light it throws on the New Testament and to a lesser degree on the ministry. To quote Professor McNeile,[1] 'He frequently quotes the Old Testament with such expressions as "it is written," "that which is written," "the (holy) writing," "the Holy Spirit saith"; and he uses the LXX with considerable accuracy. But his allusions to passages in the New Testament are loose and inexact, which seems to imply that some of them were known and valued at Rome when he wrote (*c.* A.D. 96), but that none of them were yet sacred, as Scripture was sacred. He must have known Luke, and also the Acts, and it is possible that he knew Matthew. But he seems to have possessed a collection of sayings of the Lord which had reached him, in forms partly like and partly unlike sayings in those Gospels. He writes, *e.g.* "Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching forbearance and long suffering; for He said: Shew mercy, that ye may receive mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall kindness be done unto you. With what measure ye mete, in it shall it be measured unto you." He is undoubtedly acquainted with Corinthians and Hebrews, while we seem to find traces of several other Pauline epistles, of James and Peter.' His style is distinctly Pauline. His epistle shows that in his time Bishop and Presbyter were convertible terms.

Besides the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Clement was credited with a *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *the Apostolic Constitutions*, and two second-century ecclesiastical romances, the *Clementine Recognitions* and *Homilies*. The authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews has also been attributed to him.

Ignatius.—According to Eusebius, he was the second Bishop of Antioch in Syria after St. Peter. He was also called Theophorus, or Bearer of God, though a legend, rejected by the learned, which first gained currency in the eighth century, alleges that he was the child whom our Lord took in his arms, making Theophorus mean *borne by God*. He was condemned at Antioch in the reign of Trajan and sent to Rome to be devoured by wild beasts. He wrote seven letters on the journey to Rome, which are still extant, when in charge of a guard of ten soldiers, whom he called leopards on account of their brutality. He was of a fiery, eager nature, and wrote to the Romans to implore them not to save him. The following quotation illustrates this spirit and his longing for martyrdom: 'May I have

[1] *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament.*

joy of the beasts that have been prepared for me . . . I write to you in the midst of life, yet lusting after death. My love hath been crucified, and there is no fire of material longing in me, but only water living and speaking in me, saying within me: "Come to the Father."' Lightfoot calls this epistle 'a kind of martyr's manual,' as it had a great influence on stimulating the zeal of subsequent martyrs, so much so that the zeal of many had to be restrained and would-be martyrs forbidden to give themselves up.

His letters abound in exhortations to unity and warnings against Docetism. We learn incidentally that in Asia the bishop was established as the one head of the local church, assisted by presbyters and deacons. We find appeals for obedience to the bishop, and respect to presbyter and deacons as being of divine appointment. For instance, in his letter to the Smyrnæans, 'But shun divisions, as the beginning of evils. Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect as to God's commandment. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the universal Church. It is not lawful, apart from the bishop, either to baptise or to hold a love-feast; but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well pleasing also to God; that everything that he do may be sure and valid.'

The date of his martyrdom is uncertain. It occurred when Trajan was emperor (98–117).

Papias (*c.* 120).—Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, only survives in a few fragments preserved by Eusebius, who quotes him as saying: 'If I met with anyone who had been a follower of the elders anywhere, I made it a point to inquire what were the declarations of the elders? What was said by Andrew, Peter, and Philip? What by Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other disciple of our Lord? What was said by Aristion and the presbyter John, disciples of our Lord?' Papias is our earliest authority for the existence of John the presbyter, apart from John the Apostle, for the tradition that Mark was the interpreter of Peter and wrote his gospel with his assistance, and that Matthew 'wrote his discourses in the Hebrew dialect.'

Polycarp (70–155).—Polycarp was born about the year A.D. 70, and was said by Irenæus, 'to have been established as Bishop of

Smyrna by the Apostles.' Tertullian adds that the Apostle who established him was St. John. Irenæus is quoted by Eusebius as having put down his own youthful recollection of him in a letter written to the heretic Florinus: 'I can even describe the place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit and discourse, his general mode of life, and personal appearance; his discourses to the multitude, how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord, and how he would call their words to remembrance.' Dr. Streeter thinks that John the Presbyter is meant.

He visited Rome when Anicetus was bishop to confer with him concerning the right day for keeping Easter. Anicetus was the bishop who succeeded Pius, the brother of Hermas. They could not agree about Easter, but Polycarp during his stay turned many heretics from their error to the true faith, and Anicetus 'conceded to Polycarp the Eucharist by way of showing him respect.' His martyrdom was the last act of persecution which took place in the year A.D. 155 or A.D. 156 at Smyrna. The details of his passion are given in a letter from the Church at Smyrna to the Church at Philomelium, and 'to all the Holy Catholic Churches.'

A letter of Polycarp has survived. It is addressed to the Church at Philippi, and abounds in phrases taken from the New Testament, which is now definitely treated as scripture.

The Apologists

The second century is the age of the Apologists. Dr. Kidd classifies them according to the designation of their writings—that is, whether they were addressed to Jews, like *The Dialogue of Trypho*; to the government, like the *First Apology of Justin Martyr*; or to the general public, like the *Letter to Diognetus*. There are eight of them: Aristides and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, *c.* 140; Justin, 150–57; Tatian, *c.* 165; Athenagoras, 177; Theophilus and Minucius Felix, *c.* 180; Tertullian, *c.* 200.[1]

With one exception they abhorred the very name of philosophy. To them it meant rationalism. 'The Greeks,' says Aristides, 'who profess to be wise, are more foolish than the Chaldæans.' Hermas wrote a treatise full of bitter mockery of the schools. 'They contradict one another,' cried Tatian; 'each utters just what comes into his head; they hate each other; they receive large salaries from

[1] Kidd, *op. cit.*

the Emperor in order that they may not wear their long beards for nothing.'[1]

Justin Martyr was the exception. He was a Platonist philosopher, who was converted by the spectacle of Christian martyrdoms. He wrote four Apologies, the first addressed to the Gentiles, the second to the Roman senate, a third, the dialogue with Trypho, to the Jews, and a fourth, which has perished, *to the Greeks*. We are indebted to him for the first account of the Eucharist which has come down. He was also the first writer to develop the doctrine of *the Word*. 'Next to God we worship and love *the Word*, who is from the unbegotten and ineffable God, since He also became man for our sakes that, becoming a partaker of our sufferings, He might also bring us healing.' He was also the first Christian writer to claim the heathen philosophers, especially Plato, as schoolmasters leading to Christ. He held that they had a share of His wisdom. 'Each man spoke well in proportion to the share he had of the spermatic word.' All these writers were able, he wrote, 'to see realities darkly through the sowing of the implanted word that was in them.' He was martyred about 163.

Irenæus, Barnabas and Hermas

Irenæus.—A native of Asia, he had sat at the feet of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and had heard that aged saint speak of 'his familiar intercourse with John and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord.' He succeeded Pothinus, the martyred Bishop of Lyons, in 177. His chief work was an attack on the Gnostics, commonly called *Against Heresies* which is one of the chief sources of our knowledge of their tenets. He is the first Catholic writer to quote the New Testament writings as scriptures, and claims for our four gospels the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He regards them as the compositions of the authors whose names are attached to them.

Dr. Bigg calls him the first systematic theologian, as he weaves together the New Testament writings and creates a doctrinal harmony. If he has not the name of the Trinity, he has the doctrine, for, speaking of Rahab and the three spies, he says, 'which three were doubtless a type of the Father, and the Son, together with the Holy Spirit.' The Church he regarded as the reservoir of the Spirit. 'Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church. . . . Those who are

[1] C. Bigg, *Origin of Christianity*.

outside the Church dig for themselves broken cisterns out of earthly trenches and drink putrid water out of the mire.' The Eucharist is from one point of view 'an offering of a pure oblation of things taken from His creation, with giving of thanks'; from the other, 'The Bread which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly.' His appeal is mainly to antiquity and Catholic tradition.

The Epistle of Barnabas.—This Epistle has been assigned to various dates between A.D. 79 and 130, and is reckoned as scripture by the Sinaitic Codex in the fourth century. It deals with the problem that confronted both the author of Hebrews and the heretic Marcion, namely, the place of the Jewish law in the Church. Marcion discarded the Old Testament altogether. The author of Hebrews made the law typical of Christ, the eternal High Priest. Barnabas, following the same tradition, gave the Old Testament an allegorical interpretation. For instance, the commandment not to eat pork signifies that we are not to consort with evil men. This method of interpretation afterwards became the fashion among Alexandrian Christians as it was already among Alexandrian Jews. The Epistle ends with a homily called *The Two Ways*, the Way of Light and the Way of Darkness, a very beautiful summary of Christian morals. This treatise, which appears in the *Didache* and elsewhere in Christian literature, has been thought to be a Jewish document with Christian interpolations, but Dr. Armitage Robinson has given reasons for attributing it to the author of this Epistle.

Hermas.—Hermas wrote an allegory called *The Shepherd*, which was quoted by Irenæus as scripture and which appears as scripture in the Sinaitic Codex. Its author was the first of the Christian allegorists of whom Bunyan is the most famous example. He was a severe moralist, but held that there might be one opportunity for repentance for those who had sinned after baptism. He wrote when his brother Pius was Bishop of Rome (*c.* 140–155).

The Didache

The *Didache* or *Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles* was discovered in 1883 and has been dated as early as A.D. 90. It consists of two parts, the first *The Two Ways*, the second *A Church Order* or manual of discipline. It has been held (*a*) to be a Jewish manual of instruction for proselytes with

later Christian interpolations, and (*b*) an important historical document describing a very primitive Christian community, while (*c*) Dr. Armitage Robinson [1] considers that the author took *The Two Ways* from Barnabas and was acquainted with *The Shepherd*, and cannot therefore have written much before 160, and may have written as late as the third century. He thinks that the writer is trying to edify his own generation by presenting a picture of Church life as he would like it to be, rather than a representation of that life as it was. 'He is deliberately constructing an apostolic monument: he is describing what presumably was the apostolic ordering of the Gentile Churches. Incidentally he betrays himself here and there by using the language of post-apostolic writers, or by attributing to the apostolic age practices which undoubtedly belong to a later period. We may admire his diligence in research and the ingenuity with which he presents his results: but we must be exceedingly wary if we look to him for history.' This theory has not yet, however, won general acceptance.

VII

SAFEGUARDS

The long controversy with the Gnostics had one important effect. It compelled the Church to decide what the faith was and to devise safeguards for it. Of these the three principal were a creed, a canon of scripture, and the succession of the bishops of certain sees traced back to their apostolic originals.[2]

1. Creeds

Creeds were of two kinds, Baptismal and Conciliar. The Apostles' Creed is baptismal. The Nicene Creed as drawn up at the Council of Nicea was the first conciliar creed and, as such, had anathemas attached to it and was used as a test of orthodoxy for bishops. In its later Constantinopolitan form as we have it now, it became the baptismal creed of the East and is thus both conciliar and baptismal. The Athanasian Creed is neither conciliar nor baptismal, nor properly a creed at all, but a hymn on the Creed, like

[1] *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache.*

[2] Kidd, *op. cit.*

the Te Deum. At present, we are only concerned with the baptismal creeds. Some kind of baptismal formula of belief was very early. The germ is found in the confession of the Ethiopian eunuch in the Acts, who, when interrogated before his baptism, replied: 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' These words are only found in the Western text (*Codex Bezae*) and are relegated to the margin in the Revised Version, but some critics think that this text was St. Luke's original draft. In any case, they reflect a primitive practice. Originally the candidate for baptism seems to have been asked simply: 'Do you believe that Jesus is the Son of God?' The question was soon expanded into a triple interrogation. In the Latin version of the first Church Order there seems to have been a double interrogation only. 'Do you believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was born by the Spirit of the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died and was buried, and rose again the third day alive from the dead, and ascended into the heavens, and sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead?' 'Do you believe in the Holy Spirit and the holy Church and the resurrection of the flesh?'

In the Arabic version there are two questions only. They illustrate the Eastern tendency to expansion and explanation. 'Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Son of God the Father, that He became man by an incomprehensible miracle from the Holy Spirit and from Mary the Virgin without seed of man, and was crucified in the time of Pilate the Pontian, and died by His own will to save us withal, and rose from the dead on the third day, and released the captives, and ascended into the heavens and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and He shall come to judge the living and the dead at His appearing and His kingdom? Dost thou believe in the Spirit, the holy, the good, the sanctified, in the holy church, and dost thou believe in the resurrection of the body which shall happen to every one, and the Kingdom of the heavens and eternal judgment?'[1]

These questions on the Creed, however, hardly constitute a creed, though they imply a creed in the background, and we have reason to believe that there was such a creed from very early days, used as the basis of catechetical instruction. It was called a *symbolum* or password. It was very jealously guarded in the days of persecution, and was only revealed to catechumens by the bishop when the time of their baptism drew near, at a ceremony called the *Traditio symboli*. 'This creed, one and the same everywhere in structure and

[1] G. Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*.

outline, was variable and did vary in detail.'[1] The oldest we possess is the old Roman Creed.

The Old Roman Creed.—I. I believe in God (the) Father Almighty,

II. And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord,
Who was born by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary,
crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried,
the third day He rose from the dead,
He ascended into heaven,
sitteth at the right hand of the Father,
thence He shall come to judge living and the dead;

III. And in the Holy Ghost,
(the) holy church,
(the) remission of sins,
(the) resurrection of the flesh.

It is translated from the Greek of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, who had been turned out of his see by Arianizers and found a refuge in Rome 337 to 352. Scholars think that his Greek was not a translation from the Latin, but the original language of the creed, going back to the time when the Church in Rome was Greek-speaking. But the Creed goes back much earlier than this. Rufinus (*c.* 400) claimed that the old Roman Creed went back to the Apostles. Dr. Turner thinks it goes back at least to 150; Dr. Burn to 100. Internal evidence points to a very early date.

'The Creed reads as if its chief opponents were Jews, not heathen. There is no trace in it of a repudiation of polytheism, not even the "*I believe in one God*" found in some other formulas; there is no trace of philosophy, or of the struggle against Gnosticism. . . . It represents the standpoint of the Acts of the Apostles, and bends its chief energies to establishing not the teaching (about which nothing is said), but "the Messiahship of Jesus." Relying, therefore, on this primitive background of the old Roman Creed, scholars are inclined to push it back at least to "the middle of the second century," if not to its opening, or even into the last years of the first.'[2] The aim of the Creed was positive, to inculcate certain truths, and only to a minor extent to guard against error.

The Apostles' Creed, which is based on the old Roman Creed, is first found in its present form in a work by Pirminius, a bishop from the neighbourhood of Lake Constance who died in 753.

[1] C. H. Turner, *Hist. Use of Creeds.* [2] Kidd, *op. cit.*

2. The Canon

We are so accustomed to the New Testament as a book of unique authority in the Church that it is difficult to realise that there was a time when *the Scriptures* meant to Christians our Old Testament only. Yet so it was. Nor was any conscious attempt made to write a sacred book and make Christianity 'the religion of a book' as Mohammed made Islam. The New Testament writings were written for the special needs of particular groups of people, and the idea of combining them into one authoritative volume was late and not in the mind of the authors. 'Christians, therefore, and the Christian Church might conceivably have gone on indefinitely without Christian scriptures. They were not disposed to write them without occasion, nor when written to collect them. Indeed, they lost Q and nearly left the second gospel to perish on the shelf.'[1]

History of the Canon.—When Clement of Rome (95) quotes from the Old Testament he alludes to it as, the Holy Scriptures, the Divine Oracles, or the Holy Word, and prefaces the quotation with 'it is written.' He uses the Epistles freely but without acknowledgment, and prefaces his one quotation from the Gospels with the words 'Remember the words of our Lord Jesus.' The author of the Second Epistle of Clement—which is not an Epistle or by Clement, but a homily delivered at Corinth (*c.* 140)—is the first church writer known to have called the writings of the New Testament *scripture*, a word he twice applies to the Gospels. Elsewhere, while calling the Old Testament scripture, he prefaces quotations from the Gospels with 'the Lord saith,' though some of his quotations are not in any of our Gospels. For instance: 'The Lord saith "ye shall be as lambs in the midst of the wolves." But Peter answering said unto Him, "What then, if the wolves should tear the lambs in the midst of wolves?" To which He replied: "Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead."' The Epistles he calls '*The books of the Apostles*,' but more often quotes them without acknowledgment.

There were two principal causes for the compilation of a list of canonical or standard scriptures—a canon was a measuring rod or rule—in other words a New Testament:

(i) The custom of reading edifying writings in the services of the Church. It became necessary to know what might and what might not be read.

[1] Kidd, *op. cit.*

(ii) The pressure of heretical teaching. When the heretic Marcion first drew up a list of books, which included only one Gospel, and that mutilated, it became necessary for the Church to decide what books could be appealed to as authoritative.

The first list of the New Testament books that has come down is that contained in the so-called Muratorian fragment. 'Muratorian,' because it was first published by Muratori in 1740, and 'fragment' because imperfect. It is a Latin translation from a Greek original, and formerly belonged to the monastery of Bobbio, founded by Columban. Its approximate date is given by a reference it contains to *The Shepherd* of Hermas. 'Hermas wrote *The Shepherd* very lately in our times when his brother Pius as bishop occupied the throne in the Church of Rome.' There is some reason for attributing the authorship of the fragment to Hippolytus, that residuary legatee of third-century anonymous publications.

It explicitly recognises the four Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles (not Hebrews), the Apocalypse of John, and two, if not the three, Epistles of John, and Jude. It adds one book, not now included, the Apocalypse of Peter. 1 and 2 Peter, Hebrews, and possibly 1 John are omitted. Some omissions are probably due to the fragmentary state of the text. 1 Peter, James, and Hebrews could hardly have been passed over in silence.

We note (i) the importance attached to an authentic list of authoritative books at the end of the second century in Rome; (ii) its controversial character. It warns us against heretical scriptures. 'There is,' it says, 'in circulation an Epistle to the Laodiceans and another to the Alexandrians forged under the name of Paul, bearing on the heresy of Marcion, and several others which cannot be received in the Catholic Church. For gall ought not to be mixed with honey.' (iii) It calls attention to the necessity of not only excluding heretical works, but choosing among those which were orthodox. '*The Shepherd* ought to be read privately but cannot be read publickly in the church to the people among the prophets, whose number is complete, or among the apostles, until the end of time'

Eusebius, the historian (*c.* 270–340), Bishop of Cæsarea and ecclesiastical adviser to Constantine, is an important authority for the growth of the canon. In his time the fresh demand for a criterion of canonicity had arisen, as during the Diocletian persecution the sacred books of the Christians were ordered to be destroyed, and it became a question which books exactly were sacred. Eusebius

divides the books into four groups, a plan which would be more effective if some books, Hebrews and the Apocalypse, did not appear in more groups than one. His groups are (1) the universally acknowledged, (2) the disputed, (3) the spurious, (4) the heretical. In the first group we find the four Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, 1 John, 1 Peter. In the second, James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John. Hebrews he puts in 1 and 2, the Apocalypse in 1 and 3. The Apocalypse was regarded with suspicion because it appealed to Montanists. He also rejected 2 Peter.

In the fourth century Hebrews was generally accepted in the East and rejected in the West. The Apocalypse was generally accepted in the West in the fourth century, but rejected in the East. Cyril of Jerusalem rejected it. Chrysostom never appeals to it. In this century *The Shepherd* and the Epistle of Barnabas were still maintaining a fight for existence, as they both appear in the Sinaitic Codex, which belongs to the fourth century and is the oldest complete MS. of the Bible that we possess. Jude was generally received by the beginning of the third century, but, according to Jerome, was rejected by many as late as the end of the fourth, because it quoted from the book of Enoch (*Chase*). The earliest certain reference to 2 Peter is in Origen. 'Peter . . . has left one epistle undisputed and, perhaps, also a second, but this is doubted.' It gradually gained acceptance. Eusebius, while not himself regarding it as canonical, 'as it appeared to many,' says that 'it was studiously read with the other scriptures.' Evidently it was gaining ground.

The canon in the West closed in the fifth century under the influence of Augustine and Jerome. The question for the West was in fact settled by the books included in the Vulgate. For the Greek Church in the East the question was settled by Constantinople. Constantine directed Eusebius to prepare '50 copies of the divine scriptures' for use in the new capital, and the books included in these publications obtained a semi-official recognition. The New Testament of the Syrian Church was more restricted, but in the end without any conciliar decree the influence of the Vulgate and Constantinople prevailed and the New Testament, as we have it, was acknowledged throughout the Church.

3. Apostolical Succession

The third safeguard was apostolical succession, which meant at this period succession from bishop to bishop in a see back to the

apostle who was the original founder of the see, and was valued, not because it denoted valid consecration, but because it was a guarantee of orthodoxy. The Gnostics claimed to have esoteric teaching, transmitted from the Apostles. They mutilated the Scriptures and forged so-called Apostolic writings, as *The Gospel of Peter*. Against this the Church alleged the succession of bishops in the greater sees as proving the identity of the doctrine of the living bishop with that of the Apostle who founded the see. Hegesippus, 'a Jewish Christian of an inquiring mind' visited Rome (155–167), and wherever he went inquired about the doctrine, and says that 'in every *succession* and in every city the doctrine prevails according to what is declared by the law and the prophets and the Lord.' Irenæus first uses the succession from Apostles as an argument against heretics. 'If the Apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they were in the habit of imparting to "the perfect" apart and privily from the rest, they would have delivered them to those men to whom they were committing the care of the churches.' As it would take too long to indicate all the apostolic successions, he instances the church founded and organised at Rome by Peter and Paul and speaks of the faith, 'which comes down to our time by means of the succession of the bishops.'

VIII

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

Before A.D. 150

The early history of the ministry is obscure, because the writers of the New Testament wrote for their own generation, and do not give information, which was not required by those for whom they wrote. The most obvious fact that emerges from the New Testament is the supremacy of the Apostles. At first they alone preach to the outside world and instruct the brethren. Converts are described as continuing 'in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship.' The Apostles form a kind of college separate from the rest of the brethren, the company of Acts iv. 23. They administer the funds of the society. They commission *the seven*. When the Samaritans were converted the Apostles sent Peter and John to Samaria. Their number was not limited to twelve. St. Luke reckons Paul and Barnabas and James as apostles, as well as the twelve.

At first, so strong was the expectation of the second coming, they took no steps to delegate their powers, and when they did, it was to meet a need of the moment. Their first recorded act of delegation was to appoint *the seven*, but the appointment of presbyters may have been earlier, though not thought worthy of record, because readers of the Acts were familiar with the name as that of a synagogue official. At any rate, we find presbyters taken for granted and associated with apostles as trustees of alms and assessors in council. When the dispute about circumcision grew hot, the Church at Antioch sent Paul and Barnabas to see *the Apostles and presbyters*. When they arrived, they were received by the Church and by *the Apostles and presbyters*, and when the council met, it was *the Apostles and presbyters* who deliberated. We read also that Paul and Barnabas appointed presbyters in every church. They are identical or nearly identical with the overseers or bishops (*episcopoi*) met with in the Gentile churches.

The Ministry of Gifts.—Besides the presbyters and deacons who were formally appointed by the Apostles, and may be regarded as official ministers, Harnack popularised the theory that there was a triad of ministers, consisting of *Apostles*, *prophets*, and *teachers* who were appointed not by man, but directly by God, their call being notified by the possession of certain gifts, and that, whereas the presbyters and deacons were purely local ministers, the status of the others was churchwide. The name *charismatic ministry*, from 'charisma,' a gift of grace, was invented to distinguish them from the other ministers. The authority for the theory is mainly derived from the *Didache*, where the author, after giving directions for the eucharistic prayers, concludes: 'But the prophets permit ye to give thanks as much as they will.' He also speaks of prophets, apostles, and teachers as belonging to a recognised class, distinguishing them from the bishops and deacons, of whom he says, 'Appoint, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men that are gentle and without covetousness and true and proved, for they also minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.'

Harnack maintains that at this moment in the history of the Church the teaching and itinerant ministry—apostles, prophets, and teachers—was on the point of being superseded by a localised ministry of bishops and deacons. Further, that the apostles, prophets, and teachers were appointed, not by any act of the Church, but through the possession of certain *charismata* or gifts. In support, he quotes 1 Cor. xii. 28 ff.: 'and some God hath set in the Church, firstly

apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Have all gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret? But desire earnestly the best gifts.' He also quotes Ephesians iv. 2.

There is no doubt that there were individuals with recognised gifts of prophesying and teaching, as well as healing and speaking with tongues. But the gifts may have denoted function rather than office. For instance, St. Paul speaks of presbyters, who teach, and says to the Corinthians, 'You can all prophesy one by one.' Nor is there any evidence to show that while prophets and teachers were recognised as such throughout the Church, presbyters and deacons had only local rank. Dr. Armitage Robinson rejects the theory. 'Prophecy and teaching were valuable functions, which the Apostle sought to exalt above healing and speaking with tongues, but which did not necessarily give to those who exercised them any definite status or any authorised position.' He considers that the *Didache* is an insecure foundation on which to build a theory of the ministry. 'It contributes almost nothing to advance our knowledge of the early Christian ministry.' Everything depends on the authority we attach to the *Didache*, and when we date it.

The Bishop.—Bishop Lightfoot thinks that St. James in Jerusalem was the first Christian bishop. Timothy and Titus are commonly called apostolic delegates. They rule and ordain, but their office is only temporary, otherwise they are bishops in the later sense of the word. With these exceptions, each local church seems to be ruled by a group of presbyters and bishops with an apostle in the background. The Corinthian Church, when Clement wrote in 95, appeared to have presbyter-bishops but no bishop. Even Clement himself writes in the name of the Roman Church and rather as the mouthpiece than the head of the Roman presbyters. He begins: 'The Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth.' When Ignatius wrote to the Romans some fifteen years later, he made no mention of a bishop. Polycarp, writing to the Philippians, tells them to submit to presbyters and deacons, but says nothing about a bishop.

The *monepiscopate* or rule of a single bishop was established first in Asia. Clement of Alexandria says that St. John established bishops in Asia Minor. The letters of Ignatius show that in the churches in Asia, to which he wrote, one bishop ruled. He compares

the bishop to a pilot. No one is to take a vow of virginity without informing the bishop. Nothing is to be done without him. Polycrates of Ephesus, writing about 190, says that he had seven relations who were bishops before him, and that he had been '65 years in the Lord.' So that 'the evidence for the early and wide extension of episcopacy throughout proconsular Asia may be considered irrefragable. And when we pass to other districts of Asia Minor, examples are not wanting, though these are neither so early nor so frequent.'[1] By the middle of the second century, monepiscopacy may be considered to have been everywhere established.

Transmission of Authority.—Appointments to minister by the Apostles seem to have been made as the need arose, and not as the outcome of a preconceived plan. There is, however, no indication—the charismatic hypothesis apart—that there was any recognised channel for the transmission of ministerial authority, other than the Apostles. It is also evident that they took some steps—to what extent is uncertain—to delegate their appointing or ordaining powers, so that when they died others should take their place. The Pastoral Epistles witness to such a delegation of power, as does 1 Clement: 'And our apostles knew through Our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. To this end therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons and afterwards provided a continuance, that, if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration.' The passage, however, is not without ambiguity, but clearly indicates that steps were taken by the Apostles to transmit the power of ordination.

It is not clear whether they arranged for this ordaining authority to rest with the group of presbyter-bishops or with an individual bishop. The instances of James of Jerusalem, Timothy, and Titus, and the early emergence of the monarchical Ignatius, indicate an individual. The apparent absence of a single bishop at Corinth, when Clement wrote, and later at Philippi, seems to indicate a group. If Jerome may be believed, Alexandria may also be cited in support of the group theory, where down to the episcopates of Heraclas and Dionysius (233–265) 'the presbyters always nominated as bishop one chosen out of their number and placed in a higher grade; just as if an army were to appoint a general, or deacons were to choose from their own body one whom they knew to be diligent, and call him archdeacon.' There are, however,

[1] Lightfoot, *Philippians*.

reasons for thinking that Jerome, writing 150 years afterwards, was mistaken.[1] He adds in the same letter : 'What can a bishop do that a presbyter cannot do except ordain ? '

Additional Authorities.—The Apostolic Ministry ; Dr. Lindsay, 'The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries.'

After 150

The Bishop.—The bishop was the ruler of the Church and a necessary link in the transmission of holy orders. He is the source of authority, of teaching, and of discipline. He also held the purse and dispensed the alms of the faithful. He was normally the celebrant and the preacher at every Eucharist. He might be married before ordination. 'It is good,' we read, 'that he be without a wife, though if he have married one before he is ordained bishop, he should live with her.'[2] The person to be appointed was normally elected by the faithful. Cyprian says that, in order to preserve the divine and apostolic tradition at ordination, all the neighbouring bishops were to be present, as a guarantee to the rest of the Church that the ordination was valid, and a witness to the new bishop and his flock of their participation in the unity of the Catholic Church.

Presbyters.—The first point that strikes us about the presbyter is his age. The Ethiopian version of the Church order says 'it is proper for the presbyters that they should be like old men.' Later Jerome found it necessary to defend the ordination of his brother at so early an age as thirty. Dr. Hatch says that before the year 700 no one was ever ordained under that age. As for their duties, we read in the same Order 'they shall partake of the mystery with the bishop and help him in anything whatsoever and gather round him with love of their shepherd.' The presbyter was ordained by the bishop, the other presbyters joining in the laying on of hands (*contingentibus*). In the ordination prayer, the special grace asked for was that of counsel, as their duty was to act as counsellors to the bishop. It is assumed that the bishop will take no important step without consulting them. The expression, *monarchical episcopate*, is a misnomer. The bishop was not an autocrat but a constitutional ruler. In Jerusalem, the apostles *and presbyters* met to consider the first great question that threatened to divide the Church.

[1] Gore, *The Church and the Ministry.*
[2] G. Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles.*

Even Ignatius, high as his view is of the power of the bishop, speaks of the presbyters as the council of God.

The Deacon.—The deacon is a most important person as the bishop's chief executive officer. He was the bishop's secretary, chaplain, man of business, and almoner, besides acting in church as verger, sacristan, and parish clerk. 'And he was not ordained to acquire the Great Spirit of which the presbyters partake, but to occupy himself with that which is proper, that the bishop may trust him and that he may acquaint the bishop with that which it is fitting for him to know.'[1] He was, in fact, to be, among other things, the *oculus episcopi*, as the archdeacon was called later.

Of the minor orders, we hear of the reader, and the exorcist, later of the sub-deacon and acolyte.

The Ministry of Women.—The ministry of women in the early Church has to-day a special interest.

The Widow.—In the earliest versions of the *Apostolic Tradition* only the widow is mentioned. The widow remains much as she was in the Pastoral Epistles, admitted into an order of women on a double qualification, piety and poverty. If she had relations, they were to support her and not let her be a burden. She was not, however, to teach. Among the Montanists there were women preachers, but Tertullian, before he became a Montanist, disapproved of such activities. 'It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the church; or to teach or to baptise or to offer or to claim to herself a lot in any manly function nor in any sacerdotal office.' The *Church Order* (Ethiopian version) mentions widows, together with bishops, presbyters, deacons and readers, as among the foundations of the Church. It says that three widows are to be ordained, two to pray and one to minister to the sick. The widow was qualified by destitution, rather than vocation. She had to be provided for, and in return for its charity the Church tried to exact prayers and service. It was like enrolling the inmates of an alms-house as church workers. The experiment was not successful. Widows seem to have been given to gadding about and gossiping, and, like the widows in the Acts, complained bitterly to the bishops when they thought themselves neglected. 'She grumbles and blames the bishop who made the provision or the elder who gave the gift.'[2] Some disappointed widows went so far as to curse the bishop. After

[1] G. Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles.*

[2] M. D. Gibson, *Didascalia Apostolorum.* See also *Ch. Hist. from Nero to Constantine.*

the third century, though the order lingered on, the widow as a church worker gave place to the deaconess.

The Deaconess.—St. Paul mentions Phœbe as being a *diakonos* or servant of the Church. In the Epistle to Timothy, after giving the qualifications required of those to be ordained deacons, the author adds the qualifications for women. The context implies that they were deaconesses. Pliny in his letter to Trajan about the Christians in Bithynia, speaks of slaves whom the Christians called *ministrae*. But we have no certain evidence that deaconesses existed as an order before the third century, when they were chosen from the widows, whom they superseded. By the fourth century they were chosen from consecrated virgins, as well as widows. The order soon fell into decay. The Council of Orange (441) forbade their ordination. So did the Council of Epaon (517). 'We abrogate entirely the consecration of widows, whom they call deaconesses.' They may have lingered on for some centuries longer, but they were no longer of much account.

Their duties were to anoint women at baptism, to seat women in church, take communion to sick women, and anoint them in their homes, where a man would not be admitted. 'A woman is required for the service of women; for there are houses where thou canst not send a deacon.' They are definitely forbidden to baptise, or take part in any sacerdotal act. Nor were they recognised teachers. *The Didascalia* says that it is not right that women should be teachers, 'for women were not appointed to teach.'

Their Ordination.—There is some ambiguity about their ordination. The third-century *Didascalia* says they were to be appointed. The Latin version of the *Apostolic Tradition* says simply that it is useful to ordain deaconesses, but gives no directions: the Saidic version that it is not right to ordain them. In the fourth or fifth century *Apostolical Constitutions*, there are directions for ordaining them, both in Book VI, a revised version of the *Didascalia*, and in Book VIII, a later form of the *Apostolic Tradition*. Here the bishop is told to lay hands on the deaconess in the presence of the presbytery and the deacons and deaconesses. A prayer is provided, in which the Holy Spirit is asked for 'that she may worthily discharge the work which is committed to her.' In the same book it is laid down that the widow is not to be ordained.

It is quite clear that the deaconess, like the widow, was admitted into a definite *ordo* or *tagma*, and was, so far, ordained. But, unlike the deacon, she was commissioned to minister, not to the whole

Church, but to women only. She was not therefore the opposite number of the deacon.

IX

THIRD-CENTURY WRITERS

Tertullian (*c.* 155–225)

A native of Carthage, he was the first Latin father and the father of Western theology. Born about 155, he was converted at the age of 40, and soon afterwards ordained presbyter. Some time before 207 he became a Montanist. He wrote Apologies to the heathen, exhortations to his fellow-Christians, and many treatises. He was the first of the great Puritans. The ascetic renounces the superfluities of life for the discipline of his own soul. The Puritan seeks to make this renunciation an article of faith. Though married, he pressed celibacy on his readers. He would have Christians separate themselves from all secular pursuits and pleasures, while eating and drinking were to be reduced to the barest minimum necessary to support life.

Montanism attracted him not only by the scope it gave for prophecy, but because it doubled the number and increased the severity of the fasts of the Church. He wished the Christian's body to be reduced to skin and bone. On the subject of women's dress, jewels, and cosmetics, he expressed himself with vigour and acrimony. Second marriages he called adulterous. He was also a professed pacificist. ' Christ in disarming Peter unbelted every soldier.' He allowed no forgiveness for sin committed after baptism. In his powers of vituperation and vigour of language he recalls another great Puritan, John Milton, and as a writer is both instructive and entertaining. He was a master of vivid phrases, such as, *Faith fears not famine ; Truth is greater than tradition ; The blood of martyrs is seed ; Heresy which is ever mending the Gospels.*

But it is chiefly as a theologian that he claims our homage. He created a Latin theological language and ' fixed the formulas of theology,' notably in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity. The Monarchians taught the *Monarchy* or sole rule of God. Writing against the Monarchian Praxeas, Tertullian (1) insisted that Catholics were the true Monarchians : ' I contend that no dominion so belongs to one only or is in such sense singular, or is in such sense a monarchy, as not also to be administered through other persons most closely

connected with it'; and (2) introduced the term *substance* into the definition of the godhead. 'How comes it to pass that God should be thought to suffer division and severance in the Son and in the Holy Ghost, who have the second and third place assigned to them, and who are so closely joined with the Father in His substance?' He alone of the fathers before Athanasius affirmed the divinity of the Holy Ghost.

Hippolytus (*c.* 165–236)

When in the year 1551 some excavations were made at Rome in the Via Tiburtina, a statue was unearthed, representing a venerable figure clothed in a Greek cloak, and sitting on a chair. On the back of the chair a list of books was inscribed, and on one side a sixteen-years cycle for calculating the date of Easter. This statue represents Hippolytus, the most voluminous and learned writer of the Western Church of his day. He was a disciple of Irenæus and was born not much later than 170, as he had great influence with Zephyrinus, who was Pope 198–217. Both Eusebius and Jerome say that he was a bishop, but neither knew of what see. Lightfoot thought he was Bishop of Portus, the port of Rome; other scholars that he was bishop of a Greek congregation in Rome, as he was the last Roman ecclesiastic to write in Greek. Döllinger thought he was the first anti-Pope. As he is definitely described as a presbyter in the Liberian catalogue, the anti-Pope theory seems the more probable, and we know he had a feud with Callistus, who was Pope 218–222, as he was a rigorist and Callistus on the side of laxity. Tertullian accuses Callistus of issuing this edict: 'I remit the sins of adultery and fornication to those who have done penance.' Hippolytus accused Callistus of allowing the clergy to marry. 'If anyone who is in holy orders should get married Callistus permitted such a one to continue in holy orders as if he had not sinned.' He says that Callistus justified himself for admitting sinners to communion after repentance by saying the Church was like Noah's ark, which contained both clean and unclean beasts. He also accused Callistus and his patron Zephyrinus of being Noetists. The Noetists were 'Patripassians' who held that the Father suffered on the Cross.

An entry in the Liberian catalogue of Bishops of Rome records that 'Pontianus the bishop and Hippolytus the presbyter were transported to Sardinia, a pestilential island, in the consulship of

Severus and Quintianus '[1] (*i.e.* 235). If he really was anti-Pope, it is a curious instance of the irony of fate that Pope and anti-Pope should have been exiles together. They died there soon after and their bodies were brought to Rome for burial in 237.

Like another Puritan, Tertullian, he had immense knowledge and industry and a very bitter pen. His principal work was the *Refutation of all Heresies*, which was discovered in 1846 and at first attributed to Origen. It gives valuable information about Noetists and Gnostics. He also wrote many commentaries, of which only fragments survive : a treatise concerning Antichrist, a chronicle to which was appended a list of the Bishops of Rome, an Easter cycle, the *Apostolic Tradition*, and possibly the Muratorian fragment on the canon.

Clement of Alexandria

Alexandria was one of the greatest cities of the empire, a centre of Greek thought and culture, and a resort of poets, philosophers, and mathematicians from all over the world. Its Christian school first became famous under Pantænus, a converted Stoic philosopher and a native of Sicily, but the two most famous heads were Clement and Origen. Clement began life as a heathen. He was a Greek, born about A.D. 150. After wandering in many lands he became a disciple of Pantænus, settled down as a teacher, and eventually succeeded his master. He boldly claimed all learning for Christ. Philosophy he asserted had been the schoolmaster to bring the Greeks to Christ as the law the Hebrews. ' God is the cause of all good things, of some primarily, as of the Old and New Testament ; of some by consequence, as philosophy.' Clement claimed the title of *Gnostic*, the one who knows, for the Christian. St. Paul had said of the Christians, ' We are the circumcision.' So Clement says ' We are the Gnostics.' ' The instructed Christian is the true Gnostic, so that from geometry and music and grammar and philosophy itself, culling what is useful, he guards the faith against assault.' Women as well as men, he thought, should study philosophy.

Origen (185–250)

Clement left Alexandria when persecution broke out (202) and does not appear ever to have returned. Among his pupils was a

[1] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*.

boy named Origen, a native of Egypt, born 185, who, at the request of some of the students, re-opened the school. The following account by Eusebius, the bishop and historian, who lived about a century later, gives some idea of the scope of his work. 'Many others, induced by the fame of his instruction, which was everywhere extolled, came to him to make trial of his proficiency in sacred learning. Many heretics also and several of the most distinguished philosophers became his pupils and were instructed both in theology and in secular philosophy. Those he saw to be endowed with abilities he also taught geometry, arithmetic, and other preparatory studies, and then led them on to a study of the opinions held by philosophers, going through and explaining their writings and commenting on each, so that he gained a great reputation as a philosopher among the Greeks.'

Both Clement and Origen use the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture. This method was in the air of Alexandria. Philosophers used it for interpreting Homer. 'Chrysippus reduced the Homeric gods to physical and ethical principles.'[1] What the philosophers did to Homer, Philo and, after him, Christians did to the Old Testament. Origen was the great allegorist, as Theodore of Mopsuestia was the *exemplar* of the literalists of the school of Antioch. Origen laid down that the Scriptures had a 'bodily' and a 'spiritual' meaning, and included in Scriptures both Old and New Testaments. 'Who,' he asks in the modernist spirit, 'that has understanding will suppose that the first and second and third day and the evening and morning existed without a sun and moon and stars? That the first day was, as it were, also without a sky? And who is so foolish as to suppose that God, after the manner of a husbandman, planted a paradise in Eden, and planted in it the tree of life, visible and palpable, so that one tasting of the fruit by the bodily teeth obtained life? . . . And if God is said to walk in the paradise in the evening and Adam to hide himself behind a tree, I do not suppose that anyone doubts that these things figuratively indicate certain mysteries, the history having taken place in appearance and not literally. . . .[2] Nay, the Gospels themselves are filled with the same kind of narratives, *e.g.* the devil leading Jesus up into a high mountain. . . . And the attentive reader may notice in the Gospels innumerable other passages like these, so that he will be convinced that in the histories, that are literally recorded, circumstances

[1] G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion.*

[2] *de Principiis*, iv. 16.

that did not occur are inserted.' Later, Alexandria became the home of the allegorical, Antioch of the literal interpretation of Scripture.

On First Principles. This was the first synthetic Christian theology. He was the first Church writer to use the term *homo-ousios*. He taught the eternal generation of the Son. 'How can it be asserted that there once was a time when He was not the Son?' Like nearly all the Alexandrians, he failed to realise the importance of our Lord's humanity. He considers the humanity too much as 'the necessary staircase by which we climb to the understanding of the divinity.'[1] He rejected the idea of the apathy of God. 'The Father Himself is not impassive. He has the passion of love.' He believed also in the pre-existence of souls and was a universalist, holding that all souls would ultimately be saved.

He was the pioneer of textual criticism, as applied to the Bible, and took enormous pains to acquire texts, which, according to Eusebius, 'he hunted up in all kinds of ancient hiding-places. He says of one that he found it in Jerusalem in a tub.'

He enjoyed a great reputation among the heathen, and the Emperor Philip corresponded with him. Mammæa, the mother of the Emperor Alexander, summoned him to Antioch that she might converse with him.

Some of his more daring speculations were afterwards rejected by the Church, though his excommunication by the Bishop of Alexandria seems to have been due to personal reasons. He was seized and tortured during the Decian persecution (*c.* 250) and soon afterwards died at Tyre, where his tomb is still pointed out. A Jesuit missionary, however, writing in 1723, says that he sought for it there in vain.[2]

The Church Orders

Our knowledge of the *Church Orders*, as they are called, has been added to considerably in recent years.[3] They are manuals of Church Order and Discipline, and are indispensable for the light they throw on the life of the early Church, though it is not always clear whether we are reading an account of the manners which were prevailing when the authors wrote, or of those which he thought ought to prevail. The earliest is probably the *Didache* or *Teaching*

[1] Bigg, *Origins of Christianity.* [2] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses.*
[3] See Conolly, *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, viii. 4.

of the Twelve Apostles, on which was afterwards based the seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

Next came a manual bearing the title, *The Apostolic Tradition*, sometimes known as the *First Egyptian Church Order*. Originally written in Greek, probably by Hippolytus during the first quarter of the third century, it survives only in a fragmentary Latin version, published by E. Hauler, commonly called the *Verona fragment*, and four Oriental versions translated from the Latin, two of them Coptic, one Arabian, and one Ethiopian. Fourth or fifth century adaptations of these are found in the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*, Book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the Testament of the Lord. Later still came the *Epitome* and the *Constitutions* per Hippolytum, derived from Book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

We have also a third or fourth century manual in Syriac, called the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, which reappears later, brought up to date and revised, in the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, possibly written towards the end of the fourth century.

The importance of these manuals is that they give a more realistic picture of the inner life of the Church than is to be gleaned from a study of the fathers. They describe the services of the Church, the duties of the ministers, the care of the sick, the indigent, and the traveller, the elaborate charity organisation of the Church, the rules for the admission and instruction of catechumens, and a number of other most interesting details of which, but for them, we should be ignorant.[1]

Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage, 248–60)

Cyprian was a professor of rhetoric at Carthage, who was baptised and ordained in middle life. Two years later he was chosen Bishop of Carthage by acclamation, crowds besieging his house until he consented to accept the position. His episcopate covered very stirring times. Many of his letters dealing with the burning questions of the day have come down, the earliest Christian correspondence that survives. He impressed his contemporaries with a sense of his greatness, which it is not easy for us to recapture from his writings, though he was plainly a man of uncommon force and sincerity. He was very early in trouble, as five of his clergy, including one Novatus, refused to acknowledge him as bishop.

[1] For a full account see *Church History from Nero, etc.*

When the Decian persecution broke out Cyprian was involved in disciplinarian difficulties. After the long peace (211–50) and sudden persecution, a large number of Christians had apostatized and either sacrificed, or obtained certificates as having done so, which were to be had on fairly easy terms. The question arose : Were the lapsed to be re-admitted to communion at all, and, if so, on what terms? The question was more difficult for Cyprian to answer, because he had withdrawn from Carthage at the outbreak of persecution, and had to make decisions, when imperfectly informed, besides having laid himself open to the charge of cowardice. The question had to be settled at Rome and Alexandria, as well as Carthage. Cornelius at Rome was on the side of mercy. Cyprian himself was at first inclined to rigorism, but changed under the pressure of circumstances. At the Council of Carthage, 251, severe terms of penance were imposed ; those who had actually sacrificed were only to be re-admitted to communion *in extremis*. But when the second persecution threatened, Cyprian decided that all who were penitent should be re-admitted. ' How could anyone fight the battles of the Church unless the Church arms him for the fight ? ' At Rome, Novatian, who headed the rigorist party, became anti-Pope on the accession of Cornelius and headed the Novatianist schism, which lasted for centuries. One of his principal supporters was Novatus, Cyprian's enemy, who had headed the party of laxity in Africa.

The question was further complicated by the claim of confessors to issue letters to bishops, bidding them absolve the sinners, in whose behalf they were written. A group of confessors wrote to Cyprian to say they had granted peace to all the lapsed whose conduct had been satisfactory since their lapse, and asking him to make known this decision to his brother bishops. The writer, Lucian, in another letter, said that a martyr, named Paulus, had said to him, ' Lucian, in the presence of Christ, I say to you, if anyone after I am called away shall ask for peace from you, grant it in my name.' This claim Cyprian contested successfully.

Cyprian magnifies the office of a bishop. The bishop is the high priest or *sacerdos*. ' He who listens to the bishop listens to God.' But the bishop exercises his power within limits. Dr. Bigg aptly compares him to the Homeric King. He is expected to seek counsel of his presbyters and to carry his flock with him. When dealing with the lapsed, he insisted on deferring his decision until he could consult with the clergy and confessors as well as his fellow-

bishops. 'For this is suitable—that the chief officers meeting together with the clergy in the presence also of the people who stand fast—we may be able to order all things with the religiousness of a common consultation.'

He explains the theory of episcopal authority in his treatise *De Unitate*. All bishops he held to be equal, independent, and co-ordinate, each possessing in himself the whole power of the episcopate. No single bishop or any number of bishops could coerce another. 'No one of us sets up to be bishop of bishops,' he wrote, with an eye on the Bishop of Rome. When he gave his opinion that heretical baptism was invalid, he added the words 'Prescribing to no one, so as to prevent any bishop from determining what he thinks right, as he shall give an account of his own doings to the Lord.' He held that any bishop who fell into heresy or grave sin ought to be deposed by his flock, 'lest they should be partaker of his sins.' Two Spanish bishops, Martialis and Basilides, were *certificati*, that is, had received certificates to the effect that they had complied with the requirements about sacrificing. Martialis had even enrolled himself as a member of a heathen college and buried his sons with heathen rites. Both had been deposed by their flocks and successors appointed. Cyprian approved the depositions and acknowledged the successors.

As to Rome, he held that it was the *principalis ecclesia* in respect of dignity and precedence. He argued that unity began with Peter, as an example, applying to him the words 'on this rock,' but that after the Resurrection all the Apostles were equal. In his own correspondence with Cornelius and Stephen he treats them as equals. He differed from Stephen on heretical baptism, and at the third Council of Carthage (256), with eighty-seven colleagues, denied its validity. In thus rejecting the decision of Stephen, the question whether they were acting beyond their powers did not suggest itself to Cyprian or his colleagues. Again, when Stephen set aside the depositions of Basilides and Martialis, Cyprian treated this decision as nugatory. 'Neither can it rescind an ordination rightly perfected that Basilides, after the detection of his crimes and the baring of his conscience even by his own confession, went to Rome and deceived Stephen, our colleague. . . .' His strong point, however, was not consistency, and when the Bishop of Arles became a Novatianist and refused to re-admit the lapsed to communion, Cyprian, instead of leaving him to his flock, called on the Pope to interfere. On the question of re-baptism, the Western Church in the end followed

Stephen in not insisting on it, if done in the Name of the Trinity. The Council of Trent adding 'with the intention of doing what the Church does.'[1]

Cyprian's real greatness was shown in the plague, which reached Carthage from Egypt in 252, and in its horrors rivalled the Black Death of the fourteenth century. He collected his flock and exhorted them to care for the heathen as well as the Christian sick. 'It becomes us,' he said, 'to answer to our birth.' In 257 he was banished and spent the last three years of his life away from Carthage. On September 14, 260, he was brought before Galerius the proconsul. The procedure was brief.

G. You are Thascius Cyprianus.

C. I am.

G. You have given yourself to be a bishop to people of sacrilegious views.

C. I have.

G. Consider.

C. Do what you are ordered to do. In so simple a matter there is nothing to consider.

Galerius then sentenced him as an antagonist to the gods of Rome and 'a standard-bearer' of new doctrines. 'Our pleasure is that Thascius Cyprianus be executed with the sword.' Whereupon Cyprian said, 'Thanks be to God,' and was immediately led away to execution. There was a short delay. The executioner trembled so much that he could not perform his task. Whereupon the centurion took the sword and severed his neck with one stroke.

X

MONTANISM AND MANICHEISM

1. Montanism

The Montanists were followers of Montanus, a Phrygian, who flourished in the middle of the second century. According to Eusebius, he began, when a recent convert, by 'being wrought up into a certain kind of frenzy and irregular ecstasy, raving and speaking and uttering strange things, and proclaiming what was contrary

[1] Kidd, *op. cit.*

to the tradition and teaching that had prevailed in the Church.' Prophesying was one of the chief features of his system. Among his followers were two women, Priscilla and Maximilla, who prophesied: 'In a kind of ecstatic frenzy, out of all reason, in a manner strange and novel.' Maximilla is quoted by an opponent as exclaiming, 'I am chased like a wolf from the flock. I am no wolf. I am utterance, spirit, and power.'

The movement spread from Asia to Gaul. In 177 the confessors of Lyons and Vienne sent Irenæus to Rome with a letter protesting against Montanism. It must have reached Africa soon after, as Perpetua and her companions, who were martyred in 203, were probably Montanists.

The four main ways in which they differed from Catholic usage were (1) in adding to the fasts of the Church and inventing a new form of abstinence called *xerophagy*, an abstinence from all except dry foods; (2) in discountenancing marriage and absolutely forbidding second marriages; (3) in disallowing absolution for mortal sin after baptism; (4) belief in prophecy. For their prophets they claimed something like plenary inspiration. Tertullian wrote:[1] 'We have now among us a sister whose lot it has been to be favoured with sundry gifts of revelation, which she experiences in the spirit by ecstatic vision . . . . ; she converses with angels, and sometimes even with the Lord; she both sees and hears mysterious communications.' It was from her that Tertullian received his doctrine of the corporeity of the soul. '"Amongst other things" she says, "there has been shown to me a soul in bodily shape, and a spirit has appeared to me; not a void and empty illusion, but such as could be grasped by the hand, soft, transparent and of an ethereal colour and in form resembling a human being."'

'It is on this account,' wrote Tertullian, 'that the new prophecies are rejected; not that Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla preach another God, nor that they separate Jesus Christ from God, nor that they overturn any particular rule of faith or hope, but that they plainly teach more frequent fasting than marrying. . . . They charge us with keeping fasts of our own; with prolonging our stations into the evening; with keeping our food unmoistened by any flesh and by any juiciness of any kind of succulent fruit; also with abstinence from the bath, suitable to our dry diet.'

[1] *De anima*, 9.

2. Manicheism

Mani, the founder of Manicheism, first preached at Seleucia—Ctesiphon, the capital of the Persian kingdom, in 242. 'Such was his success that within a century, in the midst of the decay of Greco-Roman paganism and the public triumph of Christianity, it seemed to many observers doubtful whether Manicheism would not overwhelm them both.'[1] The great Augustine was a Manichee for twelve years, and Dr. Burkitt thinks that through him Manichean influence entered the Church.

Mani seems to have derived his religion from Marcion and a Syrian Gnostic, who had been a Christian, called Bardaisan. Manicheism is really a variety of Gnosticism. There is the essential dualism, the belief that the material world is evil, and the interposition of intermediate beings between it and the Supreme Being, called by Mani the *Father of Greatness*. It differed from Gnosticism and resembled Christianity, in that its promised salvation was the reward, not of the possession of secret knowledge, but of leading a particular kind of life, based on right belief. The four cardinal virtues of Manicheism were : Love, Right Belief, Fear, and Wisdom.

Mani conceived the universe as originally divided into two kingdoms, the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness. The Fall was due to the invasion of the Kingdom of Light by the powers of darkness. The somewhat indirect result was the creation of our world, which was made out of dismembered parts of the powers of evil, but contained particles of light. It was not, therefore, a wholly black or a wholly light world, and has been aptly described by Professor Burkitt as a *smudge*. Eventually, the light particles will be redeemed, the world burnt up, and the black elements permanently confined in the world of darkness, and man awarded his appropriate abode in one or the other. 'Man was an element of light, enclosed in an alien and unredeemable envelope.'[2] The only hope for him lay in escape.

Mani, who claimed to be the Paraclete, following Marcion, divided his followers into two classes, the Elect and the Hearers. The elect lived lives of extreme asceticism. All Manichees were vegetarians, but the elect abstained from wine, marriage, and private property, nor were they permitted to pick fruit or break bread themselves, 'lest they pain the light that was mixed with it.' They had to lead wandering lives, and each took a lay disciple with him to

[1] Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees.* [2] *Ibid.*

prepare his food. When he wanted to eat, he said to the bread: 'I neither reaped thee, nor winnowed thee, nor ground thee, nor set thee in an oven; it was another did this and brought thee to me, I eat thee innocently.'[1] One of the first duties of the hearer was to provide for the elect. The hearer usually remained unbaptised until the approach of death, baptism being looked on for the ordinary Manichee as a preparation for death, and a passport into the kingdom of light. The hearer was allowed to be present at the Eucharist, though only the elect communicated. Manicheism was persecuted by the Persian kings, by Christian emperors, and by the Mohammedans, but was not exterminated in the East until the advent of the destroying hordes of the Tartars under Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane.

The Paulicians, who were exiled by Justinian and found an asylum in Bulgaria, brought a variety of Manicheism to Europe, where it was subsequently widely propagated, and its disciples, who were known as Cathari, Albigensians, and Bogomiles, were suppressed by the Inquisition.

No religion has been more persistently persecuted. It owed its long survival mainly to two features: (1) While admitting that 'the world is very evil,' then a fairly patent fact, it held out a hope of ultimate escape. To-day no religion would win many adherents in the West which thus despairs of the world. (2) The division of adherents into elect and hearers—first and third-class passengers—which met a real want. It provided scope for a small band of idealists, with a bent for self-immolation, while finding room for the many who wanted salvation without paying too high a price. Christianity has never admitted the principle, but there have, in fact, always been those who have retained their pleasant sins without altogether breaking with their religion and have looked to make their peace at the end, while in the Middle Ages the division between 'religious' and Christians living in the world affords some parallel.

XI

RETROSPECT

Reasons for Success

A new epoch was begun when the Edict of Milan was issued in 313. Henceforward Christianity was treated with favour, first in

[1] Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees.*

part of the empire, then over the whole of it. Before going on it will be as well to look back and survey the past. How are we to account for so great a victory, for it is plain that Constantine, whatever his motives, espoused the winning side ?

1. **Doctrine.**—Granted that people wanted a religion and that the mysteries were the best that paganism could provide, it is not surprising that Christianity was preferred. When Tatian wrote : ' I call upon you who reproach us to compare your mythical accounts with our narratives,' he could have had no fear of the result of such a comparison. Christianity, with its assurance of forgiveness and of a future life, and its belief in a Saviour who had Himself lived and suffered on earth, met what modern research has shown to be the special need of the day. ' The belief in the Incarnation introduced an entirely new conception of relations of God to the world and of the spirit to the body, which secular philosophy has hardly appropriated even yet.'[1]

2. **Morality.**—No pagan system made morality part of its religion, as did Jews and Christians. The Church insisted on a long moral probation, and on a renunciation of immoral trades, before admitting to baptism, and excluded the immoral from communion, only readmitting them after a long and humiliating penance. Apologist after apologist lays down as an admitted truth that Christians are more honest, more charitable, and more moral, neither committing adultery nor murder. Justin Martyr wrote : ' We who formerly delighted in fornication now embrace chastity . . . we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions now bring what we have into a common stock and communicate to every one in need ; we who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not live with men of a different tribe, live familiarly with them and pray for our enemies.' He claims for Christians specially that they do not commit adultery, or abortion, or expose their newly born children, a common practice among pagans.

Athenagoras, besides asserting the moral superiority of Christians in respect of chastity and charity, claims in particular that they will have nothing to do with gladiatorial combats. ' But we, judging that to see a man put to death is much the same as killing him, have abjured such spectacles.' Irenæus also protested against ' this bloody spectacle, hateful to God and man.' So did Tatian. And it will be remembered that their end was brought about by the action of a

[1] Bigg, *op. cit.*

Christian monk Telemachus, of whom Theodoret wrote : 'There was one Telemachus, embracing the ascetic mode of life, who, setting out from the East and coming to Rome for this purpose while that accursed spectacle was being performed, entered the circus and, descending into the arena, attempted to restrain those who wielded deadly weapons against each other. The spectators, drunk with the demoniac joy of bloodshed, stoned to death the peacemaker.' Another apologist claims for Christians superior honesty in business. 'We do not deny our pledges.'

Christian morality was specially distinguished by its gospel of brotherly love and kindness, which excited the notice and contempt of the heathen Lucian, and was diffused so as to include those outside the brotherhood. Cyprian told his flock during a plague to minister to the heathen sick as well as the Christian. Eusebius claims that during a plague the Christians set themselves to bury the dead, nurse the sick, and feed the hungry. Christianity alone recognised that the fact of need in itself constituted a claim, apart from ties of race or religion. Nor are we dependent only on Christian evidence. Pliny reported to Trajan that he found no evidence of crime among the Christians he examined. Celsus (175) wrote a long and bitter attack against Christians, accusing them of being fools and imbeciles, but has nothing to say against their morals. Lucian scoffs at Christians for their credulity,[1] but makes them out to be pure, disinterested, and courageous. The physician Galen admitted that they despised death, led chaste lives, and were as zealous in their pursuits of virtue as true philosophers.[2]

This is not to say that the ante-Nicene Christians were all saints. If seed is broadcast, some of it will fall on stony ground or among thorns. Persecution maintained an artificially high level of sincerity at the expense of charity and humility. Those whose friends had been martyred were embittered against those who failed to stand the test, and those who had themselves been tortured were tempted to despise their weaker brethren. Tertullian and Hippolytus show a sour and uncharitable spirit. But it is unfair to assume that this spirit was common, and we must remember that the Church definitely rejected the narrow limitations which these writers and Novatian, like the Donatists afterwards, would have imposed.

If persecution affords temptations to the fanatical, peace has its own dangers for the lax. The pagan environment was close, and it was natural for the weaker brother to try to make the best of both worlds.

[1] *de morte Peregrinis.* [2] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity.*

Such half-and-half Christians seem to have flourished in the Spanish Church, never very hardly tried by persecution. Cyprian complained that two Spanish bishops had relapsed into paganism. Either just before the Diocletian persecution or soon afterwards the Spanish synod of Elvira was held, which is often quoted as a proof of Christian immorality. From its canons it may be inferred that some Spanish Christians were Christian only in name. It is not fair, however, to infer from this one Council in one part of the empire that Christian morality on the whole was in a bad way. There were, no doubt, half-hearted Christians, who had fallen back into the immoral and heathen practices favoured by their environment, but the Church must not be judged by them alone. Christian morality, with its doctrine of the Cross, stood out as presenting something which was new to all, foolish to many, but to those capable of receiving the teaching, full of power and attraction. And the lives of Christians must have been their greatest missionary asset.

3. Constancy under Persecution.—Justin Martyr attributes his own conversion to the fearlessness of Christians in the face of death. The ' Acts of the Martyrs ' abound in stories of bystanders converted by the deaths of martyrs. Tertullian used a phrase that has become classic. ' The blood of martyrs is seed.' Persecution, if sufficiently thorough, may be completely successful, otherwise the example of marytrs is highly contagious.

These causes, combined with unremitting propaganda, may be held to account, humanly speaking, for the success of the Cross.

Heresy and Schism

Schism.—The Church had suffered three secessions; one *intellectualist* (Marcion) and two Puritan, Montanist and Novatianist, the last two very closely resembling the Separatist movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both claimed, like the Separatists, to possess a higher standard of morality than the Church, and maintained the duty of secession unless the Church purified itself by rigidly excluding the unworthy. Novatianists called themselves *Cathari* or *Pure*. The Montanists, like the Quakers and many Separatists, claimed to receive particular inspirations from the Spirit. The Church, however, refused to exclude the repentant sinner or to accept the authenticity of prophecies which conflicted with its tradition.

Unitarian Heresies.—In regard to faith, the great Trinitarian and Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries

were foreshadowed. The Church had from the beginning worshipped three divine "Persons." 'Towards the end of the second century we find them, in Theophilus, bound together under one new name, that of Trinity or Triad. The first and second Persons are called God ; to the third this supreme title is not yet expressly applied (*c.* 200) except by the Montanists.' [1] Yet all Christians were Monotheists, and for a long time the attempt to reconcile these apparently conflicting beliefs caused trouble in the Church.

Theodotus, a Byzantine tanner, got over the difficulty by asserting that Christ was a mere man. He was excommunicated by Victor. He was followed by another Theodotus, a Roman banker, who with his friends engaged a certain Natalius to act as their bishop at a salary of 150 denarii a month. These Theodotians were students of Aristotle, Galen, and Euclid, especially Euclid,[2] and were the first rationalists.

There were others who explained the divine economy as a trinity of names, not persons. Father, Son and Holy Spirit are God, revealing Himself under different modes, titles, or aspects. The chief exponents of this view were Sabellius, Noetus, and Praxeas, against whom Tertullian wrote. This doctrine implied the suffering of the Father. Hence its adherents were sometimes called Patripassians. ' Thus,' wrote Tertullian of Praxeas, who had persuaded Victor to denounce Montanism, ' he accomplished at Rome two works of the devil ; he drove out prophecy and introduced a heresy ; he put to flight the Paraclete and crucified the Father.' They were also called Sabellians, Noetists, Monarchians, and in modern times, Modalists.

Paul of Samosata.—The first shot of the Christological controversy was fired by Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch (260–272) who was deposed 268 and expelled 272. According to Eusebius, ' he taught low and degrading notions of Christ, contrary to the doctrine of the Church, and taught that He was in nature but a common man.' This seems unfair. What he did was to distinguish between the Word and Christ. The two Persons, the Word and Christ, were miraculously conjoined at birth. The Word dwelt in Jesus as in none other. Dr. Bigg calls his teaching the first rough draft of Nestorianism.

Paul was deposed by a Council in 268, but the deposition did not take effect until the fall of his protectress, Queen Zenobia (272), when his accusers appealed to the Emperor. This was the first time the Church appealed to the civil power. The Emperor

[1] Bigg, *op. cit.*

[2] Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* v. 28.

ordered the Church to be restored to the person designated by 'the bishops of Rome and Italy.'

Other Developments

Synodical Action.—The synodical action of the Church developed considerably. Diocesan synods were very early. We learn from the Church Orders that the bishop was expected to consult the presbyters before taking any important step. What were in effect provincial synods were also held for matters concerning more than one diocese. Cyprian assembled such a synod to decide on the treatment of the lapsed. Paul of Samosata was deposed by a synod consisted of (1) 'all the neighbouring bishops, presbyters, and deacons,' and (2) sixteen persons who signed the synodical letter, not all of whom were bishops.

Reservation.—The practice of reservation during this period may also be noted. We know from Tertullian's letter to his wife that it was customary for the faithful to reserve the sacrament in their own houses, with which to communicate themselves during the week. Directions bearing on this practice appear in the first Church Order. From an interesting letter written by Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, and preserved by Eusebius, it appears that the sacrament was regularly reserved for the sick at Alexandria as early as 251. Serapion had sacrificed during the persecution and was not allowed communion, though penitent. When dying, he sent his grandchild to the presbyter. 'But it was night and the presbyter was sick. As I had, however, before issued an injunction that those at the point of death, if they desired it, especially if they had entreated for it before, should receive absolution that they might depart from life in comfortable hope, I gave the boy a portion of the Eucharist, telling him to dip it in water and drop it into the mouth of the old man.'

The Cult of Saints, and the Veneration of Relics.—These may go back to Polycarp. His charred remains were collected in the hope that 'The Lord will grant us to assemble and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom in joy and gladness.' Invocation goes back to Origen, who held that as we may ask good men for their prayers during life, we may pray to them for the same kind of help after their death. Gregory Thaumaturgus, the apostle of Armenia, gave a great impetus to the movement by observing the festivals of saints on the days which had been sacred to heathen deities. The innovation was popular, but possibly confusing.

PERIOD II

THE AGE OF THE COUNCILS

PERIOD II

THE AGE OF THE COUNCILS

I

CHURCH AND STATE

The external conditions under which the Church had to accomplish its divine mission were turned upside down by Constantine the Great, first joint (306) and then sole ruler of the empire (323). For under him the ruler of the State became the patron of the Church instead of its persecutor, and the Church was regarded as the prop of empire instead of its most insidious foe.

How far religion entered into the calculations of Constantine is uncertain. His biographer, Eusebius, the historian, Bishop of Cæsarea, though he writes too much in the strain of the Rev. William Collins to carry complete conviction, believed him to be a convinced Christian. The story that before the battle of the Milvian Bridge (312) he saw the vision of the Cross in the sky, bearing the inscription *Hoc signo vinces* ('By this sign you shall conquer') rests on the unsupported testimony of Eusebius, who says he got it from Constantine himself. True or not, we know that after this victory Constantine definitely declared himself on the side of Christianity, and issued an edict of toleration (313). After the overthrow of Licinius (323) he had his standard given a Christian form. This was the famous Labarum. It was a long spear overlaid with gold, having a cross-piece at the head. At the junction there was a crown of gold and precious stones surmounted by the initials XP, the Greek letters for CHR, still a favourite monogram in church decoration.

His professed religious policy was one of toleration. 'Let those who are still blinded by error be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquillity as they have who believe. Let no one molest another in this matter, but let every one be free to follow the bias of his own mind.'[1] But he made it plain on which side his

[1] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.

own sympathies were. He ordered that Sunday should be kept as a day of rest and prayer throughout the empire. Christian soldiers were to have liberty to go to church on that day. For heathen soldiers, he composed a prayer, which they were to recite at a special church parade. All subjects of the empire were also commanded 'to honour Friday,' but we do not know how it was to be done. In his choice of provincial governors he gave the preference to Christians. Heathen governors, if appointed, were not allowed to take part in idolatrous worship during their tenure of office. Eusebius, his favourite bishop, says that he issued successive ordinances 'forbidding any to sacrifice to idols, to consult diviners, to erect images, to pollute cities with the sanguinary combats of gladiators.' He destroyed idols and pulled down temples. He exterminated the priests of Isis in Egypt, as being 'a corrupt and vicious class of persons.' Gaza and other cities which 'embraced the saving religion were distinguished both by the favour of God and by special honour from the Emperor.' He built churches at the public expense in Constantinople, in Tyre, in Jerusalem, and Rome. He wrote to Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, urging him to be zealous in building churches and empowering him 'to demand what is needful for the work both from the provincial governors and the Prætorian Præfect.' In fact, not only Eusebius, but bishops everywhere, were urged to repair and build churches at the public expense. He made much of bishops, 'even,' says Eusebius, 'admitting them to his table, though mean in their attire and outward appearance.' He also liked to have them as travelling companions. He was much given to delivering moral exhortations, and was the author of a number of letters of this sort, both to bishops and their flocks. He had himself represented on coins in an attitude of prayer, and, if Eusebius may be believed, established family prayers in the palace and conducted them himself.

The results were fourfold.

1. **Interference by the State in the Affairs of the Church.**—When the State is Christian this is inevitable. A Christian ruler cannot be indifferent to the state of the Church. Constantine interfered a good deal. It was at his order that a synod of bishops was held at Arles to examine slanders made by the African Donatists. Eusebius says that he liked to be present when possible at synods, and to bear a share in the deliberations. 'Those whom he saw inclined to a sound judgment received his high approbation; whilst he regarded the refractory and obstinate with aversion.' He

intervened actively in the Arian controversy, sending Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, with a letter to 'Alexander and Arius,' bidding them 'unite on the basis of their common Christianity, and not to dispute about trifles.' When this intervention was unsuccessful, he summoned the great Œcumenical Council, which met at Nicea in 325.

This example was followed by his successors, though not always without a protest being made. When Athanasius was deposed and Gregory uncanonically intruded into the see of Alexandria, Athanasius claimed that if he was to be suspended it should have been done canonically, 'and not that a person brought in from a distance by Arians should with the support and strong arm of heathen magistrates be thrust upon those who neither demanded or desired his presence.' When at the Council of Milan, summoned by Constantius to condemn Athanasius, the bishops urged that such an action would be uncanonical, Constantius replied: 'Whatever I will, be that esteemed a Canon; the Bishops of Syria let me thus speak. Either obey or go into banishment.' Most signed; a few went into exile, including Hosius, then in his hundredth year, who wrote a grave and dignified letter protesting against this intrusion of the secular arm. 'Intrude not yourself into sacred matters, neither give commands unto us concerning them; but learn them from us. God hath put into your hands the kingdom, to us he hath entrusted the Church.'

2. **It became possible to hold Œcumenical Councils.**—They could hardly have been held if the head of the State were hostile.

3. **Moral Deterioration.**—A third effect of imperial patronage was moral deterioration. For the first time it paid to be a Christian. For years to be a Christian priest or bishop meant a fugitive and threatened life, followed often by a painful death. Now a bishopric had become a prize. Ammianus Marcellinus says that on the death of Pope Liberius (266) there was a disputed election, during which riots occurred and 137 corpses were found in one church when peace was restored. The heathen historian, in Philemon Holland's translation, adds the significant comment: 'Neither can I deny, beholding the glorious braverie of the citye, that the competitors desirous of this episcopal dignity, have good reason to strive all that ever they can, considering that when they have gotten it, they shall be so void of thought and care taking, that they are enriched with the oblations of matrones, ride abroad mounted in coaches, and gloriously arrayed, keeping profuse and riotous fare, insomuch that their feasts surpass kings' tables; who might be happy

and blessed indeed, if despising the great men of the city, by which they pretend to cloak their vices, they would live according to the example of some provincial bishops, whose slender diet in eating and drinking most sparely, whose low-priced apparel also, and eyes looking down to the ground, commend them as poor and modest persons to the eternal God and his true servants.' Jerome's strictures on the manners of the Roman clergy are also evidence that a process of deterioration had begun.

4. Expansion.—It also accelerated the expansion of the Church. Persecution does not favour rapidity of growth. It may scatter the seed but it makes germination difficult.

II

MONASTICISM

The monastic movement, the impulse, that is, to a life of voluntary celibacy and poverty, is as old as Christianity. When our Lord spoke with approval of those who abstained from marriage for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, and when He told the rich young man to sell all he had and give to the poor, He gave His approval to the spirit of Monasticism. For what is this but the impulse to follow the Master in the letter as well as in the spirit? The Church was not slow to act upon the hint. The infant society at Jerusalem made the first attempt at the life of poverty. The 144,000 that sing the new song in the Apocalypse are virgins, and the writer must have had in mind Christians who observed a voluntary celibacy. Justin Martyr as early as 160 alludes to the existence of such persons as a well-known fact. Tertullian, forty years later, wrote a treatise concerning the dress of virgins, and complains that they have no places reserved for them in church.

The next stage was reached when those who were devoted to the celibate life abandoned the world. St. Anthony the Great was the first whose example attracted attention. Before 300 he sold his possessions, left his home, and took up his abode as a solitary in the Egyptian desert, where he remained until his death (? 345). The fame of his austerities, and of his spiritual encounters gave a great impetus to the monastic movement and he had many followers who were solitaries like himself. Some had their cells near one another, forming groups or *lauras*. Pachomius (d. 346) was the

first to gather the scattered units into a community or *cœnobium*. Mar Awgin, an Egyptian pearl-fisher and a disciple of Pachomius, introduced monasticism into Mesopotamia.

About 390 Palladius, a Galatian monk, made a pilgrimage to visit the Egyptian monks and stayed with them nine years. He tells us that there were 5000 living as solitaries in the mountains of Nitria, near Alexandria. They maintained themselves by their labour, and only met when they assembled in church on Saturday and Sunday, and that at the ninth hour anyone listening to the strains of psalmody rising from each cell might believe that he was high above the world in Paradise. Farther north there were men and women living in communities. The distinguishing mark of solitary and cœnobite alike was extreme asceticism. In apportioning labour to his monks Pachomius is told to give the tasks that require strength to those who are strong *and eat*, and to the weaker and more ascetic, tasks such as the weak can manage. The work is proportioned to the food rather than the food to the work. Cassian, a Palestinian monk, who came to Egypt (*c.* 380) to see the monks and learn from their example, records with approval of one monk that he never ate alone, and so frequently fasted for five days. Only on Saturday and Sunday, when he went to church, could he depend on picking up a guest to take back to his cell, so that he could break his fast without breaking his vow. Many never lay down to sleep. Cassian in his 'Institutes' allowed no sleep after the midnight office. For those who lived in communities great stress was laid on obedience; Cassian tells the story of the novice who was told to water a dry stick stuck in the ground twice a day for two years, carrying the water two miles for the purpose. St. Simeon Stylites, who lived thirty years on a pillar, was the great example of Eastern monasticism.

Many stories are told of the Eastern ascetics to illustrate their sympathy with animals, in which they anticipated St. Francis. Thomas of Marga, who wrote the history of the famous Nestorian monastery at Beth 'Âbhê, claimed that when the heart of man is cleansed 'all creation will be found to be friendly to him, both irrational animals and noxious reptiles.' He tells the story of an ascetic, known as *Ananias of the Wild Goats*, who 'prayed to God that the beasts might be at peace with him, and it was so.' The neighbouring solitaries were accustomed to take their one daily meal at night, and when they saw smoke issuing from his cell in the morning they accused him to the Metropolitan of gluttony. On his way to answer the charge he met a herd of wild goats. 'O dwellers in the

wilderness,' he exclaimed, ' children and companions of my habitation. When we were in peace you did not deny my fellowship with you—come and let us go to the judgment chamber, and when the judge seeth we are many he may spare us because of our number.'[1] Whereupon his accusers ' saw the animals, which came running towards him, lifting up their feet and wagging their tails on all sides like dogs when they see their masters afar off, surround that holy man,' so they let him go and entreated his pardon.

Of the Egyptian monasteries, four were still in existence in 1883,[2] thus keeping up the tradition of fifteen centuries.

Monasticism in the West

Monasticism in the West was a later development. When Athanasius came to Rome in 339, bringing with him a Nitrian monk named Ammonius, a monk was something of a novelty. When Jerome's disciples took vows of chastity they did not at first retire into convents, and, when they did (386), found a retreat, like their master, in Palestine. St. Martin is said to have founded in 361 the first monastery in Gaul. Cassian (*c.* 410) founded two at Marseilles, one for men and one for women, and about the same time Honoratus founded the famous abbey of Lerins on an island (St. Honorat) off Cannes, which was to become a nursery of saints, scholars, and bishops.

The inspiration of these monks and their ideals were drawn from the East, though some modifications in Egyptian austerity were found necessary. In the dialogues of Sulpicius a Gaul is made to assert that the same standard of fasting could not be looked for in Gaul as was found in the East. ' For the love of eating is gluttony with the Greeks, whereas among the Gauls it is due to their nature.'

An interesting commentary on this reflexion on the capacity of the Gauls for fasting is to be found in the letter of a French Jesuit (*c.* 1720). After noting the strictness of the Greeks in fasting, their abstinence from butter, eggs, and milk on fasting days, and that sick people prefer rather to die than break their fast, he adds : ' I confess, my reverend father, that this severity, possibly overdone, possibly misplaced, gives me often afflicting reflexions on the audacious liberty with which one insults these holy laws to-day in France.'[3]

[1] *The Book of Governors.* Trans. E. Wallis Budge.
[2] *The Ancient Coptic Church of Egypt.* A. J. Butler.
[3] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses.*

Nevertheless Eastern monastic ideals at first prevailed. Cassian, who spent many years among the Egyptian monks, wrote books glorifying the deeds and words of Egyptian solitaries for the edification of his monks. St. Benedict himself, the reformer of Western monasticism, began his monastic life by living as a solitary and practising extreme asceticism, plainly following the recognised course.

III

THREE EASTERN BISHOPS

St. John Chrysostom (347–407)

Ordained deacon in 381 and priest in 386 at Antioch, he speedily won a great reputation as a preacher, and attracted such crowds that the pickpockets found a golden opportunity, and he had to warn his hearers to leave their purses at home. His eloquence gained him the name of Chrysostom (Golden Mouth). In 397 he became Bishop of Constantinople, and his troubles began. His preaching was as popular as it had been at Antioch, but he roused the hostility of the court, the clergy, and the rich laity by his austerity and denunciations. In particular, he angered the Empress Eudoxia, whom he compared in one sermon to Jezebel and in another to Herodias. Theophilus of Alexandria was his enemy and condemned him at a synod called the Synod of the Oak, held near Constantinople. His enemies succeeded in procuring a sentence of banishment in 403. He was recalled, as the execution of the sentence threatened to provoke a popular rising, but, continuing his freedom of speech, was banished the next year, and soon died of the brutal treatment he received. The most voluminous writer among the Fathers, a man of extraordinary piety and holiness of life, he had an unsurpassed hold over the masses, but was helpless before the hostility of the court. A comparison between his career and that of St. Ambrose illustrates the respective positions of the chief bishops in East and West.

Synesius (370–413)

Synesius is worthy of mention because he is so entirely unlike our idea of a fifth-century bishop. He might be described as a side-light on Church history. He was a native of Cyrenaica, and

claimed to be descended from the Greeks, who had invaded that part of Africa some thousand years before. After studying at Alexandria under Hypatia, the pagan philosopher, for whom he ever afterwards retained the warmest admiration, he settled down to live the life of a country gentleman on his estates, engaged in farming, writing, studying, and hunting. 'I do not know,' he wrote, 'why Homer has not described hunting as a glory to man and as ennobling those that pursue it. He has so eulogised the *forum*, that makes us poor men shameless and utterly vile, a place in which there is no health, but only railing and skill in contriving evil.' The first book he wrote was *On Hunting*. Ostriches were his favourite quarry. He also wrote hymns, studied astrology, and invented a hydroscope.

His religious belief is an enigma. He was certainly a Platonist; how far a Christian Platonist must be a matter of conjecture. When a bishop, he excused his ignorance by saying that he had been 'brought up outside the pale of the Church and had received an alien training.' He held modernist views on the Resurrection, and wrote: 'This Resurrection, which is an object of common belief, is nothing for me but a sacred and mysterious allegory, and I am far from sharing the views of the vulgar crowd thereon.' But then, we do not know the views of the vulgar crowd, nor if Synesius afterwards modified his own. The following passage in a letter he wrote when a bishop has an orthodox sound. 'Man is an animal to be prized; to be prized indeed, since for his sake Christ was stretched upon the Cross.'

When his country was invaded by marauders from the interior, it fell to him to organise its defence. He armed farmers, peasants, and his own slaves, and invented a catapult, 'that we may hurl long-distance missiles from the turrets, stones of really substantial weight.'

Besides marauders from outside, the unfortunate Cyrenaicans were oppressed by an extortionate and tyrannical governor. So, when the metropolitan see of Ptolemais, the capital of Cyrenaica, fell vacant, they demanded with one consent that Synesius should fill it. The bishops of the province agreed, as did Theodore of Alexandria, but Synesius himself hesitated for a long time. He hated routine and business and giving up his leisure; he feared he would have to see his beloved hounds deprived of their hunting. He felt unfit for the post. 'Prostrate upon my knees, I prayed for death rather than the priesthood.'

One sacrifice he would not make. He stipulated that he should keep his wife. 'God himself,' he wrote, 'the law of the land, and

the blessed hand of Theophilus himself have given me a wife. I, therefore, proclaim to all and call them to witness once and for all, that I will not be separated from her, nor shall I associate with her surreptitiously like an adulterer; for, of these two acts, the one is impious, and the other is unlawful. I shall desire and pray to have many virtuous children. This is what I must inform the man upon whom depends my consecration.'

Synesius was as yet unbaptised, but it did not occur to him, any more than it did to Ambrose, to urge this as an excuse. Nor did he plead his unorthodoxy.

He became Bishop of Ptolemais, his native place, in 410, and his worst anticipations were realised. Henceforward, he had no more peaceful or leisured days. He found himself plunged into secular strife, as he was called upon to champion his flock against a tyrannical governor. He held that such business was outside his province and at first would not interfere. 'The past ages,' he wrote, 'made the same men priests and judges. The Egyptians and the Hebrew nation were for long ruled over by their priests. Then, later, it seems to me, when the Divine work was executed in a humane spirit, God separated the two ways of life. One of these was appointed to the priestly, and the other to the governing order. . . . Why, then, do you move backwards, why do you seek to fit together those things which have been separated by God? . . . Nothing could be more unfortunate than this. Do you need a protector? Walk to the administrator of the laws of the State. Do you want anything of God? Go to the priest of the city.'

His plan of making an entire separation between things secular and sacred has not been found practicable. On the other hand the mediaeval tendency to confuse the two was attended with disastrous results. To Synesius belongs the credit of being the first writer to raise the question and offer a solution.

Other secular business devolved on him, which seems to have been less uncongenial, if even less episcopal. Marauding raids continued and on him the main burden of defence depended, as before his consecration. He is the first fighting bishop on record, but unlike the fighting bishop of the Middle Ages, took up arms solely to defend his flock from pillage, outrage, and death. 'Unhappy Ptolemais,' he exclaims, 'of which I shall have been the last priest! I long to give to my eyes sleep uninterrupted by the sound of the trumpet. How much longer shall I mount guard upon the ramparts, how much longer shall I patrol the intervals between the

turrets ? I am weary of posting the night patrols ; guarding others and guarding myself in turn.'[1]

Nevertheless, he discharged his episcopal duties with diligence and success during his short reign.

Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria (412–444)

It is difficult for the modern historian to be fair to Cyril. He was a kind of *Quicunque vult* in action, and the spirit of the *Quicunque vult* does not appeal to the modern mind. Brought up by monks in the Nitrian desert, he succeeded his uncle Theophilus as Patriarch of Alexandria in 412, after an election contested with some bitterness. Socrates, the historian, says that from Cyril's time 'the Bishops of Alexandria going beyond the limits of their sacerdotal functions assumed the administration of secular matters,' a tendency against which Synesius had protested strongly. He closed the Novatianist churches in Alexandria, taking possession of their vessels and ornaments, and confiscating the property of their bishop. This bad example was imitated by Cœlestine of Rome.

After an anti-Christian outbreak by the Jews, Cyril, 'going to their synagogues attended by an immense body of people, took them away and driving the Jews out of the city permitted the multitude to plunder their goods,' a high-handed proceeding which led to difficulties with the governor and another riot, which culminated in the murder of Hypatia, the philosopher. Cyril may be acquitted of complicity but not of responsibility. As Socrates says, 'an act so inhuman could not fail to bring the greatest opprobrium not only upon Cyril but also upon the whole Alexandrian Church. Surely nothing can be further from the spirit of Christianity than the allowance of massacres, fights, and transactions of that sort.'

He had been present at the Synod of the Oak when his uncle Theophilus procured the condemnation of John Chrysostom, and did not let the feud die with the saint. When asked to allow his name to be placed on the diptyches of the Alexandrian Church he replied, 'I would as soon be induced to place the name of Judas on the list of the Apostolic Colleges as that of John on the diptyches.'[2]

His controversial methods were violent and unscrupulous. He insisted on holding the Council of Ephesus (431) without waiting for the eastern bishops, and bribed freely to win over the Byzantine Court, sending among other gifts six ostriches to the Grand Chamber-

[1] Crawford, *Synesius the Hellene.*

[2] Kidd, *op. cit.*

lain.[1] He is said to have spent £60,000 on bribes. He was also accused of having used his position to amass large sums of money which he lavished on his nephews. At the same time with all his faults he saw the importance of the question at issue, and it was due to him that the decision was reached. The great doctrine for which Cyril contended, as he wrote to Nestorius, was the unity of the Person of Christ. 'We must not therefore sever into two Sons the One Lord Jesus Christ.' 'His title to our veneration is that the contest has been decided, long since, in Cyril's way; and Cyril's judgment has been ratified by all subsequent Christendom.'[2]

IV

THE COUNCILS

The pressure of controversy on points of faith made Councils necessary. The conversion of the Emperor from a persecutor to a patron of Christianity made it possible to hold them.

The Council of Nicea

Against the Gnostics, who believed in a multitude of divine or semi-divine emanations from the godhead, Christians had been at pains to emphasise the Unity of God. Irenæus, for example, wrote a tract to confute gnostic views, entitled *On the Monarchy (sole rule) of God*. Later on, the belief in the divinity of Christ, accepted without question by the earliest generations of Christians, was seen to be in apparent contradiction to this belief in the unity of God. Tertullian, writing forty years after Irenæus, alludes to those who were puzzled by the difficulty. 'The simple,' he wrote, '(I will not call them unwise and unlearned), who always constitute the majority of believers, are startled at the economy, on the ground that their very rule of faith withdraws them from the world's plurality of gods to the one only true God. . . . They are constantly throwing out against us that we are preachers of two gods and three gods, while they take to themselves the credit of being pre-eminently the worshippers of the One God. "We," they say, "maintain the Monarchy."' Origen wrote of men who were anxious to guard against the confession of two gods. Paul of Samosata was a

[1] Kidd, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

Monarchian, holding that Jesus was entirely human, though filled with the wisdom of God, and therefore non-existent before the Nativity. Sabellius was an exponent of another form of Monarchianism, teaching that Father, Son, and Spirit were merely three aspects of the One God. He used the Greek word *Prosopon* (person) in its literal meaning of an actor's mask. God would thus manifest Himself as Christ or the Holy Ghost, but, when the part was played, the character would disappear. The theory implied the suffering of God. Hence its advocates in the West were sometimes called Patripassians, people who believed that the Father suffered.

Arius.—The controversy was brought to a climax by Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, and a spiritual descendant of Paul of Samosata. At least, he was a pupil of Lucian of Antioch, a native of Samosata, who was head of the catechetical school at Antioch, while Paul was bishop. He is described as 'an expert logician, conspicuous by his sleeveless tunic, and scanty half-cloak, by his tall person, his melancholy thoughtful face, his sweet impressive voice, his social attractiveness and powers of conversation.' He wished to account for the Son in such a way as not to endanger the Singleness or Unity of God. This he did by making God absolutely One and inaccessible, who created the Logos or Son to be His intermediary in the work of Creation. Christ, though the eldest and highest of creatures, was still a creature and not in his essence God. 'If the Son is a true Son, then the Father must have existed before the Son. Therefore there was a time when the Son did not exist. Therefore He is created or made.' A fierce controversy raged, which involved the bishops of Africa and Asia. Constantine, looking to the Church to preserve the unity of the State, addressed a letter 'to Alexander and Arius,' in which he wrote, 'Having made a careful inquiry into the origin and foundation of these differences, I find the cause to be of a truly insignificant character.' Many people to-day agree with Constantine, but the question in debate was whether Christ was really and truly God or not. This is not to argue about trifles. The very foundation of Christianity, the belief that Jesus is really and truly God, was in question. To quote Carlyle: 'If the Arians had won, it (Christianity) would have dwindled away to a legend.'

Finding that his letter failed to restore peace, Constantine summoned all the bishops of the Church to meet in a council. Accordingly nearly 300 met at Nicea in 325. The East was well represented. Not many came from the West. Silvester of Rome was too old and was represented by two legates. Hosius of Cordova,

in Spain, an aged confessor, was there, and a few others from Hungary, Gaul and Italy. Many were confessors, and their sightless eyes and paralysed limbs testified to their constancy. After a protracted discussion, the bishops agreed upon this Creed :

> ' We believe in one God, the Father Almighty,
> Maker of all things both visible and invisible ;
> And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God,
> Begotten of the Father, Only-begotten,
> That is, of one substance with the Father ;
> By whom all things both in heaven and earth were made ;
> Who for us men and for our salvation
> Came down and was incarnate, became man,
> Suffered and rose again the third day ;
> Ascended into the heavens ;
> Cometh to judge the quick and the dead ;
> And in the Holy Spirit.'

All the bishops except two signed it, and these two with Arius were formally anathematised by the Council.

The end of the Council happened to coincide with the completion of the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine, and the Emperor celebrated the occasion by inviting the bishops to a banquet. ' Not one of the Bishops,' wrote Eusebius, ' was wanting at the imperial banquet, the circumstances of which were splendid beyond description. Detachments of the bodyguard and the troops surrounded the entrance to the palace with drawn swords, and through the midst of them the men of God proceeded without fear into the innermost of the imperial apartments, in which some of the Emperor's own companions reclined on couches arranged on either side. One might have thought that a picture of Christ's kingdom was thus shadowed forth, and that the scene was less like a reality than a dream.'

The recalcitrant bishops with Arius were banished by Constantine, the first occasion on which ecclesiastical censures were followed by civil penalties, an example which was to be the fruitful mother of so many evils. However, the definitions of the Council failed to bring peace or win general acceptance. The battle raged around the word *homoousion* (being of one essence, *consubstantialis*), which was used as the best available word to express the real and essential divinity of the Son, while conservative churchmen objected to the term as novel and non-scriptural. The semi-Arians were willing to substitute *homoiousion* (of like essence), but the orthodox,

believing them to be insincere, refused the compromise. The struggle lasted for fifty years, and was distinguished by the personality of Athanasius, the protagonist of the Orthodox party, and the frequent interference of the secular power, generally on the side of Arianism.

Athanasius (299–373).—A native of Alexandria he had already attained some local celebrity on account of the strictness of his life, when he was called to take part in the Council of Nicea, as a theological expert, in attendance on his bishop. We are told that he 'did his utmost to stay the plague.' His bishop died the year following the Council, and he was chosen to succeed him. The rest of his life was spent in unceasing conflict with the Arians, of whom Hooker says that they 'never suffered Athanasius till the last hour of his life to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day.' He was five times exiled. He had arrayed against him worldly and heretical and even pagan emperors, as well as Arian bishops. Every kind of charge was brought against him, including immorality and murder. His life was constantly in danger. For six years he lived in the desert with Egyptian hermits.

Twice intruders were thrust into his see: first, Gregory, who arrived escorted by imperial soldiers, and instituted a persecution. Bishops, clergy, and consecrated virgins were scourged and imprisoned. 'He boasted,' wrote Athanasius, 'rather to be the friend of governors than of bishops and monks. Whenever Father Anthony (the celebrated anchorite) wrote to him from the mountains, he abhorred the letters of the saint. But, whenever an emperor or a general or other magistrate sent him a letter, he was overjoyed, and honoured with presents the bearers of those letters. Once when Anthony wrote to him he caused Balacius to spit upon the letter.'

Later on, George of Cappadocia was imposed by the State on Alexandria as its bishop, and he too made his entry with an armed escort. This George had made a fortune—dishonestly, his enemies said—by supplying the army with pork. According to Gibbon, 'each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice.' The persecution was renewed, and Athanasius compelled to flee. George, who seems to have had no friends, was afterwards lynched by the pagan mob. Gibbon is, however, in error in identifying him with St. George of England, as a church was dedicated to St. George the Martyr in Constantinople thirty years before the death of George the Cappadocian in 361.[1]

[1] Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*.

At one time the Arians, supported by the Emperor Constantius, appeared to have things all their own way. They even forced the Council of Ariminum to accept an Arian creed in 359. In the words of Jerome, 'The world awoke and groaned to find itself Arian.' Athanasius was banished for the fourth time by Julian, sometimes called *The Apostate*, who was a zealous pagan and tried to revive the worship of the heathen gods, and to depress the Church by all measures short of active persecution. His reign was brief (361–363), and his attempts at pagan revival a failure.

After one more exile, Athanasius was allowed to return, and died in peace at Alexandria in 373. For him Jesus was before all the Redeemer. 'The Son of God became the Son of Man that the sons of men might become the sons of God.' But this could only be if Jesus were God. Therefore the truth that he laboured before all to bring out was that Jesus was really and truly God, of one *ousia* or substance with the Father. To him, under God, the Church owes it that the Catholic faith in our Lord, as true God, remained enshrined in its creed. It was well said of him that 'he spent his life in planting trees under which men of a later age might sit.'

The Cappadocians.—The controversy was brought to an end by the labours of the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil (329–379) Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory of Nyssa (335–395) his brother, and Gregory Nazianzen (329–391). Basil had a distinguished career at the University of Athens, but renounced a lucrative post as a teacher of rhetoric to become a monk. Before carrying out his intention he visited the monks of Egypt, became a convert to the Pachomian or Cœnobitic rule, and was the pioneer of Cœnobitic institutions in Asia Minor; his sister Macrina, the master spirit of the family, was a pioneer of monasticism for women. He persuaded his friend Gregory Nazianzen to join him in his retreat, whence they emerged to take a leading part in the Arian controversy. They were Origenists, which gave them an advantage, as the semi-Arians professed to be followers of Origen. Sozomen wrote: 'They rendered great assistance to those, who like themselves maintained the Nicean doctrine, for they manfully opposed the dogmas of the Arians, proving that these heretics did not rightly understand either the *data* upon which they proceeded nor the opinions of Origen on which they mainly depended.' They conducted a campaign in Pontus and Cappadocia, and Basil founded monasteries for the work of propaganda. 'These two holy men divided the perils of their undertaking. . . . The cities of Pontus fell to Basil, and here he

founded numerous monasteries, and by teaching the people he persuaded them to hold like views with himself.' [1]

Basil was a man of initiative. Besides introducing a new kind of monasticism and new methods of propaganda, he struck out a new line as an administrator. When he became Bishop of Cæsarea (370), if not before, he founded a vast institution near the town, which was to serve as a monastery, a hospital, an elementary school, and a common lodging-house. It was so vast that it was called the New Cæsarea, and later the Basileum. He aimed at establishing similar institutions at strategic centres in the diocese. This close connexion of monasticism with active philanthropy was new, though what is now called welfare work was always considered to be the bishop's special concern.

Basil died in 379, handing on the torch to the two Gregories. Nazianzen came to Constantinople (379) when all the churches were in Arian hands, and made a revolution by his preaching. He was chosen Bishop of Constantinople and for a short time presided over the great Council (380), but resigned while it was in session. Gregory of Nyssa was one of the 150 bishops summoned to the Council, and delivered the inaugural address.

The times were ripe for a mediating influence. In Origen they had a bond with the semi-Arians, who were numerous in Cappadocia. For whereas the Niceans started with the *one substance*, the Cappadocians following Origen started with the distinctions in the Godhead, seeking to prove that the distinctions or hypostases in the Godhead, which Neoplatonism had made familiar, were reasonable and Christian.[2] Harnack[3] says that their triumph was the victory of 'orthodoxy in alliance with science': Dr. Srawley that 'The attempt to establish the doctrines of orthodoxy by rational thought was both opportune and necessary.' [4]

The Council of Constantinople

The end of the conflict was precipitated by the arms of the Goths, who overthrew the Arian Emperor Valens in the battle of Hadrianople (378). Theodosius, who succeeded, summoned a Council. Its exact proceedings are unknown, but from it is said to have emerged our present Eucharistic creed without the words '*and the Son*' in the sentence '*proceeding from the Father and the Son.*' The added

[1] Sozomen, vi. 16.
[2] Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*.
[3] *History of Dogma*.
[4] *Gregory of Nyssa*.

clauses concerning the Holy Spirit were a reply to Macedonianism, a heresy which sought to deny the essential godhead of the Spirit. For Arianism was bound to deny the divinity of the Spirit as well as of the Son, and Macedonius had asserted that the Spirit was 'a minister and a servant' and on a level with the angels. Henceforward this creed was established as the legal creed of the empire. Arianism was proscribed and civil penalties for heresy were introduced by Theodosius.

Christological Controversies

The remaining controversies during this period were concerned with the difficult questions that rose out of the dual nature of Christ, and they were the outcome of the opposite tendencies of the Alexandrian and Antiochene schools of theology. The Alexandrians, following Origen, were bold speculators, who gave their imagination free play, were allegorists in their interpretation of scripture, tended to minimise the importance of sin, and explained the Incarnation by their idea of what was required as befitting God. The Alexandrian gnostic Valentinus, in creating out of his imagination his hierarchy of æons, was only carrying the Alexandrian tradition to absurd lengths.

The Antiochenes preferred facts to fancies. They were literalist, almost 'modernist,' in their interpretation of scripture. Theodore of Mopsuestia, for instance, regarded the Song of Songs as a nuptial song, and attributed a secondary degree of inspiration to Ecclesiastes and Esther. He laid stress on the humanity of our Lord's human nature, whereas the Alexandrians tended rather to slur it over. Clement, for instance, represented our Lord's eating and drinking as a concession 'only to forestall Docetism.' The Antiochenes started with the seen and recorded Life of Jesus. Like their own Ignatius they were before all else anti-Docetic. In a word the Antiochenes, beginning with man, worked up to God. The Alexandrians, beginning with God, worked down to man. These opposing tendencies produced the great Christological controversies of the fifth century.

Apollinarianism.—The first Christological heresy was Apollinarianism. Some Arians had maintained that as Christ was the Word of God dwelling in human flesh, He must have shared the weakness of the flesh and been capable of sin. Therefore He could not be God. Apollinaris, in agreement about the essential weakness of human nature,

got out of the difficulty by denying that the Word of God assumed man's reasoning mind and will. 'He said that the Word, who is God, did not at His Incarnation assume this part of our nature,' meaning by this part of our nature 'the reasoning soul whose office it is to guide the body.' He denied in fact that Christ had a human soul. This was, his opponents urged, to deny the essential humanity of Christ.

The difficulty was in part one of terminology. Apollinaris seems to have identified *person* and *nature*. To him it seemed that if Christ had a complete human nature, then He would have been two Persons. To get out of the difficulty he imagined Christ as God clothed in flesh and with many of the attributes of man, but the directive principle, the *ego* so to speak, remaining wholly divine. Dr. Kidd points out that there was an element of permanent value in his teaching, namely that in rejecting, not the humanity, but the sinful humanity of Christ, he implied that sinfulness was no true part of human nature, and that the nearer man approached to sinlessness, the nearer he attained his true nature. Man being made in the image and likeness of God, the nearer he is to the perfect example, the nearer he is to the truth of his own nature. The more like a man is to Christ, the more of a man he will be.

Apollinarianism was controverted by Gregory of Nazianzen in two letters written after he had resigned the see of Constantinople, and was condemned in a synod held at Constantinople in 382.

Nestorianism.—Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (392–428), was a Nestorian before Nestorius. He was a native of Antioch and shared the idiosyncrasies of its school. Theodore said that God dwells in Christ as in a Son, but in a unique manner, and compared the union of the Godhead and manhood in Christ to the union of man and wife, and though he asserted that there was only one Person his language seemed to imply two.

Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople (428–431), who gave his name to Nestorianism, was also a native of Antioch. He seems like his enemy Cyril to have been a persecutor. In his first sermon as Archbishop he exclaimed to the emperor, 'Give me, O prince, the earth purged of heretics and I will give you heaven as a recompense. Assist me in destroying heretics and I will assist you in vanquishing the Persians.'[1] He began his reign in this spirit and persecuted Arians, Novatianists, Quartodecimans and Macedonians. He soon created a stir by criticising the term *Theotokos*, as applied to the Mother

[1] Socrates, vii. 29.

of Christ. *Theotokos* means 'She who bore God,' and Nestorius explained that God could not be born of a woman. 'Let no one style Mary the Mother of God; for Mary was human and it is impossible for God to be born of a human being.' The right phrase, he said, was 'she who received God,' or 'she who bore Christ.'[1]

Nestorius wished above all to safeguard the true human nature of Christ in contradistinction to Apollinaris, and he feared that the term *Theotokos* might lead people to suppose that the humanity was absorbed in the divinity. He was accused, probably unjustly, of asserting not only two natures, but two persons, the divine and the human. He wrote his own defence in the *Book of Heracleides*, in which he accused Cyril of making our Lord *without nature*, that is, not completely human. He did not repudiate the *Theotokos*. 'I have said many a time that if any simple soul among you or anyone else finds pleasure in the term I have no objection to it. Only do not let him make the Virgin a goddess'[2]; that is, by making her the mother or source of God. He could not say 'God was three or four months old,' though he could say 'A child three or four months old was God.'

Dr. Kidd, however, thinks that Nestorius failed to establish the unity of Christ, and that 'according to Nestorius, for all his efforts to escape the conclusion, there were in Christ two beings and not one Divine Person. He may have been a deeply wronged man and his accusers unjust, but Nestorianism represented a dangerous tendency. If allowed to develop on Nestorian lines, the doctrine of Christ might have been watered down into the belief that Christ was a mere man inspired to a superlative degree by the indwelling of the divine Logos.' He was summoned to the Council of Ephesus (431), the Third General Council, and condemned in the absence of many of his supporters, as many of the eastern bishops were still on their way. Nestorianism, driven out of the empire, spread to Persia, India, Mongolia, and China. William of Rubruck, the Franciscan, who visited the Great Khan in China in the thirteenth century, found Nestorians firmly established. Nestorius himself was expelled from Constantinople, and after much hardship and ill-treatment died in 451.

Eutychianism.—Eutyches was an aged archimandrite or superior of a monastery near Constantinople, who was accused of teaching that there was only one nature in Christ. He answered, 'I confess that before the union (of the Godhead and manhood) He was of

[1] Kidd, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

two natures, but after the union I confess only one nature.' He was condemned and deposed, but his godson, a eunuch holding an important position at court, persuaded the emperor to summon a General Council to re-hear his case. This was the famous Latrocinium or Robber Council, which met at Ephesus in 449. It was a packed Council and in addition was over-awed by imperial troops. Recourse was had to violence and intimidation. Flavian, the Bishop of Constantinople, died of his wounds. Eutyches was exonerated and his accuser condemned. 'Anathema to him who teaches two natures!' was the cry of the Egyptian bishops.

Soon there was a reaction. Pope Leo I, who had already written a letter or Tome to Flavian affirming the two natures, was indefatigable. Pulcheria, who had just ascended the imperial throne, was orthodox, and summoned a new Council to meet at Chalcedon (451). This Council condemned Eutyches and accepted the Tome, or Dissertation, of Leo, which insisted on the recognition of the two natures in Christ, the divine and human. The definition of Chalcedon declared that the two natures were united in Christ, 'without change, without confusion, without separation, without distinction.'

Chalcedon was the Fourth General or Œcumenical Council.

V

THE PAPACY

Several causes contributed to the growth of the power of the Papacy during this age. Silvester (314–336), Pope during the greater part of the reign of Constantine, was believed for centuries to have baptised that emperor and to have received from him the sovereignty over Rome and the cities and towns of Italy, and an acknowledgment of papal authority over all the churches of the world. Constantine was, in fact, baptised by the Arian Eusebius after Silvester's death, and the story of the donations has long been known to be a forgery. Nevertheless, Constantine may be regarded as one of the principal augmentors of papal power, because, by building Constantinople and making that city the seat of government, he left the Bishop of Rome as the first personage in what was still the greatest city of the world, untrammelled by the presence of a powerful secular potentate. Even when the empire was again divided and there was

once more a Western emperor, he preferred Ravenna to Rome as a place of residence.

Further, the Pope's position at Rome was of special importance during the times of the barbarian invasions, when he was left to be the spokesman and champion of the Church and of civilisation.

Again in the great controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, the Pope was generally on the side ultimately endorsed by the mature judgment of the Church. When Athanasius was driven from Alexandria by Constantius in 339, he was warmly welcomed by Julius I (337–352) and remained in Rome for three years. The Church of Rome remained steadfast to him, one Pope, Liberius, enduring two years' exile and hardship, before he succumbed and signed an heretical creed under pressure.[1] At the Council of Ariminum (359), which under strong imperial pressure accepted an Arian creed, the Pope was not represented. In the Pelagian controversy the Papacy was less fortunate. Pope Zosimus in 417 wrote to the African Church, declaring that Pelagius and Cœlestius had never been separated from Catholic truth, a position from which he was compelled to retreat in the following year.

The Council of Sardica (343) conferred on bishops condemned by a provincial synod a limited right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome. It must be noted (1) that the right is conferred, not recognised as already existing, and (2) that the appeal is limited. The Pope may order a fresh trial, and, if he orders one, may name the bishops from the neighbourhood who are to hear the re-trial, and associate his legates with them. He is not authorised to summon the disputants to Rome, or try the case there in person or by his own deputies. The measure was adopted by Catholic bishops in self-defence. Over-awed by an Arian emperor, provincial synods were liable to depose orthodox bishops, who were given by this Council a right of appeal. However, the Church of Africa does not seem to have recognised even this limited right of appeal. St. Augustine in his treatise on the unity of the Church, which he wrote in controversy with the Donatists, appeals to the judgment of the Church and not to the see of Rome.

When Apiarius, an African priest, was condemned by his bishop, he appealed to the Pope, who demanded that he should be reinstated. But a Council met at Carthage and peremptorily forbade such appeals on pain of excommunication (418).[2] Nevertheless the first half of the fifth century witnessed a considerable advance in the power and

[1] See Kidd, *op. cit.*

[2] Hefele, *History of the Church Councils.*

pretensions of Rome. 'Upon the mind of Innocent I' (402–417), wrote Milman, 'seems first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy.' He intervened actively in the dispute between Chrysostom and Theophilus, but referred its settlement not to himself but to a General Council.

The letter of Zosimus on Pelagianism (417) is the earliest instance of a document emanating from Rome being proposed as a standard of orthodoxy.[1] Cœlestine assumed the right to depose Nestorius, and through his legates at Ephesus (431) claimed to be the *successor et locum tenens* of St. Peter and to exercise his power.[2]

Leo the Great

The Pontificate of Leo the Great (440–461) marked a distinct advance. The western empire was in a state of disintegration. The eastern Church was distracted with heresies and schism. 'On the throne alone of Rome of all the greater sees did religion maintain its majesty, its sanctity and its piety.' Church and State alike needed a man who could speak with authority and assurance and who could command respect and reverence for his moral qualities. He was a Roman by birth. 'All that survived of Rome, of her unbounded ambition, her inflexible perseverance, her dignity in defeat, her haughtiness of language, her belief in her own eternity, and in her indefeasible title to universal dominion, her respect for traditionary and written law, and of unchangeable custom might seem concentred in him alone.'[3] When the Huns under Attila (451) threatened Rome, Leo 'consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock,' and clothed in his pontifical robes formed one of the embassy which went to meet the invader and implore him to spare the city. The mission was successful and the Pope's reputation was correspondingly increased. When in 455 Genseric and the Vandals, after conquering Africa, appeared before the city, Leo at the head of a procession of clergy again met the enemy, but this time without success. Just as the State had once found order and unity by making all power centre in the Roman Emperor, it was Leo's idea to give order and unity to the Church by making all power centre in the Roman Bishop. More than any of his predecessors, he based papal power on the promise to Peter and the theory that all Peter's powers

[1] Cooper-Marsdin, *History of the Islands of Lerins.*

[2] Labbé, *Concilia*, iii. 625.

[3] Milman, *History of Latin Christianity.*

descended to the Pope. Peter is the Rock. Peter alone has to 'strengthen his brethren.' Peter is the channel through which graces reached the other Apostles. Whoever secedes from Peter's rock has no part in the divine mystery. Bishops who come to Rome find Peter in Peter's see. Peter has not abandoned the helm of the Church.

He claimed authority to regulate discipline and depose bishops, and asserted their right of final appeal to the Pope. He established Papal Vicars in Illyria with authority superior to that of Metropolitans. In Gaul, he received an appeal from a bishop who had been deposed by the saintly Hilarius, and complained that Hilarius with novel arrogance did not submit himself to the blessed Peter. In Africa he restored a bishop deposed by the local church and assumed complete authority over its administration. He instructed the Spanish bishops on how to deal with the Priscillianists, and reprimanded the Sicilians for alienating Church property. He claimed that the Eastern Church belonged to his *universalis curà* and demanded that the election of bishops should be notified to him. One of the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451) had been to depose Dioscorus of Alexandria. Leo in announcing this to the bishops of Gaul describes himself as the head of the universal Church, who has condemned Dioscorus by his vicars with the consent of the synod.

This Council had very greatly increased the prestige of Leo and the see of Rome by accepting the Tome or treatise of Leo, as a sufficient explanation of the points in dispute in the Eutychian controversy. In one respect, however, it was something of a set-back. It enacted, in spite of protests by the Papal legates, that the Bishop of New Rome had equal primacy (*ta isa presbeia*) with the Bishop of Old Rome, and possessed the same privileges. This enactment was vehemently repudiated by Leo on the ground that it was passed after the synod proper had broken up. It has never been accepted by the Roman Church.

As a means of increasing the power and influence of the Bishop of Rome nothing contributed more than the civil power, which was in the reign of Leo definitely placed in its support. In 445, the Emperor Valentinian III decreed that it should not be lawful for the bishops of Gaul or any other province to do anything contrary to ancient custom without the authority of the Pope; 'and whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See has enacted or shall enact shall be the law for all. If any bishop summoned to the judgment seat of the Pope shall neglect to attend, let him be compelled to appear

by the governor of the province.'[1] The effect of this was to create a papal autocracy by force of civil law. Dr. Kidd asserts that 'it is the crowning proof that the Papacy of Rome—as distinguished from the primacy of the Apostolic see in Christendom—is the creation of the state.' The *defensores ecclesiae*, who might be described as ecclesiastical lawyers, had recourse to the secular courts to enforce ecclesiastical decisions. 'To see they were carried out the Pope sent his Defensores into every country in the west.'[2] When Leo died (461) the way was paved for the centralisation of the western Church in the Papacy. But for the fate of the western empire this would have been achieved centuries before the Hildebrandine epoch.[3] For this result Leo himself was largely responsible.

VI

THREE GREAT MEN

St. Martin (321–401)

Martin is styled a doctor of the Church, but it does not appear that he was a man of learning or a writer. The title is only one more testimony to his extraordinary influence. Two centuries after his death his shrine was the most venerated in Gaul. In 561 the savage Lothair, fresh from the slaughter of his son, came thither to ask for mercy, and 'with many a groan,' we read, 'prayed the blessed confessor to implore the Lord's mercy on his offences and by his intercession wash away the sins which he had thoughtlessly committed.'

Born about 315, of heathen parents, near the modern Buda-Pesth, he was early attracted to Christianity and wished to be a monk, but his father put him in the army, in which he served for some years, living as a Christian though as yet unbaptised. It was while serving that he had his celebrated vision at Amiens. One bitter day in winter a half-naked beggar asked for alms. Martin had no money but, cutting his cloak in two, gave half to the beggar. That night he saw our Lord in heaven wearing the half he had given to the beggar. 'See,' he heard Him say, 'the cloak which Martin the catechumen has given Me.' The vision decided him to delay

[1] Leo, *P.L.*, 54, 638. [2] Kidd, *op. cit.* [3] *Ibid.*

no longer. He was baptised, and, having conscientious scruples against military service, resolved to leave the army. He became a disciple of Bishop Hilary of Poictiers, and eventually (361) founded the first monastery in Gaul at Ligugé. By monastery must be understood not a large building but a collection of cells or caves on the Egyptian model.

In 371 he was made Bishop of Tours. After he was a bishop, he had so many visitors that he withdrew to a cave in a cliff rising above the Loire, which could only be reached by a steep and narrow path. Eighty disciples followed him and hollowed out caves and holes in the sandstone rock. They dressed in skins, ate only once a day, and lived lives of extreme asceticism. The countrymen in his diocese were mostly pagans, and their conversion was his principal work. Everywhere he pulled down heathen temples and built churches in their stead. He was compassionate and loved mercy. Once Count Avitianus arrived at Tours with a train of captives, whose execution he had ordered. That night Martin came to his house and cried at his door until he had roused its master. He went down to the door and found Martin lying on the threshold with his hands stretched out in supplication. Avitianus raised him and said, 'Do not speak; I know what you have come to ask. Every prisoner shall be spared. I grant their lives and liberty at your unspoken prayer.' At Trèves, in A.D. 384, Priscillian and his companions, who had been condemned for heresy, appeared before the Emperor Maximus; the bishops, who had condemned them, pressed for their execution. Martin protested against their being brought before the secular power at all, and insisted that excommunication was a sufficient punishment. He would not leave Trèves until the Emperor had promised to spare them. When he had gone the other bishops persuaded the Emperor to reverse his decision, and Priscillian and one other were beheaded. This was the first occasion on which blood was shed for heresy.

Martin was filled with wrath: he vowed never to communicate with the bishops who were responsible, and proclaimed their excommunication. Shortly afterwards, he wished to obtain from Maximus the pardon of certain Priscillianists, who were condemned to death. Maximus refused, except on condition that he would communicate with the bishops. After an agony of doubt he consented, on condition that the Emperor would also put an end to the persecution of the remaining followers of Priscillian. He never afterwards felt easy in his mind about this concession, and declared that he felt his

virtue lessened by it. From that day, he avoided all assemblies of bishops for fear of meeting some, who were stained with this crime. He died A.D. 401 at Candes, and was buried at Tours, when two thousand monks followed him to the grave.

His importance depends not on what he did, but on the extraordinary fascination of his character in his own day and long afterwards. He was pre-eminently the saint of the common man, and was for them the ideal of Christian sanctity. He was the most popular saint in pre-Saxon Britain, and Ninian the Apostle of the Picts was his disciple.

St. Jerome (345–420)

St. Jerome is chiefly famous as the author of the translation of the Bible into Latin, known as the Vulgate. Before his time, the Latin versions of the Old Testament in use were translations from the Septuagint or Greek version. Jerome translated the New Testament from the Greek, and also made a translation of the Old Testament from the original, learning Hebrew for the purpose. 'What labours,' he wrote afterwards, 'did I undertake in learning that alphabet and those harsh words! What difficulties I undertook. How often I despaired. How often I gave it up and set to my task once again, let my conscience bear witness. Yet, thanks be to God, now I pluck sweet fruit of that bitter tree.' His translation remained the accepted version throughout the Western Church until the Reformation, and is still the standard version in the Roman Communion. In addition to this great work he translated some of Origen's writings, engaged with gusto and a vitriolic pen in the Pelagian and other controversies of the day, and wrote numerous theological treatises. He was an indefatigable correspondent and has left a large number of letters, which are a storehouse of information on the life of the Church in his day. He was besides one of the most notable exemplars of pre-Benedictine monasticism. He resolved to be a monk, when quite a young man, but did not carry the resolution into effect until after a vision, during a sickness at Antioch, when he thought he was before the judgment seat of God, and heard the query : 'Who art thou ?' To which he replied : 'A Christian,' and received the startling answer : 'Thou liest, thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian.' Soon afterwards, he began life as a hermit in the desert near Antioch, where he remained for five years (374–379). He speaks of 'being parched by the burning

sun,' of having no companions except serpents and scorpions, of being pale and chilled with fasting, and wrote : ' Sackcloth disfigured my unshapely limbs, and my skin from long neglect had become black as an Ethiopian's. Tears and groans were every day my portion ; and if drowsiness chanced to overcome my struggles against it, my bare bones hardly held together and clashed against the ground.' He was unpopular with the other solitaries and complains bitterly that his companions were driven away, and that, his orthodoxy being suspected, he was called upon to make a profession of his faith daily. ' I accept their formulas, but they are still dissatisfied. I sign my name to them, but they still refuse to believe me. One thing only will content them, that I should leave the country.'

Accordingly, he returned to the world, but after spending some years in Rome, during which he commended the monastic life to the society ladies of Rome with vigour and success, he retired to Palestine in 396 and lived there as a monk until his death in 420.

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (374–397)

When the Arian Bishop of Milan died in 374, feeling ran high between Catholics and Arians. Ambrose, the governor of north-west Italy, then a catechumen, had come into the town to keep order, and was present in the church where Christians had assembled to elect a bishop. A child exclaimed : ' Ambrose is bishop ' ; the assembly took up the cry, and both parties united to elect him. He was baptised, and seven days later consecrated bishop. His first care was to devote himself to theological study, and he became one of the foremost teachers of the Church.

He preached every Sunday in the Basilica, and men and women of all sorts crowded to hear him. St. Augustine attributed his conversion to his sermons, and drew this picture of him in his *Confessions* : ' So I came to Milan, where I found the bishop Ambrose, Thy godly servant known throughout the world as one of the best of men. That man of God received me as a father, and welcomed the stranger like a true bishop.' He counted Ambrose as one of the happy ones of this world because he was held in such honour by the great, but he could not ask him what he wished, because of the shoals of people to whose infirmities he ministered. ' In the few minutes he was not thus surrounded he was refreshing his body with needful food or his mind with reading. Often when he

attended (for the door was open to all, and no one was announced) we saw him reading silently, and after sitting for some time without speaking (for who would presume to trouble one so occupied?) we went away again.'

He was compassionate to the poor, and when prisoners taken by the barbarians in Illyria and Thrace were exposed for sale, after exhausting all other resources, he melted down the sacred vessels to obtain money for the relief of the sufferers, and defended his action with warmth when accused of sacrilege : ' The Church has treasures not to hoard but to use for her children. If the Blood of Christ redeemed their souls, should not the vessels which held that Blood be used to redeem their bodies ? '

Ambrose is also famous for maintaining the rights of the Church and the independence of its bishops as against secular authority. The Empress Justina, mother of the Emperor, was an Arian and twice attempted, in 385 and 386, to obtain a church in Milan for Arian worship. In both attempts she was foiled by the courage and resolution of Ambrose. On one occasion he was blockaded in the cathedral, and passed the time by teaching the congregation to sing Psalms antiphonally, thus introducing an eastern practice for the first time into the west. He excommunicated the Emperor Theodosius for having ordered a massacre at Thessalonica in which thousands were slain. It is said that Theodosius attempted to enter the church, but Ambrose met him at the gate and forbade him. . ' How can you presume to bring the precious Blood of the Lord to lips that have shed so much blood ? ' ' David himself sinned,' pleaded the Emperor. ' If you followed David in sin you must also follow him in repentance,' Ambrose replied. Nor was Theodosius restored to communion until he had done public penance, and promised that in future no one should be executed until thirty days after the sentence had been passed.

Though Ambrose did not approve of allowing heretics the free exercise of their religion, he was opposed to bloodshed and, like Martin, refused to communicate with Ithacius and the other bishops who had procured the execution of Priscillian.

When he returned to communion the Emperor remained within the sanctuary after making his offering. Ambrose sent a message bidding him withdraw. ' Priests alone remain within the rails. A purple robe makes emperors, not priests.' Theodosius meekly obeyed, and when he returned to Constantinople refused to follow his former custom in this matter. ' I have learned the difference between an

emperor and a priest. It is not easy to find a man capable of teaching me the truth. Ambrose alone deserves the title of Bishop.' [1]

VII

ST. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO (354–430)

St. Augustine has been perhaps the most potent force in the history of the Western Church since the days of the Apostles. Of enormous influence in his own day he dominated the thought of the Church during the next seven centuries. Though he then suffered an eclipse, it was only for a time. Wicliffe got weapons out of his armoury. Luther owed more to him than to any thinker except St. Paul. The Church of England is largely Augustinian. Pascal and the Jansenists were confessedly his disciples. Bishop Butler borrowed from him for his *Analogy*, and the Tractarian Movement of the nineteenth century was in some sense a cry of 'Back to St. Augustine!'

His Life.—Unlike most great writers, he is as celebrated for his life as his writings. Born at Tagaste in North Africa he showed great promise and was sent to the University of Carthage, where ambition and lust were rivals for the empire over his heart. The first turning-point of his life came with the reading of Cicero's *Hortensius*. From that moment the love of wisdom asserted a competing influence. At the age of nineteen he became a Manichee and remained one for eleven years. Manicheism attracted him because it represented the moral purpose of life as the subjugation of the flesh by the spirit, a struggle in which he was deeply engaged. He gave it up because it failed both his mind and his heart; his mind because the science which was made part of its religion he saw to be demonstrably false; his heart, because when in great trouble on account of the death of a friend, it had no help or comfort to give.

He next became a Neoplatonist and a student of Plotinus, and attained to the Platonic vision. 'With the flash of one hurried glance he attained to the vision of that which is.' He abandoned Neoplatonism because it could not satisfy his need of deliverance from sin. He went to Milan and came under the influence of Ambrose and, at last, conversion came in a flash, when in response

[1] Evagrius, v. 17, 18.

to the voice '*Tolle lege*' (take up and read) he opened the Bible and read the words of St. Paul. 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.' Conviction came. 'As I reached the end of the sentence, the light of peace seemed to be shed upon my heart and every shadow of doubt melted away.'

This was in 386. He was ordained priest in 391 and became Bishop of Hippo in 395. He died in 430, when the Vandals were besieging Hippo.

His Works.—Augustine's teaching was to a great extent called out by the controversies in which he was engaged. It will be convenient therefore to give some account of Pelagianism and Donatism under this head.

Pelagianism

Pelagius was a Briton according to Bede. His chief disciple Cœlestius, a man of 'incredible loquacity,' was probably an Irishman. Pelagius came to Rome not later than 401, and taught there until, on the approach of the Goths, he left accompanied by Cœlestius for Sicily and Africa.

The morals of Pelagius are said to have been unimpeachable. Jerome would certainly have impeached them if they had been otherwise, and Augustine speaks of him as a man of holy life. According to Augustine, his heresy originated as a protest against what came later to be known as Quietism. Pelagius heard quoted with approval by a bishop a passage from the *Confessions*, which ran: 'Lord, Thou hast commanded continence; give what Thou commandest and command what Thou wilt.'[1] It seemed to him an immoral doctrine, as making human effort unnecessary, and he insisted that man 'had to work out his own salvation.' The main point of his teaching was the unconditional freedom of the will. Man was born free and able to resist or yield to sin at pleasure. Man depended on God for his nature with its sin-resisting potentialities, but with this nature he could do right by himself, though he could do it more easily with the help of God. He denied the doctrine of original sin, that is, that man is born with a propensity to sin, and denied that Adam's sin had any other effect than a bad example. He asserted the possibility of living without sin.

[1] *Conf.*, x. 40.

Augustine was the protagonist of the doctrine of grace, and asserted man's incapacity to will or act rightly without God. In this opinion he was supported by the Church at the Council of Orange, and afterwards. He was, however, carried away by the excitement of controversy and his own early training as a professional rhetorician to commit himself to views on predestination, which have not been so endorsed. It is possible that he was not consistent. Archdeacon Cunningham quotes passages[1] to show that he distinguishes between prescience and predestination, between the foreknowledge of God that a sinner will be lost and the predestination to death by God of a sinner. 'The foreknowledge of God does not compel that those things which are in the future should be done.'[2] He asserts in the *City of God* the freedom of the will and man's responsibility for his actions. But elsewhere, he seems to deny the possibility of resisting the grace of God and to attribute the destruction of the lost not to their own wilfulness but to the will of God. He quotes the Psalm, 'Our God is in Heaven above, in Heaven and earth all things whatsoever He would He hath done,' and sees in it evidence that the will of man could not have hindered what God willed.[3] Confronted with the text, 'Who willeth all men to be saved,' he has to evade the plain meaning by saying that it means that men of all classes will be saved. He had also to explain away the text: 'How often would I have gathered together thy sons as a hen her chickens, and thou wouldest not.'[4]

Pelagius was condemned in Africa and the controversy passed to Palestine, where Jerome joined eagerly in the fray, and a synod declared Pelagius worthy of communion.

Two Councils met in Africa (416), condemned Pelagius, and announced their decisions to Pope Innocent I, who confirmed the sentence of excommunication. On Innocent's death, the condemned men appealed to the new Pope, Zosimus, who declared them innocent. He announced his decision to the African bishops, who reaffirmed their condemnation, and asked him to revise his decision. This he eventually did. The imperial power was also enlisted, and eighteen bishops who would not subscribe to the condemnation of Pelagius were deprived of their sees. The General Council of Ephesus which condemned Nestorius also anathematised Pelagius. But it must be noted that what were condemned were the negative

[1] *St. Austin and his Place in the Christian Church.*
[2] *De Lib. Arb.*, III. ii.
[3] *Ibid.*, xcvii. 24.
[4] *Enchiridion ad Laurentium.*

theories of Pelagius, namely his denial of inherited sin and the need of divine grace, not his positive insistence on the need of the active exercise of man's will.

Pelagianism was succeeded by what was known as semi-Pelagianism, of which John Cassian, the founder of two famous monasteries at Marseilles, was the chief exponent. He rejected Pelagianism, that man's nature was uncorrupted and that grace was unnecessary, but affirmed man's free will and power to co-operate with the grace of God. He condemned as impious the opinion that God does not will all men to be saved. This position was largely adopted in southern Gaul, and found strenuous defenders in the famous monastery of Lerins. Cassian was only unorthodox in maintaining that some people could come to God of their own free will without any special gift of grace, without, that is, what is called prevenient grace.

The question was settled, so far as such a question can ever be settled, by Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, at a Council held at Orange (Arausio) in 529. It laid down that man inherits a nature corrupt in body and soul, and that grace is necessary before the soul can turn to God as well as after it has turned. Grace therefore prompts the desire for baptism, and not merely select souls, but all the baptised are capable of salvation. Those who say that any man is predestined to evil by Divine power are anathema. These decisions were accepted at Rome and became the official doctrine of the Church.

In the Middle Ages, Gottschalk revived Augustine's extravagances, and at the Reformation Luther and Calvin out-Heroded Herod. No one to-day would repeat them, but the 'average sensual man' is still inclined to believe that he can live a right life without the help of God and that his inherited instincts, education, sense of honour and good impulses are of themselves adequate for salvation. Against that view, Augustine's protest is as much needed as ever.

Donatism

Augustine was plunged into the Donatist controversy immediately after his ordination at Hippo in 391. The controversy itself is dreary and sordid, but Augustine brought clearly to light the great principle at stake, namely, that the unworthiness of the minister does not hinder the grace of the sacrament, inasmuch as the grace comes from God and not man. It also marked a stage in the development of persecution as an ecclesiastical weapon.

Donatism took its name from Donatus, one of its early leaders. It arose in Africa after the Diocletian persecution, and was at first a protest against consecrations by a bishop who was alleged to have been a *traditor* during the persecution. *Traditores* were bishops or clergy who on demand handed over the books or other possessions of the Church to the persecutors. The Donatists contended for the principle that consecrations or baptisms by unworthy ministers were invalid, and consequently 'unchurched' the majority of African Christians. They had recourse from an early stage to violence. They seized churches by force, and used physical violence to bishops and clergy. A party of them, called Circumcellions, went around the country armed with clubs, which they called *Israels*, and spread terror wherever they went. They mixed up economic and religious grievances. 'They set tenant against landlord, slave against master, debtor against creditor; and nothing delighted them more than to watch a great man on his travels with syces running before his chariot and make master and man change places.' [1]

The thing became a nuisance, government stepped in to repress it, and there were many Donatist martyrs. Donatus died in banishment in 355. But when Julian came to the throne in 361, Donatism revived once more, and when Augustine came to Hippo Donatists outnumbered Catholics in Africa. At a Conference held in Carthage in 411, there were present 279 Donatist and 286 Catholic bishops. In 414, the ninth African Council invoked the help of the Emperor against them. This was the first occasion on which the Church appealed to the State for help. St. Augustine was at first against the use of force,[2] thinking that no one should be 'coerced into the unity of Christ,' but changed his mind. He supplemented force by sermons, letters, and tracts. Repression was more or less successful. Nevertheless, though reduced, they survived in considerable numbers when the Arian Vandals arrived in 430, and were still in existence when the Saracens overwhelmed all three in a common ruin.

We owe to Augustine more than to anyone else the emergence during the controversy of the principle that the validity of the sacraments, being derived from God, does not depend on the character of the dispensing agent. 'Prevail upon yourselves to say what is said of truth and by the Catholic Church, that not only when the Minister of Baptism is evil, but also when he is holy and good, hope is still not to be placed in man, but in Him that justifieth the ungodly.' For Christ baptises not by a visible ministry 'but by a hidden grace,

[1] Kidd, *op. cit.*

[2] *Ep.* 93, P. 2, 33.

by a hidden power in the Holy Spirit.' 'The sacraments are holy, through Him to whom they belong; but when taken worthily they bring reward; when unworthily judgment.' [1]

Manicheism

As Bishop of Hippo, St. Augustine was brought into collision with the Manichees. This brought out clearly his teaching on the nature of sin. The Manichees taught that matter was evil and that sin was a substantial element in the universe. Augustine maintained that matter in itself was good, not evil, but that human beings were liable to change, God alone being good and unchangeable. 'The cause of evil is the falling away from the unchangeable good by a being made good but changeable.' Sin therefore was due to the rebellion of man's will.

Augustine, in dealing with the punishment of sin, first taught that it brings inevitably its own punishment, whether or no it involves external penalties. 'It is the most just punishment of sin, that he who knows what is right and does not do it should lose the knowledge of what is right, and that he who will not do right should lose the power of doing it. For in actual fact ignorance and incapacity are two penalties that befall every soul that sins.'

The 'City of God'

No speculation of Augustine had more effect than his views on the Church set forth in his *City of God*. The capture and sack of Rome in 410 had created consternation throughout the empire. The end of all things seemed to have come. 'The whole world,' wrote Jerome, 'has perished in one city.' It seemed an almost incredible calamity. 'Sobs choke my utterance; the city which had taken the whole world is itself taken.' One of the results was that many of the noblest families in Rome came to Africa as refugees, so that the event was realised with peculiar vividness. It gave occasion to the pagans to attribute the catastrophe to Christianity.

Augustine wrote a counterblast, in which he rebutted these charges, and went on to set forth the true nature of the city of God as contrasted with the cities of the earth, the Church as contrasted with temporal empires. He divides mankind into two classes, those who live by the law of God in contempt of self, whom he calls the

[1] Kidd, *op. cit.*

City of God, and those who live by the law of self in contempt of God, who make up the City of Earth.

On earth between the two cities there is intercourse, and their inhabitants intermingle. 'The citizens of the two cities are mingled together until the end. Both enjoy temporal things, both are afflicted with temporal evils according to the will of God.'[1] One blessing the kingdom of earth could bestow even on the Kingdom of God, that is, the peace of Babylon, peace as distinct from war. Therefore it was right that the Church should pray for those in authority in order that it might live in peace.

The effect was considerable. There is nothing to show that Augustine had worked out a theory of the relations between Church and State. He was on his defence, rebutting the assertion that the old pagan state was superior to the empire which had become Christian. He had no conception of future rivalry between Pope and Emperor. Nevertheless, by emphasising the inferiority of the kingdom of earth, he made it natural for mediaeval popes to hold that the State ought to be in definite subordination to the Church. He also suggested the idea of an invisible Church, which had a great attraction for many of the reformers.

VIII

THE CELTIC CHURCH

Ethnologically Celtic, as applied to the Church in Ireland and west and north Britain, is incorrect, but it is a convenient description of that part of the Church which was separated from the rest of Christendom by the barbarian invasions, and was therefore comparatively unaffected by Roman developments. Some of its peculiarities were probably the result of conservatism. For instance, the half-moon tonsure may be traced to the Church of Gaul and thence to Asia. The Easter cycle was the one used at Rome when Ninian and Patrick preached, before the barbarian barrier was erected. The single immersion at baptism was also a survival. Other special features were due to racial proclivities, which owing to this barrier had been given scope for development.

[1] xviii. 34.

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Peculiarities of the Celtic Church

The unit was the monastery. It was presided over by an abbot, who was elected by the monks, but their choice was usually restricted to founder's kin. The head of the Nestorian Church is chosen in the same way, a nephew succeeding an uncle. In this the monastic body resembled the tribe. It was usual for every community to have its own bishop ; it was much too jealous and independent to depend on another community for its orders. The bishop, like the rest of the community, was under the abbot, occupying much the same position as a suffragan bishop, who is also a member of a cathedral chapter, or a chaplain, who is a bishop, serving under a chaplain-general who is not. Bede remarks on this state of things at Lindisfarne. The bishop was there to ordain, not rule. He was, however, as a matter of courtesy, the usual celebrant at the monastic eucharist. Once a stranger from Munster who was a bishop, but concealed the fact from humility, visited Columba, and was summoned by the saint 'that they may break the Lord's Bread together as two presbyters.' But when Columba miraculously discovered that the stranger was a bishop, he said : 'Christ bless thee, brother ; break this bread alone by the episcopal rite, now we know that thou art a bishop.'

An enormous number of bishops was the result. There were said to have been at one time 345 in Ireland. Professor Bury[1] rejects this as a gross exaggeration, but says that after Patrick 'Bishops multiplied like flies.' St. Bernard, in his *Life of Malachy*, complains that bishops were changed and multiplied without plan or method at the will of the metropolitan, and that each church had its bishop. He also says that the chiefs insisted on having as bishops men of their own family and tribe. Bede's account of Augustine's two conferences with the British bishops is at least consistent with the non-monarchical character of the Celtic episcopate. Of the seven bishops and the 'many most learned men' he says were present, the only one he mentions by name was an abbot, Dinooth of Bangor Iscoed.

Single-handed consecration was usual. This was inevitable. Otherwise, it would have been necessary to call in bishops from another monastery, at a sacrifice of independence. Consecration was rather a rough and ready affair. When Columba wished to be consecrated a bishop, he went to Bishop Etchen. Columba sat

[1] *Life of St. Patrick.*

under a tree on the west side of the church, and asked 'Where was the cleric?' A man replied, 'There he is in the field, where they are ploughing below.' Columba told the bishop why he had come. The bishop replied, 'It shall be done,' and conferred on him the order of a priest, although what Columba wanted was the order of a bishop.[1]

The Celtic bishops and monks were also born wanderers. They took the whole world for their parish and made little of territorial limits. Ninian, not content with all east Scotland, is said to have preached in Ireland. Cedd in England at one time divided his time between the East Saxons and Yorkshire. Overlapping and confusion do not seem to have worried them at all. When, after the Synod of Whitby, the English Church rejected the Celtic usages, Bishop Colman retired to Inish-bofin, an island off the west coast of Ireland, with some monks from Lindisfarne and there built a monastery. Differences, Bede says, soon arose between the English and the Irish monks. 'The Scots in the summer when the harvest was to be brought in, leaving the monastery, wandered about through places with which they were acquainted; but returned again the next winter and would share in what the English monks had provided.'

The monasticism was pre-Benedictine, modelled on Lerins, Tours, and Egypt, and therefore tending to extreme asceticism. Cuthbert, for instance, used to say his night offices in water up to his neck, though he did not impose this practice on his monks. Though the Celtic monks were more ascetic than the Latin, they did not pay that exaggerated respect to virginity which we find among the Latins, as is shown in the veneration paid to saints of the type of Etheldreda. Adamnan relates as an instance of the kindness of his hero and of the efficacy of his prayers, the interference of Columba in order to persuade a woman to live with her husband as his wife. At first she would not listen. 'All things whatsoever thou shalt enjoin to me, though they be ever so severe, I am prepared to fulfil, one thing only excepted. . . . I do not refuse to undertake all the management of the house; or even to cross the seas and remain in some monastery of maidens.' Whereupon Columba said that all three should spend a day in prayer with fasting. Columba also prayed all night, taking no sleep. The result was completely successful. The next day Columba saw the man and woman and said, 'O woman, do you still wish to go to a monastery of virgins?' She said she did not, 'for during last night, how I know not, there

[1] Willis-Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*.

has been a change in me from dislike to love.' Whereupon the saint dismissed them and they lived together as man and wife for many years. No Latin monk could have told this story to glorify his hero.

In Britain South of the Clyde and Forth

It is not known who first preached in Britain, but intercourse was so easy, travelling so common, trade with the Continent so considerable, and military and political relations so close, that the Gospel must have penetrated there during the second century, if not before.

Britain produced a martyr, St. Alban (? 303), though the authenticity of the martyrdom, otherwise well attested, is sometimes denied on the ground that there is no other evidence that the Diocletian persecution reached so far. In the fourth century British bishops were present at Councils at Arles in 314 and Ariminum in 359.

By the fifth century Britain was not only Christian but heretical, having embraced the heresy of Pelagius. The British bishops, feeling unable to cope with the Pelagians, appealed to the Church in Gaul. In consequence a synod met and despatched Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes. Their visit in 429 was successful. After preaching, not only in churches, but in streets and fields, they held a public disputation with the Pelagians, probably at St. Albans. An immense multitude assembled, including women and children. The Pelagians glittering in rich apparel spoke first and, according to Bede, at considerable length. Then the foreign bishops replied with a torrent of eloquence, supported by quotations from the Bible and famous writers. The Pelagians were unable to reply, and confessed their errors. 'The spectators were scarcely able to refrain from violence, and signified their judgment by their acclamations.' Germanus' most striking achievement, however, was won on another field, when under his leadership the Britons won the Alleluia victory. Bede gives the story, which is corroborated by the name of a field near Mold, Maes Garmon (Field of German), and of the next parish, *Llan-armon* (Church of German). There are seven other churches in Wales named after him which prove his presence in Wales, as the Celts did not dedicate their churches to saints, but named them after their founders.

David, the patron saint of Wales, is rather later (*c.* 500–600), but we know little of him except that he was Abbot of Menevia,

possibly a bishop, and presided over a synod of the Welsh Church. He founded the monastery at Menevia, which became a great nursery of scholars and missionaries. From Menevia went the monks who helped to revive Christianity in Ireland. The Celtic monasteries in Wales and Ireland were great schools of learning. Finnian, the founder of Clonard, spent thirty years studying in Welsh monasteries, principally at Menevia. The other great Welsh monastery was at Bangor Iscoed in North Wales, where there were 2100 monks governed by seven superintendents, each being placed over 300 monks.

North Britain

Britain south of the Wall of Antonine, which joined the Forth and the Clyde, was part of the Roman Empire. North of the wall lived the Picts, of the same family as the Britons, but speaking a different dialect. They got their name from their custom of tattooing. Their apostle is generally thought to have been Columba, but this is a mistake.[1] Ninian (*c.* 361–432) was the real apostle of Scotland north of the wall. Bede says :

'The southern Picts, who dwell on this side of these mountains, had embraced the truth by the preaching of Ninias, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth ; whose episcopal see, named after St. Martin the bishop and famous for a stately church (wherein he and many other saints rest in the body), is still in existence among the English nation. The place belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the White House, because he there built a church of stone which was not usual among the Britons.' Bede's geography was Ptolemaic. He conceived North Scotland as bending into the North Sea almost at right angles to the rest of Britain. When he writes *south*, we should read *east*. East and west are divided by the range known as Drum Alban, which Adamnan calls the Ridge (*dorsum*) of Britain. By Picts Bede meant the Britons living north of the Wall of Antonine.

It must be remembered that the Scots in Ninian's time were still living in Ireland. Their settlement in Argyllshire dates from 500 ; it was called Dalriada, and was a subordinate kingdom under a Pictish overlord. There was also a Pictish kingdom in the north of Ireland. The only other information we have about Ninian is

[1] *Ninian*, by A. B. Scott.

in a Life by a twelfth-century monk named Ethelred, who built up a romance on the substratum of an old Life. He tells us that Ninian had spent some time at Tours with St. Martin, whose disciple he was, and that Ninian established centres of Christian worship throughout the east coast of Scotland. 'The holy bishop began to ordain presbyters, consecrate bishops, distribute the other dignities of the ecclesiastical ranks and divide the whole land into distinct districts. Having confirmed the sons whom he had begotten in Christ in faith and good works and having set in order all things that referred to the honour of God and the welfare of souls, he bade the brethren farewell and returned to his own church.' This mention of single-handed consecration, a practice unknown in Ethelred's time, but common in the Celtic Church, has every mark of authenticity. Mr. Scott gives a long list of church sites from St. Ninian's Isle in Shetland to Glasgow which take their name from him. In the Orkneys the survival of the word *papa*, the Pictish word for priest, indicates the site of an early Christian settlement.

Kentigern or Mungo (517–603), another Pictish missionary, established a monastery at Glasgow and is said to have been the founder of a church where St. Asaph now stands. He also sent a mission to the north. 'Therefore he sent forth those of his own whom he knew to be strong in faith and fervent in love to the islands that are afar, towards the Orkneys, Norway and Iceland.' Celtic bells, books and pastoral staves are said to have been found in Iceland by the Norsemen when they arrived, and clergy who were called *papa* (Scott). The name of Donnan, a missionary from Whithern, still survives in Sutherlandshire, where he preached. Mr. Scott gives the following account of his martyrdom: 'Donnan then went with his muinntir into Gallgaedelaia (Caithness). And they settle where the chief lady of the district was wont to keep her sheep. This was told to the lady. "Let them all be killed," said she. "That would be impious," replied every one. But at length men come to slay them. The cleric was now at the Oifrend (Eucharist). "Let us have respite till the Oifrend is ended," asked Donnan. "It will be granted," replied they. Afterwards, the whole company were martyred together.' [1]

Columba (521–597).—Columba was the Apostle of the Scots in Scotland, not of the Picts. His life was written by Adamnan, his kinsman and successor, the eighth abbot of Iona (679–704). He was born in Donegal in 521. Of royal blood and commanding

[1] *Ninian*, by A. B. Scott.

stature, he became a monk and acquired a reputation for his skill in copying and illuminating manuscripts. Adamnan says that his voice was so powerful that, when he chanted Psalms, the words could be distinguished at a distance of several hundred paces, and that he once frightened the Druids by the loudness of his singing. He was educated at Clonard, a famous monastic school under St. Finnian, the Wise, where he acquired great skill as a copier of manuscripts.

As the result of a tribal quarrel he left Ireland with twelve companions, and landed at Iona (563), a small island off the larger island of Mull, part of the Scottish colony of Dalriada, and established a monastery there. No remains of the original monastic building survive, but we read of a chapel, a guest house, and a granary; the monks lived in little beehive cells. Their missionary work seems to have been mainly directed to the Scots of Dalriada. When not engaged in missionary expeditions on the mainland, the monks were at home to all who came for help and advice. The island was the chosen resort for all who needed help or healing for body or soul. Thither, among others, came Oswald, afterwards King of Northumbria. They lived lives of extreme asceticism. Columba himself was unwearied in fasts and vigils. His bed was the bare ground, his pillow a rock. He could not bear to be idle. We read that ' not even the space of a single hour could pass by without his devoting himself to prayer, or reading or writing or to some manual labour.'

We in England owe a debt to Columba, as it was from Iona, thirty years after his death, that the missionaries came who converted Northumbria.

The legendary Rule or Regulus, who is said to have brought the bones of St. Andrew from Patras in Greece to Fife, takes his name from a historical Riaghuil, a companion of a certain Kenneth, the Apostle of Fife, an Irish Pict, who, after preaching in Glamorganshire, went to Fife about 562 and established a monastery at or near St. Andrews.

The Latinisation of the Church in Scotland

Adamnan, Columba's biographer, who became Abbot of Iona in 679, began the movement. He went on an embassy to the King of Northumbria and there became acquainted with Latin uses; he failed to get them adopted in Iona, and spent much of the remainder of his life in Ireland, where the new customs found a more ready

welcome. He received the Roman tonsure in Ireland and, when he returned to Iona, 'it was a great surprise to his congregation to see him in that tonsure.' He died in 704. Ten years later an Englishman called Egbert arrived there from Ireland, where he had been living. He had wanted to be a missionary, but was warned by a vision to go to Iona 'to instruct the monasteries of Columba, because their ploughs do not go straight.' A few years later, a Pictish king, Nechtan or Naitan, who had come under the influence of Adamnan, wrote to the Abbot of Jarrow, asking for architects, and also for arguments, by which he might confute those who kept Easter on the wrong date. The abbot acceded to his request and, when the letter was read, Nechtan thanked God on his knees for the illumination he had received. Bede says that from that moment all the clergy had the Roman tonsure, and the nation rejoiced at being put under the protection of Peter. Signs are not, however, wanting to show that the old-fashioned churchmen of the day kept up a spirited opposition to the new customs for a good while longer.

Kenneth MacAlpine tried to set up the Roman diocesan system by appointing a bishop of Dunkeld in 849, translating the relics of Columba thither, but the attempt failed. A certain Constantine, who became King of Alban in 900, was more successful, establishing a bishop of St. Andrews, who was considered the first to bear the title 'episcop Albain,' or Bishop of Scotland. But it was long before the Church in Scotland became completely Romanised.

In Ireland

Though Patrick (*c.* 389–461) must be regarded as the Apostle of Ireland, there were Christians in Ireland before he went there. The Gospel presumably reached Ireland from Britain before his day, though we do not know when. The island was known to the Romans. Their general, Agricola, who conquered Britain between 78 and 86 so far as the Clyde and the Forth, cast longing eyes at it and reported that its harbours were well known through the merchants, who went there to trade. A large number of Roman coins have been found there. When the Roman power declined between 360 and 370, Britain was continually raided from Ireland, until the invaders were driven out by Theodosius, who enlisted some of his prisoners in the Imperial army. They were seen by Jerome when in garrison in Gaul, who called them Attecots (? Scots) and says they lived on human flesh, although they possessed pigs in abundance.

As the Gospel had by this time reached Ceylon, Abyssinia, and other remote places, it can hardly have missed Ireland.

In 431 occurs the first official notice of Irish Christianity. Prosper of Aquitaine says that in that year 'Palladius was consecrated by Pope Cœlestine and sent to the Scots believing in Christ as their first bishop.' Palladius met with little success. He landed at Wicklow and preached to the natives, but was driven out and died the same year.

Professor Bury gives 389 as the probable date of Patrick's birth. Most of his history is conjectural, but Patrick gives a few details of his life in an authentic *Confession*, written in his old age, as a witness to God's dealings with him, his *retributio* or repayment, as he calls it.[1]

His father, Calpurnius, he tells us, was a Briton, a Roman citizen and a decurio or town councillor. He was also a deacon and the son of a priest. His home was Bannaventa Taberniae, which used to be identified with Dumbarton on the Clyde, but a site near the Severn on the Bristol Channel seems more probable. Carried off at the age of fifteen, he became a slave, according to the *Confession*, in the forest of Fochlad in north-western Connaught. Here he herded cattle for six years, and here he underwent conversion. Until then he had remained 'in death and unbelief.' Now God 'opened the sense of his unbelief.' 'The love and fear of God so increased, and the Spirit so worked in me that I would say a hundred prayers in a day and as many in the night, and I would rise before daylight and pray in the woods and mountains, in snow and rain and ice, not feeling any hurt . . . because the Spirit glowed in me.'

One day he heard a voice, 'You fast well; soon you shall go to your country'; and a little later, 'The ship is ready.' He made his way, 200 miles, to the coast, and found a ship ready to sail to the Continent with a cargo of Irish wolf-hounds. After some delay he was taken on board. The sailors were heathen. They sailed for three days and then travelled through a 'desert' for twenty-eight days, presumably to southern Gaul and Italy. Patrick escaped from his companions after two months, and then followed an interval. 'Again, after a few years, I was with my relations in Britain.' It is thought that he spent these years at the monastery at Lerins under Honoratus. When he got home his friends begged him not to leave them again. But he had a vision of a man named Victorinus one night, who gave him a letter inscribed *The voice of Ireland*, and

[1] Printed in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 2.

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he heard voices from Fochlad near the western sea, saying, 'We beseech thee, holy boy, come and walk with us once more.' Whereupon he went to Auxerre in Gaul to study, and spent many years with Germanus. When the news came that Palladius was dead, Patrick was consecrated by Germanus to take his place (432) and set out immediately with a band of missionaries.

In Ireland he went to the north and made his first settlement at Saul near Strangford Lough. From Ulster he went to Meath, where he had his celebrated encounters with the Druids at Tara, and won toleration from Loigaire, the High King of Ireland. The Druids were hostile. They had already uttered a warning prophecy. 'Adze-head will come with a crook-head staff; in his house with hole-head robe, he will chant impiety from his table; from the front of his house all his household will respond.'[1] According to the story, the one night of the year, when no fire should be lit until by the royal command a ceremonial fire was kindled in the palace, happened to be Easter Eve, and, when all was in darkness, Patrick lighted the Easter candle and the light blazed up; the Druids said: 'Unless this fire, which you see, be quenched this same night, it never will be quenched.' A contest in miracles then ensued between Patrick and the Druids, in which Patrick was victorious.

From Meath he went to Connaught, to the scene of his captivity, and prayed on the summit of Cruagh Patrick. 'The confined space of its summit is the one spot where we feel some assurance that we can stand literally in his footsteps and realise as we look southward . . . we are viewing a scene on which Patrick for many days looked forth with bodily eye.'[2] He also preached in Leinster. He tells us that he cast his nets far and wide, that as many fish as possible might be caught for God. His plan of operations seems to have been first of all to convert, or at least conciliate, the king or chieftain of each tribe. For without the consent of the chief he would not get land on which to build his church and establish his monastic group, attached to the tribe. He tells us, 'Meantime I used to give gifts to kings and pay their sons who walked with me.'

His labours were immense. He claims to have baptised many thousands, and says that he left everywhere clergy to baptise and teach.

Organisation.—Professor Bury is of opinion that Patrick's bishops were territorial, though the clergy were mainly organised in communities. This is possible. Patrick calls himself Bishop of

[1] Bury, *Life of Patrick*. [2] *Ibid.*

Ireland. He belonged to the Roman Empire, where the territorial monarchical bishop was the rule. He had spent many years in Gaul. His death synchronised roughly with the rise of the barbarian wall separating Ireland from the Continent. The Irish Church was then left to its own devices and developed along the line of least resistance, and this line was tribal. He died in 461 ; a four-sided iron hand-bell still preserved at the National Museum, Dublin, is claimed as his, not without some show of probability.

PERIOD III
THE DARK AGES

PERIOD III

THE DARK AGES

I

THE BARBARIAN DELUGE

For nearly six centuries the Roman Empire had withstood the barbarian hordes who were pressing in from the East. At last, towards the end of the fourth century, the defences began to crumble and tidal waves of barbarians poured in, carrying devastation wherever they went.

Alaric and his Goths sacked Rome in 410. In the fifth century Visigoths settled in southern Gaul and Spain; Franks in northern Gaul and on the Rhine; Burgundians and Ostro-Goths east of the Rhine and on the Danube; Ostro-Goths first and then Lombards in North Italy, and Jutes and Saxons in Britain. Attila with a host of Huns invaded Italy in 451.

The empire did not fall in a moment. Its policy was to recognise the conquerors and, as far as possible, absorb their rulers into itself as subordinate kings. A Visigothic kingdom was established in the south of Gaul, with its capital at Toulouse, as part of the empire. Aetius, the Roman general, combined with Theodoric, the Goth, to defeat Attila at Chalons in 451. As late as 461 we find Sidonius, the highly cultivated Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, writing from southern Gaul a description of country-house life, where the guests amuse themselves by playing a kind of tennis, writing verses, riding, taking improvised vapour baths, and leading a highly civilised existence. There was in fact a good deal of 'gradualness' about the break-up of the empire. But in 476 the last Western emperor, Augustulus, was forced to abdicate and the West was left without an emperor, except for the distant potentate in Constantinople, and kingdoms, independent in name as well as in fact, were set up.

The Effect of the Invasions.—The effect has been variously estimated. An earlier generation of scholars was inclined to lay

stress on the masculine vigour of the barbarian as a fair compensation for the loss of civilisation and culture. The latest writer to deal with the subject, M. Boissonarde, can see nothing but evil in the invasions, and thus sums up their results: 'The idleness, stupidity, coarseness, ignorance, credulity and cruelty of the barbarians took the place of the well-regulated activity, polish, culture, relative humanity of the Romans. Far from regenerating the world, they nearly wiped out civilisation altogether. Far from assisting its economic development, they ruined all activity by committing everywhere pillage, disorder, destruction. They created nothing, but they destroyed much and they put a stop to all progress for several centuries. The barbarian settlements produced one of the greatest retrogressions which the world has ever seen.' This view is borne out by Gregory, Bishop of Tours (*c.* 573–594), whose *History of the Franks* is the principal source of our knowledge of the barbarians.

The break-down of order and constant invasions of predatory bands produced an almost chronic state of famine. After a raid over Bourges we read: 'There remained not a house, not a vineyard, not a tree; all was cut down or ruined. They even carried off the sacred vessels from the churches and burned the churches themselves with fire.' Again, 'Many a region did he lay waste again and again.'[1] In 536, 50,000 peasants are said to have died of famine in a single province of Italy. Gregory alludes to famines as of common occurrence. Of the year 580 he wrote: 'In this year almost all Gaul was oppressed by famine. Multitudes were reduced to making a kind of bread by drying or pounding grape-seeds or hazel blossom, and adding a little flour, while others did the same with fern-roots.' Famine and the destruction of baths and sanitation were naturally followed by disease and plague. M. Boissonarde says that in Britain in the seventh century, half the population perished during one visitation. Gregory writes as if dysentery and bubonic plague were endemic. In Auvergne, in 571, on one Sunday 300 people died in a single church. In Rome, Gregory I saw 80 people dying in the street during a single Rogation procession.

The Conversion of the Barbarians.—Not many attempts had been made to convert these barbarians before the influx. Outside the Roman Empire the main tide of conversion had flowed south of the districts they inhabited. Nevertheless, some of the Goths received the Christian religion from Christian prisoners they had

[1] Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*. Trans. D. M. Dalton.

carried off, and a Gothic bishop with a Greek name, Theophilus, *Gothiae Metropolis*,[1] was present at the Council of Nicea. Ulphilas, however, is reckoned to be the Apostle of the Goths. 'Sent by the ruler of the (Gothic) nation on an embassy with others,' he came to Constantinople, and after a stay of some years was consecrated by Eusebius, the semi-Arian Patriarch of Constantinople, in 341. His great work was to reduce the Gothic tongue to a written language and to translate the scriptures.

Unfortunately, his teaching was tinged with Arianism, which his converts introduced into Italy, Spain, and Africa, championed with the zeal of partisans, and promulgated with their native ferocity. Genseric, the King of the Vandals, who had conquered the North African part of the empire, distinguished himself by his cruel persecutions of the Catholics. Of his successor, Hunmeric, we read: 'The mind of a man may not comprehend the number of Christians slain in his time for the most holy name of Christ.' Labbé gives the names of 466 bishops summoned to Carthage to give an account of their faith, of whom 88 perished and the rest were banished.[2]

Of Gaul we read: 'In Sidonius's time also Euric, King of the Goths, passing the frontiers of Spain, began a grievous persecution of the Christians in Gaul. Everywhere he beheaded those who would not conform to his perverse doctrine; he cast priests into prison; some of the bishops he exiled, others he slew with the sword.'[3] In Spain, Leovigild (572–586) tried to enforce Arianism, and went to the length of putting his son to death, who had become a Catholic. But Leovigild's son and successor, Recared, was a Catholic, and in 589 Spain formally returned to Catholic unity.

Arianism in Burgundy and Visigothic Gaul was given up at the Council of Epaona in 517, but its renunciation was due more to the victorious arms of the Franks than to the arguments of Catholic theologians. At least, we read that on one occasion King Clovis said to his men: 'It irketh me sore that these Arians hold a part of Gaul. Let us go forth there and, with God's aid, bring the land under our own sway.'[4]

The Franks were heathen until they accepted the name, if not the religion, of Christians. Clovis, under whom they established a kingdom in Gaul, had married a Christian wife, Clotild, who urged him to accept her faith, but in vain until one day, being worsted in battle by the Alemanni, he prayed to Christ in these words: 'If Thou grant me victory over these enemies, and experience confirm

[1] Labbé, *Concilia*. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 1148. [3] Gregory, *op. cit.* [4] *Ibid.*, i. 37.

that power that the people dedicated to Thy name claimeth to have proved, then will I also believe on Thee and be baptised in Thy name.' He won the victory and the queen sent for Remigius, the Bishop of Reims, to claim the fulfilment of his promise. Nothing was said about preparation or instruction. Clovis still demurred. He said he could not be baptised without the consent of the Franks. The Franks were willing and, 'like a new Constantine, he moved forward to the water, to blot out the former leprosy, to wash away in this new stream the foul stains borne from old days. As he entered to be baptised, the saint of God spoke these words with eloquent lips: "Meekly bow thy proud head, Sicambrian, adore that which thou hast burned, burn that which thou hast adored."'[1] Three thousand of his warriors followed him to the font.

A change of religion under these circumstances did not imply a change of character. The rule of the Merovingians, as Clovis and his family were called, was a rule of savages. Clovis himself knew no pity. He destroyed any man who stood in the path of his ambition. Gundobad, a Burgundian king, put his brother to the sword and drowned his wife, first tying a stone to her neck. Two of the sons of Clovis, Childebert and Lothar, murdered the sons of their dead brother. The same Lothar punished a rebellious son by burning him in a cottage together with his wife and children. Chilperic, another son of Lothar, described by Gregory as 'the Nero and Herod of our time,' allowed his wife and stepson to be killed by Fredegund, a second wife, who has claims to be considered the worst woman in history. Besides killing four of her kinsfolk she had a bishop stabbed while saying mass in his cathedral. A layman who protested was poisoned. On one occasion she sent a servant to murder a rival queen, Brunhild. The assassin was discovered, flogged, and sent back to his mistress, who showed her annoyance by cutting off his hands and feet. All the Frankish kings seem to have practised a modified polygamy. Charibert, the father of Bertha, the first Christian Queen of Kent, fell in love with two of his wife's maidens, one of them a nun, and married them both. He also married a shepherd's daughter, and Gregory, alluding to one of them, writes, 'one of his queens.' Chilperic is recorded as having already 'several' wives (*plures*) when he sent to demand the hand of a Spanish princess, 'promising by the mouth of his envoy that he would forsake the others' if his request was granted.

The effect of such rulers on the Church was demoralising.

[1] *Ibid.*

Bishops were still chosen by the clergy and people of the diocese, but the consent of the king had to be obtained, and the king might, and often did, overrule their choice and insist on the appointment of his own nominee. In Gaul, in the sixth century, he often appointed a lay official. Gregory says that in Chilperic's days few priests were made bishops. Bribery was common. When Remigius, Bishop of Bourges, died, ' many came to the king with gifts in their hands.' The letters of Pope Gregory are full of complaints of the simony practised in Gaul. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that many scandalous appointments were made. Two brothers, Salonius and Sagittarius, bishops respectively of Embrun and Gap, were the first of the mediaeval fighting bishops, who ' armed themselves, not with the heavenly cross, but with the helm and mail-shirt of the world.' Besides fighting they ' abandoned themselves to a fury of wickedness, robbing, wounding, slaying, committing adulteries and all manner of crimes.' Bishop Cautinus, a royal nominee, successor of the saintly Sidonius at Clermont, was a drunkard. A certain Boisdegesil, Bishop of Le Mans, before his consecration a palace official, used ' to deal blows with his own hands, saying, " Because I have turned cleric am I therefore debarred from avenging my wrongs ? " ' [1]

Besides the occasional appointment of the scandalous bishop, the Church was being demoralised by the wholesale admission of the unconverted and the uninstructed to baptism. Instead of a long and careful preparation, the candidate for baptism received no preparation at all. The result was a coarsening in tone of Christian life. Gregory himself was a devout man and a conscientious bishop, judged by the standard of his own or any other day. But Gregory has ceased to be shocked by murder. Profligacy on the part of the clergy moves him, so does the murder of a bishop, or sacrilege, especially anything which injures the sanctity of St. Martin's tomb, but not ordinary murder. Autrechild, a queen, on her death-bed made her husband swear that he would kill her two physicians as soon as she was dead. He carried out his oath. Gregory naïvely adds : ' It stood plain in the judgment of thinking man that such fulfilment might not be without sin.'

Side by side with all this evil there was also much good. The lamp of the Church burnt dimly, but its light shows up clearly against the dark background. The impression we get of many of the Gaulish bishops at this time is of good men doing their best to keep

[1] *Ibid.*

religion alive in very difficult times. They held frequent Councils and tried to administer discipline. They did their best to protect their flocks from outrage and plunder. The Bishop of Vannes was banished by Chilperic for trying to save his flock from an unaccustomed levy. Gregory himself appears several times as trying to save the lives of condemned men. Prætextatus was murdered for rebuking a wicked queen. Gregory was offered a bribe by the same queen to condemn her enemy, which he refused with scorn. 'Not if she gave me a thousand pieces of silver would I do it.' The Bishop of Albi refused to abandon his flock in time of plague. A certain recluse is recorded to have devoted all the gifts he received to the ransom of prisoners. Radegund, the daughter of a king, founded a monastery for women at Poictiers and led a holy life there under the rule of an abbess.

The following incident, related by Gregory, seems to show that homely piety managed to exist in the midst of the surrounding savagery. 'The wife of Numatius, Bishop of Clermont, built the Church of the holy Stephen without the walls. As she wished it to be adorned with paintings, she used to hold a book upon her knees, in which she read the story of deeds done of old time, and pointed out to the painters what subjects should be represented on the walls. It happened one day, as she was sitting reading in the church, that a certain poor man came in to pray. And when he saw her clad in black, for she was advanced in years, he deemed her one of the needy, and producing a piece of bread, put it in her lap, and went his way. She did not despise the gift of the poor man who did not perceive her quality, but took it and thanked him, and put it by, afterwards preferring it to her costlier food and receiving a blessing from it every day until it was all consumed.'[1]

The task before the Church was no light one. It had as always to convert the heathen and those outside its communion. But it had also to contend with unprecedented demoralisation within. The efforts of reformers during the next five centuries were mainly directed to (1) the conversion of the heathen; (2) setting up a high ideal of personal holiness, by way of monasticism; and (3) securing freedom from the excessive influence of secular princes, especially in the appointment of bishops.

[1] *Ibid.*

II

REVIVAL

Benedictine Monasticism

St. Benedict was born about 480, at a time when the old Latin civilisation was everywhere breaking up before invading hordes of Germans, Goths, and Huns. While still a youth he turned his back on the world and, after living as a solitary for three years, was joined by disciples who chose him as their head and increased in numbers to such a degree that before long (*c.* 525) he had established twelve monasteries after the Egyptian model, each with twelve monks under an abbot. After a while, he left them and founded his great abbey at Monte Cassino. We do not know the date of his death, but he was alive in the year 542, when he was visited by Totila, King of the Goths, and administered a stern rebuke to that savage warrior and foretold his death. His rule spread very rapidly in the West, largely through the influence of Gregory the Great and Boniface.

The great majority of monks and nuns in the great days of monasticism were Benedictines, except those belonging to the Celtic Church. During a period of more than six centuries from the death of the founder, no society of men, no invention or discovery, no great movement exercised an influence at all comparable with that of the Benedictine Order on the course of European civilisation. The history of Greece, Palestine and Egypt would be much as it is, if Anthony had never gone into the desert. But if Benedict had not established his rule, we would have to rewrite the history of western Europe. Why ?

1. They made a sphere for the exercise of Christian virtues, where such virtues were in danger of being trodden under foot and forgotten.

2. Where the arts and learning of the ancient world were in danger of perishing, they found a refuge in the cloister. The Benedictines were the repositories and the sole repositories of such learning as there was. But for them it would have perished in western Europe. Nor are the magnificent buildings with which they covered Europe ever likely to be surpassed.

3. Their monasteries were generating stations of spiritual and

intellectual life and force. From them issued the great men who exercised a commanding spiritual and moral influence over their contemporaries. In England, Dunstan, Lanfranc, Anselm, to mention only a few, were Benedictines.

4. When land was going out of cultivation, they cleared the forest, drained the fen, and set an example of useful labour.

The most astonishing thing about these achievements is that they were all by-products. Benedict did not set out to train farmers, or students, or artists, or statesmen, or bishops, or even missionaries. He set himself 'to institute a school for the service of God, in which the inmates were to share the sufferings of Christ and deserve to be partakers of His kingdom.'[1] His success may be in part attributed to two innovations.

1. **The Development of the Community Spirit.**—Before him, monks were attached by a very loose tie to their own monastery and were free to wander. Cassian, for instance, who belonged to a monastery at Bethlehem, paid two visits to Egypt, one lasting seven years, and eventually settled at Marseilles. Benedictines, on the other hand, were attached for life to the monastery in which they made their profession. Like children, they belonged to a family which they could not change for another. This intensified the sense of corporate life and so gave strength and permanence to spiritual institutions in a rough and brutal age, when spiritual institutions had much ado to exist.

2. **Asceticism was Restrained.**—During the winter months, the monks enjoyed eight hours of unbroken sleep; during the summer a shorter night's rest was made up for by a siesta in the afternoon. At dinner, there were two cooked dishes of food, 'so that he who cannot eat of the one may make his meal of the other, and if there be any fruit or young vegetables, these may be added to the meal.' A pound of bread was allowed daily. If the community was occupied in severe labour, the abbot might increase the allowance of food. From wine the monk might abstain altogether, if he chose. Benedict seems to think this the better way. But as 'in our day monks cannot be persuaded of this,' they were allowed a pint a day, or even more by special permission of the prior, if the amount of labour in the heat required more. Clothes were to be suitable 'to the locality and the temperature.' They were allowed two tunics and two cowls, 'as well for night wear as for the convenience of washing.' In fact life at that time in a Benedictine monastery was

[1] The Rule.

'a reasonable service.' It might almost be said that the only two attractive careers for young men of spirit were those of monk and soldier.

Missionary Enterprise

The first counter-attack on the forces of paganism came from Ireland. Columban (543–615)—not to be confused with Columba—was the first of a long line of Irish missionaries to cross the Channel. Dedicated to the monastic life from childhood by his mother, as he grew up he found he was attracted by women. He sought advice from an elderly nun. The nun told him to fly temptation and escape overseas. 'Begone, young man, begone.' Accordingly, he left home in spite of his mother's entreaties, stepping over her body as he went out of the house. After a prolonged sojourn at the Irish Bangor, then a great centre of learning, he crossed with twelve companions to Gaul, where he landed, probably in 585, when Gregory was Bishop of Tours. His biographer's account of religion in Gaul bears out the narrative of Gregory. He says that either on account of hostile incursions or because of the negligence of bishops, the virtue of religion was almost obliterated, and the only thing left of Christianity was the faith (*Fides tantum manebat Christiana*).

Columban founded three monasteries in the Vosges, the second on the site of the once celebrated Roman baths at Luxeuil. He had trouble with the bishops of Gaul on account of his adherence to Irish usages, particularly the Celtic tonsure, and method of calculating the date of Easter. He drew up a rule for his monks which followed the Egyptian, not the Benedictine model. He was driven out of Gaul by the notorious Brunhild, whose grandchildren he called 'offspring of a brothel.' He then settled for a time on the shores of Lake Constance with a companion named Gall, who gave his name to a Swiss canton, and finally founded a monastery at Bobbio, in Lombardy, where he laboured to convert the Arian Lombards. It was his influence with their Catholic queen, Theodelinda, that made it possible for Gregory to bring this fierce nation to the unity of the Catholic Church.

Gregory the Great, Pope (590–604)

Between the death of Leo (461) and the accession of Gregory, the Roman Church did little to stem the tide of reaction. This

was due largely to the political conditions. Italy some years before the abdication of Augustulus (476) had been under the heel of barbarian conquerors. Ricimer, a barbarian general, deposed four emperors and commanded an army which sacked Rome in 472. Odoacer, after compelling Augustulus to abdicate, made himself King of Italy, only to be defeated and slain by Theodoric the Ostro-Goth, who ruled Italy from 493 until his death (526). He restored order to Italy and, though an Arian, left Catholics in peace.

The position of the Pope was no better when Italy was conquered by Belisarius and Narses, generals of the Emperor Justinian. The Ostro-Gothic kingdom came to an end and Italy was placed under the rule of an exarch, who administered the kingdom from Ravenna as the Emperor's deputy. This rule lasted in fact until the coming of the Lombards, and in name until the coronation of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor in 800. The effect was to make the Pope a humble vassal of the Emperor. In 537 Pope Silverius was ignominiously deposed by Belisarius and despatched to Constantinople, from which place he returned only to be banished to a barren island, where he soon died, murdered, it was thought. His successor, Vigilius, was summoned to Constantinople for refusing to accept an imperial edict concerning the faith. After ten years' absence from his see, during which he suffered all manner of hardships and indignities, he died in 554 on his way back to Rome.

Pelagius I, who succeeded Vigilius, was appointed by direct command of the Emperor Justinian. His immediate successors had to wait obsequiously after their election for the approval of Constantinople before they could proceed to consecration. Only Pelagius II (578) dispensed with this approval, as Rome was invested by the Lombards. These barbarians, the fiercest of the invaders, appeared in Italy in 568 and, according to Gibbon, ' through a period of 200 years Italy was unequally divided between the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna.' In this unfortunate position, the Pope was, as a rule, unable to assert successfully the claims of the moral and spiritual supremacy of religion against the demoralisation that the barbarians introduced. Nevertheless, one Pope, Gregory I, commonly called the Great, did so with success.

Gregory belonged by birth to an ancient Roman family and had himself, when a layman, held the high office of prefect of the city. While still young, he renounced the world, entered a monastery, and was soon afterwards ordained deacon. ' He who was once wont to pass through the city in the silken garb of high office adorned with

glittering gems, now, clothed in a humble garment, consecrated himself to the service of the Lord's altar and was appointed as seventh among the deacons who assisted the Pope.' [1]

During his pontificate, he was a diligent administrator of the patrimony of the see and restored its finances to order. In Rome, he organised both the parochial arrangements of the city and the ritual of the services. As Patriarch of the West, he intervened in Gaul, Illyria, Africa and Spain, as well as Italy, to promote religion and morals among bishops and clergy. He also claimed the right to intervene in the East as well as the West. He wrote to rebuke the Bishop of Jerusalem for permitting payments to be made for ordination. He advised the bishops of Armenia about the rebaptism of Nestorians. He heard an appeal from a presbyter of Lycaonia who had been unjustly scourged by order of John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople. He never failed to proclaim the rights of his see. 'It is clear to everyone,' he wrote to the Emperor, 'that the care of the whole Church has been committed to the blessed Peter.' Nothing roused keener indignation in him than the claim of John the Faster to the title of Universal Bishop, 'that title of execrable pride,' which Gregory repudiated for himself.

The oppressed never failed to find a protector in him, whether they were Sicilians called upon to pay their taxes twice over, Jews unjustly deprived of their synagogue, or any other victim of imperial or clerical injustice.

He is counted the Fourth Doctor of the Latin Church. But he was not a great theologian or even a learned man. He knew no Greek or Hebrew. Unlike his contemporary the Irish monk Columban, he despised profane learning. Writing to Desiderius, the saintly Bishop of Vienne, who was afterwards stoned to death for remonstrating with the savage queen Brunhild, he rebuked him for teaching grammar. 'It came to our ears what we cannot mention without shame that thy Fraternity is in the habit of expounding grammar to certain persons.' He was, however, a great teacher, able to express himself with clearness and vigour. For instance, he compares the preacher to a cock, which 'when he is preparing to crow first shakes his wings and by smiting himself makes himself more awake, since it is necessary that those who utter holy words should first be well awake in earnestness of good living.' Besides other works he wrote the *Pastoral Care* for bishops, and the *Moralia* for monks. He preached indefatigably. He was not an original

[1] Gregory, *op. cit.*

thinker. 'Besides the creeds and decrees of councils he depended for his theology on St. Augustine, which he passed on to the mediaeval Church in a debased and coarsened form, eked out with conceptions of angels, demons, miracles and purgatory.'[1]

He was a believer in the verbal inspiration of scripture, and thought inquiry into the authorship of its several books futile. 'When we are persuaded that the Holy Spirit was its author, in stirring a question about the author, what else do we do than in reading a letter inquire about the pen?' He was an ardent believer in hell-fire. The righteous went to heaven at once, those guilty of slight sins to purgatory, the rest to hell-fire. He had a legal mind and his theology tended to legalism. Sin might be forgiven on repentance, which involved contrition, confession and satisfaction. Satisfaction included penance, and the penance was proportioned to the sin. On this the vast penitential system of the Middle Ages was built up and, combined with the doctrine of purgatory, led to a mechanical theory of penance and indulgences against which Luther protested.

Gregory was also a great patron of monasticism, and founded with his patrimony six monasteries in Sicily and one in Rome.

He was the first pontiff who made temporal power an object of aspiration, and took full advantage of the opportunities that were offered. The Emperor had abandoned Rome and his Italian possessions to their fate, and Gregory had to assume the virtual sovereignty or leave Rome to anarchy and the Lombards. 'For twenty-seven years we have lived,' wrote Gregory, 'in terror of the Lombard sword.'

Partly through the influence of Theodelinda the Lombard queen, partly through his own moral ascendancy, he persuaded the Lombard king to make peace and to become a Catholic. When he died, the Pope was recognised as the chief bishop in the West, the natural arbiter and court of appeal in ecclesiastical cases, and the one person who could intervene with authority in cases of grave scandal. He has been called with justice the Father of the Mediaeval Papacy. But perhaps his chief claim to the gratitude of posterity is that he sent Augustine to convert the English.

For centuries after, with one or two brief interludes, Church revival owed little to the Papacy until its reformation in the eleventh century.

[1] F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great.*

III

THE EASTERN CHURCH AFTER CHALCEDON

The Council of Chalcedon promulgated its confession of faith (451), affirming that our Lord is one Person with two natures. This definition was for long disputed in the East, Nestorians affirming two Persons and Monophysites one nature, and the Monothelites one will. The Patriarchate of Constantinople remained on the whole faithful to the creed of Chalcedon, but it was fiercely contested in the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch. Racial feeling counted. The East was divided into the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, the last being comparatively insignificant. Of the others, Constantinople was Greek, Antioch Syriac in speech and sentiment, Alexandria Coptic. Constantinople was a *parvenue* among patriarchates and regarded with jealousy. While Antioch looked to Peter as its founder, Alexandria to Mark, Constantinople owed its importance to the fact that it was the seat of the Emperor. It had been placed by Chalcedon above all other sees except Rome, and its fixed policy was to extend its jurisdiction over the other patriarchates. It was indeed almost inevitable that the bishop of the imperial city should aspire to autocratic power. It seemed as monstrous for the Church to be without a supreme head as for the State. But Papalism in the East was more difficult to accomplish than Papalism in the West, for reasons of race and language. For one thing, Greek had not the same universality in the East as the ecclesiastical language as Latin had in the West.

Nestorians

The Nestorians were the first to break away. When Nestorius was condemned for heresy by the Church of Ephesus in 431, some of his followers retired to Persia and the Church in Persia became Nestorian. Its motive was not entirely religious. Persia had been the rival of Rome for centuries. Its rulers were sun-worshippers and persecuted Christianity as the religion of their enemies, and a non-Greek type of Christianity was less obnoxious. A certain Barsumas wrote to Pheroz, King of Persia : ' Unless the faith of Christians under your rule differs from that of the Greeks they will

never be well affected.' The eighth Metropolitan of Seleucia—Ctesiphon got leave for his successors to be consecrated by their suffragans instead of by the Patriarch of Antioch, on the ground that the Persian kings forbade their subjects to have any dealings with the Christians of the empire on pain of death, while the Romans treated Persian Christians as spies. It was therefore a great advantage for Persian Christians to be able to dissociate themselves from the religion of the empire.

Nestorian Missions.—The Nestorians were the greatest missionaries Christianity has known. A certain Abraham of Kashgar in the sixth century, after living as a hermit for thirty years, went north, and after 'converting the inhabitants to Christianity,' built many churches and was martyred at Kashgar. The traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote in the first half of the sixth century, found Nestorian churches in India and Ceylon.

A monument, dated 781, was dug up in 1625 in the suburb of Si-ngan Fu with the title, 'Monument commemorating the introduction and propagation of the noble law of Ta Ts'in in the Middle Kingdom.' It describes the reception of the missionary in 635. 'The emperor despatched his minister . . . with a guard of honour to the western suburb to meet the visitor and conduct him to the palace. The scriptures were translated in the imperial library. His Majesty investigated the Way in his own forbidden apartments and being deeply convinced of its correctness and truth, gave special orders for its propagation.'[1] He also 'caused monasteries of the *luminous religion* to be founded in every prefecture' and 'honoured "A-lo-pen by conf ring on him the office of the Great Patron and Spiritual Lord of .ne Empire."' A later Emperor, Tai-Tsung (763–779), may have been a Christian; at least 'he observed the rule of non-assertion and walked in the way of the Silent-operation.' (Then follow the names of a bishop and sixty-six priests.)

The monastery of Beth 'Abha near the Great Zab, an offshoot of the monastery of Mount Izla, near Nisibis, founded by Mar Awgin the converted pearl-fisher, was a great centre of missionary enterprise. Thomas of Marga in *The Book of Governors*[2] says that after a secession (*c.* 625) the monks 'filled the country of the East with monasteries and convents and habitations of monks,' and boasts of those who have become bishops, that 'they did not only accept established and princely thrones which were situated in flourishing towns and civilised countries, but also those countries which were

[1] Saeki, *Nestorian Monument in China.* [2] Trans., E. W. Budge.

destitute of all knowledge of divine things and holy doctrine . . . that they might drive out the darkness and make to shine upon them the glorious light of their doctrine.'

Timothy, who was Catholicus (780–824), was a great promoter of missions. He sent a certain Subchaljesus to the 'Ghilamites and Dilumites' near the Caspian, who ordained many of his converts. 'After which, having left behind some of his brethren to instruct the Neophytes in sacred psalmody, he himself penetrated to the furthest lands of the East (*ad extremos Orientis fines*) sowing far and wide the seed of Christian doctrine among the heathen Marcionites and Manichees.'[1] After he was killed by barbarians, Timothy consecrated two bishops to take his place, and they consecrated seven more. Timothy also sent one, Elijah, to convert the Muranites, a neighbouring tribe who were addicted to the cult of sacred trees. This Elijah wore a book of the Gospels instead of a pectoral cross, and carried a portable brass cross, which he screwed to the top of a pole, when he preached.

Metropolitans of Herat, Samarkand and China were created early in the eighth century,[2] and bishoprics must have existed before. The name of one David survives as Metropolitan of China in that century. In the middle of the ninth century, the Metropolitans of China, India, Persia, Merv, Syria, Arabia, Herat, and Samarkand are mentioned as excused, by the remoteness of their sees, from attending the quadrennial synod of the Church.[3]

The Franciscan John, who took a letter from Innocent IV to the Great Khan, found many Christians in his household, and says that he maintained Nestorian clergy and 'he has always the chapel of the Christians in front of his great tent, and these priests chant publickly and openly and beat a board according to the fashion of the Greeks at appointed hours just like other Christians.'

William of Rubruck, the Franciscan, who travelled through Asia to visit the Khan in 1253, found Nestorians everywhere. Near Kopal he found a village entirely of Nestorians. 'We entered their church singing joyfully and at the tops of our voices "Salve Regina!"' The Khan's secretary and interpreter were Nestorians, and William was visited by certain Nestorian priests, who interviewed him before he was admitted into the Khan's presence. One of the Khan's daughters was also a Christian, and Christians enjoyed more favour than those of any other religion.

[1] *Assemini Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 522. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 439.

The Nestorians suffered from their isolation from other Christian influence. At least, William accuses them of ignorance. 'The Nestorians there know nothing. They say their offices and have sacred books in Syrian, but they do not know the language, so they chant like those monks among us who do not know their grammar, and they are absolutely depraved.' He also accuses them of being drunkards, usurers, and polygamists.

In 1277 Tartar emissaries, who were probably Nestorians, came to Europe seeking an alliance against the Saracens. 'Whether they were true men or spies,' wrote William de Nangis, 'God knows. They were Tartar neither by race nor in behaviour, but belonged to a sect of Georgian Christians.'[1] They visited Rome, France and England. In 1286 another Tartar mission appeared in Rome on the same errand, an account of which by one of the party has survived and has been recently translated.[2] The envoys saw Etna in eruption, and sat on the roof of a house watching a fight at sea and 'admired the way in which the Franks waged war, for they only attacked combatants.' They interviewed the cardinals, as the Pope had just died, and told them that there were many Nestorian Christians in the land of the Mongols. 'Many of the sons of the Mongol kings and queens have been baptised and confess Christ. And they have established churches in their military camps, and they pay honour to the Christians, and there are among them many believers.'

They saw Edward I at Bordeaux. 'And the King commanded Rabban Sawma to celebrate the Eucharist, and he performed the glorious mysteries—and the King and his officers of state stood up and the King partook of the sacrament.' On their return to Rome they saw Nicholas IV the new Pope, and Rabban Sawma said, 'I wish to celebrate the sacrament so that you may see our use.' This he did. On Easter Day the Pope celebrated 'and gave the Eucharistic mystery to Rabban Sawma.'

Marco Polo the Venetian traveller found Nestorians in the chief towns along the trade-routes to the Far East. He tells a story of a Christian tribe which used to go into battle with a cross on a pole as a standard. At the beginning of the fourteenth century they had bishops all over Asia, but were almost exterminated by Tamerlane (1336–1405). The survivors took refuge in the mountains of Kurdistan. In the fifteenth century the Patriarchate became hereditary, nephew succeeding uncle. During the Great War they

[1] F. Raynaldi, *Ann.*, iii. 417.

[2] E. W. Budge, *The Monks of Kûblai Khân.*

were almost exterminated by the Turks, and are now reduced to about 40,000, who have taken refuge in Iraq.

Monophysites

Monophysites refused to accept the creed of Chalcedon, professing belief in one Person and one nature, though there is some ground for thinking that at first they meant by nature what the Orthodox meant by Person. The emperors were in a difficult position. To unite their eastern dominions it was necessary to make concessions to Monophysitism. But to make concessions to Monophysitism meant strife with Rome and the West. Until the accession of Justin I (518) the emperors generally inclined to favour Monophysitism. Thus in 482 the Emperor Zeno produced a document of reconciliation called the Henoticon, or Instrument of Union, favouring the Monophysites, which he endeavoured to impose on the Church. This led to a forty years' schism between East and West. The Pope excommunicated the bishops who had signed the Henoticon, and the Patriarch Acacius retaliated in kind. This schism is known as the Acacian schism. It lasted until 519.

The emperors of the house of Justin I (518–619) adopted a new policy. They sought union with the Western Church and, to get it, were ready to enforce Orthodoxy at the expense of schism in the East. Justinian (526–565) was the greatest emperor of this, perhaps of any line. He was one of the world's greatest builders, and in that regard St. Sophia still bears him witness. His generals, Belisarius and Narses, reconquered the lost provinces of the empire in North Africa and Italy, so that the imperial writ ran once more in Rome. He created the greatest body of law the world had known, while as a theologian and hymn-writer he has claims to distinction. He had the reputation of being Orthodox, but his wife, Theodora, the real power behind the throne, was a Monophysite. This extraordinary woman, if we may believe Procopius, had begun life as a burlesque actress and a courtesan, and had been notorious for profligacy in an age when the standard of profligacy was high. He says that her appearance was pleasing and attractive, though she was short and rather pale, and had a penetrating ' gorgon ' way of looking at people. His description recalls the character of Becky Sharp in *Vanity Fair*. After her marriage, she abandoned her former vices,

and founded a Rescue Home, possibly as an act of reparation, and became distinguished for avarice, cruelty, and love of power. She had one Pope, Silverius, arrested on a charge of treason, and Vigilius appointed to the vacant throne in return for a promise to renounce the Council of Chalcedon.

Justinian was Orthodox, but under her influence departed from the policy of his house and issued a document called the *Three Chapters*, which was intended as a sop to the Monophysites. He tried to secure the Western Church by summoning Pope Vigilius to Constantinople and securing his assent to the document. In that he was successful after a long struggle with the reluctant Pope. A General Council, which met in 553, also accepted the document. This Council provides a notable instance of dictation to the Church by the State. It was summoned by Justinian, who prescribed its agenda and its conclusions. He was a great persecutor of heretics, and in his reign the last Montanists, sooner than abandon their tenets, collected in their churches, set fire to the buildings and perished in the flames.

Justinian's successors reverted to the Orthodox policy of their house. Monophysitism was persecuted and hardened into schisms which still survive. The Armenian Church, what there is left of it, is still Monophysite. Armenia was the buffer state between Persia and the empire, and at this time was under the power of Persia. Like the Nestorians it had good reason to repudiate the religion of the empire.

In Syria, ever since the death of a Monophysite Patriarch in 539, there had been two Patriarchs of Antioch, one Orthodox and one Monophysite, and this double succession has been kept up to this day. The Monophysites became known as Jacobites, taking their name from a certain James the Beggar, who was consecrated by the imprisoned Monophysite Bishop of Constantinople about 555, and travelled about Syria disguised as a beggar. He is said to have ordained two Patriarchs, eighty-nine bishops and an enormous number of clergy. The Jacobite Church was a nationalist, as well as a theological revolt, standing for Syriac speech and culture against Greek.

Egypt also was Monophysite. Racial feeling was strong, and when, after Chalcedon, the Patriarch of Alexandria was deposed, the Egyptians took sides against his successor as a foreign nominee. For nearly two hundred years, a conflict raged between the *Melchites*, or Imperial Greek-speaking party, and the native Egyptians, who spoke the vernacular and were Monophysite. They bitterly resented

Byzantine domination, and when the Saracens came in 642 received them, if not with open arms, at least with the feeling that they had nothing to lose by the exchange of masters. The Egyptian Monophysites are the Coptic Church.

Abyssinia, which had received the Gospel during the second century, became Monophysite under Coptic influence. The Metropolitan of Abyssinia is a Coptic bishop appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria.

Monothelitism

The doctrine of the one nature gave rise to another heresy, Monothelitism, or the doctrine of the one will in Christ. Honorius, Pope 625–638, lent it some countenance. It was favoured by the Emperor Heraclius and his immediate successors in the hope of winning back the separated Monophysites. The emperors of his dynasty 610–695 were soldiers and statesmen and wanted to unite their dominions against the Saracens. Accordingly Heraclius published a Monothelite statement of belief called the *Ekthesis* as a formula of conciliation. Constans II published an edict called the *Type*, which forbade controversy on the point disputed.

Martin I, Pope 649–655, repudiated both *Ekthesis* and *Type*, was arrested by the exarch of Ravenna, carried off to Constantinople and so brutally treated that he died. By the reign of Constantine IV, 668–685, the political situation had changed. The Saracens had overrun the East, Egypt and Syria, the chief Monophysite districts were lost to the empire, and it seemed policy to conciliate the West. After besieging Constantinople for five years, the Saracens were defeated, sustaining their first check, and Constantine invited Pope Agatho to co-operate in a council.

A General Council, which met at Constantinople A.D. 680, was the result. It condemned Monothelitism, and anathematised what it stigmatised as the soul-destroying opinions of Pope Honorius. This anathema was confirmed by the Papal legates and repeated by Pope Leo II, who anathematised his predecessor for 'not having brought the apostolic doctrine to light.' [1]

[1] Hefele, v. 185.

IV

THE CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH

The Roman Missionaries

The invaders from Germany and Jutland who drove the Britons into Cornwall, Wales, and Strathclyde, were heathen. Modern historians are disposed to credit them with having made a less clean sweep of the inhabitants than was at one time thought likely. But whatever they did to the inhabitants they certainly destroyed their religion: so that when Gregory saw the fair-haired children offered for sale in Rome his conscience must have been stirred, not only by discovering that they were heathen, but also by the knowledge that they came from a country that had once been Christian. The sequel is well known. He wished to go himself, and had actually started, when recalled through the clamour of the populace. He became Pope in 590, and a few years later despatched Augustine with forty monks.

They started in 596. On their way they were seized with panic. Bede says that 'Being seized with sudden fear they began to think of returning home rather than proceed to a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation, to whose very language they were strangers; and this they unanimously agreed was the safest course.' So they sent back Augustine that he might obtain leave from Gregory to abandon 'so dangerous, toilsome, and uncertain a journey.' Gregory would not hear of any abandonment and encouraged them to persevere.

Accordingly, Augustine returned and, towards the end of April, 597, landed at Ebbsfleet on the isle of Thanet, separated from the mainland at that time by a channel about 600 yards wide. The King of Thanet, Ethelbert, was a heathen, as were his people, but his wife Bertha, daughter of the Frankish King Charibert, was a Christian, and before her marriage had stipulated for the free exercise of her religion and had brought with her a chaplain. The way was therefore paved, and the coming of the missionaries was neither unexpected nor unwelcome.

They came into the presence of the king singing a litany and carrying a silver cross and a picture of our Lord painted on a board. The king listened attentively, and while refusing to commit himself,

gave Augustine and his followers leave to preach and gain as many adherents as they could; he also assigned them a residence in Canterbury. There they remained some time and made many converts, winning them, Bede tells us, as much 'by the simplicity of their lives as the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine.' They used the church dedicated to St. Martin, built in the time of the Romans, which had been restored for the use of Queen Bertha. The present church of St. Martin in Canterbury is a thirteenth-century building, but the walls are composed in part of Roman bricks, which, no doubt, belonged to the original church.

Before long, the king was baptised, though he compelled no one to follow his example. The first stage in the refounding of the Church having been successfully accomplished, Augustine went to Arles to be consecrated bishop. On his return he built his cathedral on the site of a Roman basilica and dedicated it to 'the Name of the Holy Saviour, Jesus Christ our God and Lord.' This was the beginning of the cathedral of Christ Church. He also built a monastery outside the city for himself and his monks, which afterwards became famous as the monastery of St. Augustine.

Besides his missionary efforts among the heathen, Augustine made an attempt to join forces with the ancient British Church on the other side of the Severn. In 603, with the assistance of Ethelbert, he met the British bishops in a conference 'at a place which is to this day called Augustine's Oak, on the borders of the Hwiccii and West Saxons.' The site is disputed, but Aust on the Severn, some miles above Avonmouth, is said to take its name from the event. When they arrived Augustine urged them to preserve Catholic unity and to join him in preaching the Gospel to their heathen neighbours. By preserving Catholic unity, St. Augustine meant that the British bishops were to abandon their peculiar customs. After a long discussion they broke up, and though they met again the conference proved abortive.

On his return in 604, he consecrated Mellitus bishop of the East Saxons, with his seat in London, 'the mart of many nations resorting to it by sea and land.' Ethelbert built him a church there dedicated to St. Paul. Augustine also consecrated Justus Bishop of Rochester. On May 26, 604, he died.

It has become the fashion to belittle St. Augustine. 'We cannot,' says Bishop Creighton, 'reckon him higher than a capable official of the Roman Church.' High indeed must have been the Roman standard for capable officials. It is true that he had not the

force of Boniface or the attractiveness of the Scottish saints, and his letters to Gregory seem to show a man somewhat distrustful of his own judgment. But it is more likely that his modern detractors are mistaken in their estimate of his character and abilities than Gregory. Deeds speak louder than words. A stranger, ignorant of the language of the country to which he was sent, he was only in England seven years, yet he founded three bishoprics which endure to this day, and laid foundations on which his successors have been content to build.

Twelve years after the death of St. Augustine, his work was threatened with destruction. The Christian kings of Kent and the East Saxons were succeeded by heathen sons. Mellitus was expelled from the East Saxon territory because he would not give communion to the unbaptised and heathen sons of the dead king. 'Why do you not give us also that white bread you used to give to our father, and which you still continue to give to the people in church?' Mellitus took counsel with Justus, and Laurentius, who had succeeded Augustine at Canterbury, and the three resolved to abandon the mission, deciding unanimously 'that it was better to return to their own country, where they might serve God in freedom, than continue without any advantage among these barbarians, who had revolted from the faith.' Mellitus and Justus went, but Laurentius had a last card to play. Appearing before the Kentish king on the morning of his departure, he showed the marks of stripes which he alleged had been inflicted during the night by St. Peter as a punishment for purposing to forsake the flock committed to his care. The king was so much impressed that he was baptised and recalled Justus and Mellitus. The Londoners, however, refused to receive Mellitus, and the work of evangelising the East Saxons was not resumed for some time.

Paulinus.—The Roman missionaries were represented in the north by Paulinus. Edwin, King of Northumbria, had married (625) the sister of the Christian King of Kent on the understanding that she and her suite should be allowed the free exercise of their religion. The king resisted the persuasion of Paulinus for two years. Possibly he was not sure how his subjects would take it, if he abandoned the worship of his fathers. At any rate, before doing so, he summoned a council of his wise men and asked their opinion. The council showed itself favourable to the change. The king and his chief men were baptised, and their example was largely followed. Bede says that Paulinus stayed thirty-six days with the king and queen

at a place near Wooler in Northumberland, teaching and baptising in the river Glen. At a pool near Hepple in the same county, called Holywell, local tradition credits him with having baptised 30,000 in one day. A stream near by still bears the name of Pallinsburn. In Yorkshire he baptised in the Swale near Catterick, further south in the Derwent, and in the Trent near Southwell. 'As yet, oratories and fonts could not be made in the infancy of the Church in those parts.' One who had been baptised by him in the Trent in the presence of the king and queen said that he was tall, a little stooping, his hair black, his face emaciated, his nose slender and aquiline, his aspect venerable and majestic, and that he was accompanied by James the Deacon. He also converted the governor of Lincoln, and built a church there which in Bede's day was in ruins.

Edwin was slain in battle in 633, at Heathfield, near Doncaster, by Cædwalla, King of the Welsh Britons, who, though by profession a Christian, was, according to Bede, so barbarous that he spared neither age nor sex, and by Penda, 'a most warlike man,' the pagan King of the Mercians. Bede says that Cædwalla paid no attention to the religion he found in Yorkshire, adding rather bitterly, 'to this day it is the custom of the Britons not to pay any respect to the religion of the English.' Two years of anarchy succeeded, and many must have felt that the troubles of the Northumbrians were a just judgment on them for having abandoned their old religion. Paulinus took the widowed Queen Ethelberga to Kent, where he remained, becoming Bishop of Rochester. James the Deacon was left behind to minister to the scattered flock.

Birinus.—Birinus was another Italian missionary, probably a Lombard, though not one of Augustine's band. He sailed from Genoa in 633 with the intention of preaching to those heathen English whom no missionary had reached. Landing in the country of the West Saxons and finding them to be pagans, he decided to preach to them. He found their King Cynegils near Wallingford, and tradition points to a hill called Churn Knob as the place where the Gospel was first preached to the West Saxons. Cynegils was baptised, and established Birinus at Dorchester (Oxon), where he built his cathedral, and was buried in 649. When Winchester displaced Dorchester as the cathedral town of the West Saxons in the bishopric of Hedde (676–705), his bones were moved to Winchester.

East Anglia.—East Anglia also received as its apostle one who, if not an Italian, adhered to Roman customs. This was Felix, a

Burgundian who had come to England as a missionary volunteer and was sent by Honorius to East Anglia, where a Christian prince had succeeded to the East Anglian kingdom. He fixed his seat in Dunwich, which is now under the sea, and laboured in East Anglia for seventeen years. During his episcopate, an Irish monk named Fursey, with a gift of seeing visions, unable to bear any longer the crowds that came to hear him preach in Ireland, came to the middle Angles with a few followers, and converted many by his preaching. No difficulties arose through the differences between the Catholic and the Scottish customs.

The South Saxons.—Sussex was the last part of England to remain heathen. Its inhabitants, the South Saxons, were converted by Wilfrid. He arrived in 681 with some companions, when exiled from Northumbria, and was well received by the king and queen, who were Christians, and baptised the chief men of the state. He gained the affections of the common people, according to Bede, by his success in combating the effects of a drought, which, bringing famine in its wake, had led the inhabitants in desperation to throw themselves over the cliffs into the sea. It is reported that very often forty or fifty men, being spent with want, would go together to the sea-shore and then, hand in hand, perish by the fall or be swallowed by the waves. Wilfrid's expedient was the simple one of teaching the starving people to fish. His success was repaid and the South Saxons became Christian, at least in name.

The Scottish Missionaries

Meanwhile, missionaries were pouring in from Columba's monastery at Iona. They had come originally by invitation of the Northumbrian King Oswald, a prince of a rival house to Edwin's, who fled when Edwin was king, and took refuge in Iona. There he became a Christian and a disciple of the Scottish monks. When Edwin was killed by Penda and Cædwalla in 633, two years of anarchy ensued, only ended when Oswald returned and assumed the throne. Before he could establish his power, he had to defeat the hostile armies, which he did at Heavenfield in 635.

The Mission to Northumbria.—One of Oswald's first acts was to send to Iona for a missionary. The first who came returned discomfited and explained to the assembled monks that the Northumbrians were so stubborn and barbarous that he could do nothing with them. 'I am of opinion, brother,' said Aidan, one of the listeners,

'that you were more severe to your unlearned hearers than you ought to have been, and did not at first give them the milk of more easy doctrine till, being by degrees nourished with the word of God, they should be capable of greater perfection.' Aidan himself was consecrated bishop and sent to Oswald.

Aidan set up his stool at Lindisfarne, a little island off Northumberland, and from thence often retired to one of the lonely Farne islands, but was indefatigable in travelling up and down his diocese, nearly always on foot. Bede says that 'whensoever in his way he saw any, either rich or poor, he invited them, if infidels, to embrace the mystery of the faith; or if they were believers, sought to strengthen them in the faith and to stir them up by words and actions to alms and good works.' He was assisted greatly by Oswald, who listened to his admonitions and acted as his interpreter. Bede says that Oswald 'industriously applied himself to build and extend the Church of Christ in his dominions. When the bishop, who was not skilled in the English tongue, preached the Gospel, it was most touching to see the king himself interpreting the Word of God to his commanders and ministers.' Oswald was slain in battle at Maserfield, possibly the modern Oswestry. His last thoughts were for his army and his last words a prayer; 'Lord have mercy on their souls,' he cried, as he fell to the ground.

Aidan lived till 651. Bede, much as he disliked his Scottish customs, had the greatest admiration for him, commending his diligence in reading and teaching, his love of peace and charity, his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, and his authority in reproving the powerful. The Scottish line of bishops was kept up first by Finan and then by Colman, while Oswald's successors on the throne, Oswin and Oswy, were also upholders of the Church, so that religion suffered no set-back on the change of sovereign.

The Mercians.—Penda, the Mercian King, had been for twenty years the champion of the old paganism, but two years before his death his son Paeda married a daughter of the Northumbrian King Oswy, on condition of becoming a Christian. He sent four priests, Cedd being one, to instruct the Middle Angles, then subject to Mercia, Penda apparently offering no objection, as long as those who accepted the new faith acted in accordance with its tenets, saying, 'They were contemptible and wretched who did not obey their God in whom they believed.' Three of these missionaries were Englishmen, but all followed the Scottish customs.

Penda was slain in battle at Winwaed (655) by Oswy, who vowed

' that if he came off victorious he would dedicate his daughter to our Lord in holy virginity.' With Penda fell the last hope of paganism in England. Bede says naïvely that Oswy, ' having cut off the wicked king's head, converted the Mercians and the adjacent provinces to the grace of the Christian faith.'

The East Saxons.—After the departure of Mellitus in 616, the East Saxons returned to their paganism and refused to have him back. It was not until 653 that they received another missionary in the person of Cedd, brother of the better-known Chad, once a missionary to the Mercians, and now sent by Oswy, King of Northumbria, at the request of the newly converted King of the East Saxons. Cedd was consecrated by Finan of Lindisfarne as Bishop of the East Saxons. Cedd, though an Englishman, had been trained by Scottish monks, and illustrates very well the tendencies of their teaching. He fixed his seat, not in London, but in the comparatively inaccessible Tilbury. Though the East Saxons must have constituted a fairly onerous charge, he found time to pay frequent visits to Northumbria, ' to give exhortations,' according to Bede, who also says that he built a monastery there ' among craggy and distant mountains which looked more like lurking-places for robbers and retreats for wild beasts than habitations for men.' This monastery Bede calls Lestingau, which may perhaps be identified with Lastingham in Yorkshire. He prepared for its consecration by a strict fast of forty days, during which he fasted daily except on Sunday until evening and then only had a little bread, an egg and a little milk mixed with water. However, at the end of thirty days he was summoned by the king and finished his fast by deputy, his chaplain Cynebil acting as his substitute. He was present at the Synod of Whitby (664), when he acted as ' a careful interpreter of both parties,' and died of the plague at Lastingham the same year.

V

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AFTER THE CONVERSION

By 655 Britain south of the Forth, except for South Saxons and the Isle of Wight, had accepted Christianity, at least outwardly. Ecclesiastical affairs were, however, somewhat chaotic. This was due to two reasons. First, there were two kinds of ecclesiastical usages competing for supremacy. Secondly, Scottish missionaries

owned no fixed territorial limitations, but wandered irresponsibly from diocese to diocese and monastery to monastery, a practice which was the parent of confusion. The synod of Whitby removed the first cause of disorder, the Council of Hertford the second.

Wilfrid (634–709)

The person destined to bring matters to a head was Wilfrid, possibly the ablest, almost certainly the most interesting, of the pre-Norman English. The son of a Northumbrian thane, born in 634, he was in his fourteenth year sent to the court of King Oswy by his father, equipped with arms, horses, attendants, and suitable clothes. He was handsome, well-mannered, and intelligent, and soon found favour with Eanflæda, the queen. Eanflæda was the daughter of Edwin, the king who was converted by Paulinus, the Roman missionary, and was herself the first of the Northumbrian nation to be baptised, her father having consented to her baptism while himself a heathen, in gratitude for his deliverance from a West Saxon assassin, who tried to stab him on the day the child was born. When a few years later Edwin was slain by Penda, Paulinus retired to Kent with Edwin's widow and Eanflæda, who, in course of time, married Oswy. She took with her from Kent a chaplain, Romanus, and continued to practise the same church customs to which she had always been used, so that, as Bede tells us, Easter was kept at the Northumbrian court twice in one year ; ' when the king, having finished his time of fasting, kept his Easter ; the queen and her followers were still fasting and celebrating Palm Sunday.' Into this controversial atmosphere Wilfrid was thrown at his most impressionable age, and as we are expressly told by his biographer that he was a favourite of the queen, we may suppose that he took her side. He must at least have realised the inconvenience of an alternative use.

Wilfrid was resolved to be a monk, not a courtier, and found the queen ready to further his designs. She sent him to Lindisfarne, where he remained for some years, until, at the age of eighteen, she sent him to Rome by way of Canterbury. In 653 he left Canterbury, and after visiting Rome, remained some time with the Archbishop of Lyons, his stay only being cut short by the execution of his host, whose fate he nearly shared. When he came home (658), he found in Alcfrith, a son of Oswy, and ruler of Deira, the southern portion of Northumbria, roughly corresponding to Yorkshire, an instrument ready to his hand. Alcfrith was the son of Eanflæda, but it was due

to Wilfrid, rather than his mother, that he became a champion of the Roman uses. Not long before he had given land at Ripon to Eata, a Scottish monk, who had founded a monastery there, and put Cuthbert in charge. The monks were now given the choice of conforming to Roman usages or leaving. They left, Alcfrith handed over the monastery to Wilfrid, the crisis became acute, and Oswy summoned a synod to meet at Whitby in order to settle the matter.

The Synod of Whitby

Among other notabilities, at least one woman was present, Hilda, the founder of a monastery at Whitby for men and women, over which she presided with diligence and success. 'All that knew her called her mother for her singular piety and grace.' Bede says that she obliged her monks to spend so much time in reading the Scriptures and in works of justice that five of them became bishops. Even kings and princes used to visit her to seek her advice. She was on the side of the Scots, as also was Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons.

Oswy, who began the proceedings, evidently thought that uniformity was the thing that mattered. He said that those who served one God should observe one rule of life, and that as they expected to be in heaven together, they ought not to differ in the celebration of the divine mysteries.

Colman opened the case for the Scots and claimed that their use was derived from St. John and Columba. For this contention it may be said that there was a traditional connexion between the Irish and the ancient Church of Gaul, and we know that Irenaeus, Bishop of Vienne in Gaul, was once the pupil of Polycarp who had himself sat at the feet of St. John at Ephesus.

Wilfrid, on the other side, countered the names of John and Columba with those of Rome and Peter. He also maintained that 'a corner of a remote island had no business to stand out against the custom of the rest of the Catholic Church.'

In the end the King threw his authority on the side of the Roman use and the majority assented. Colman, however, withdrew to Scotland, taking with him those who would not comply with the new use. But the number that withdrew was not large. No schism was made nor was the dispute ever revived.

The effect of the decision was to link up the Church of England with the Church of the Continent in its uphill and almost desperate fight against barbarism and all the forces of darkness, to replace the

spasmodic and un-coördinated energies of Scottish bishops with something like order and system, paving the way for Theodore's division of England into dioceses, and make possible the realisation of the plan of Gregory, namely, the creation of one Church of the English nation divided into two provinces. If the Scots had had their way there would have been two Churches of the English, instead of one.

Wilfrid after the Synod at Whitby.—For the remaining forty-five years of his life Wilfrid devoted himself to the task of making a reality the union with the Roman Church effected by the synod. When chosen to succeed Colman, who resigned after the synod, as bishop of the Northumbrians, he transferred his seat from Lindisfarne to York, from an inaccessible spot to the chief centre of population and communications, and insisted on going abroad to be consecrated, on the ground that the English bishops were schismatics. He stayed away so long that when he returned (666) he found that his place had been taken by Chad. However, he was restored by Theodore in 669. After his return to England he was active in introducing both the arts and the Benedictine monastic discipline then fashionable at Rome. Eddi, his biographer, who came with him from Kent to teach singing, says that he travelled with singing-masters and builders and taught everywhere the arts of singing and building. He repaired York Minster and glazed its windows. He built a church at Ripon and one at Hexham 'the like of which we have not heard of this side of the Alps.'

He was also an ardent upholder of the celibate ideal so much in favour on the Continent, and encouraged Etheldreda, the wife of Ecgfrith, not to live as his wife, and gave her the veil in 662. She was the foundress of Ely. This, indeed, proved his undoing, as Ecgfrith's enmity was aroused, and at his invitation Theodore visited Northumberland in 678 and divided the diocese into three without Wilfrid's consent. Eddi says that Ecgfrith's mind had been poisoned by his second wife, who disliked Wilfrid, and behaved like a most impious Jezebel.

Wilfrid appealed to Rome, stopping on the way to preach to the heathen Frisians. This was the first time the English Church had appealed to Rome, and when he showed Ecgfrith and the English bishops the Pope's letter, they accused him of bribery and put him in prison. Released in 681, he spent the next five years in evangelising Sussex; after which he was reconciled to Theodore, and at his intercession was allowed to return to Northumbria by Ecgfrith's successor, and was restored to the reduced diocese of York (686)

where he remained for the next five years, when a fresh quarrel arose. Wilfrid now took refuge with the King of Mercia, who made him Bishop of Leicester.

Acting apparently at the suggestion of the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury held a Council in 702 at Austerfield in the West Riding, by which Wilfrid was condemned. Eddi brings out the real difference between Wilfrid and his opponents when he makes Wilfrid 'upbraid their obstinacy with many hard words for having resisted the apostolic see for twenty-two years.' He asked them 'how they had the effrontery to prefer their own decisions to the apostolic decrees.' Wilfrid once more appealed to Rome. This was resented by the king, Aldfrith, and the Archbishop, 'because he has preferred to be judged by them rather than by us,' and Wilfrid was excommunicated. He made his way to Rome and returned with a request to the Archbishop to hold another synod; accordingly a council was held on the banks of the Nidd (705). The Archbishop was in favour of peace, but the bishops resisted, asking 'Who has the right to alter that which our predecessors and Theodore our Archbishop and Ecgfrith determined, and which at Austerfield all the bishops of Britain discussed?' Elfleda, who had succeeded Hilda as Abbess of Whitby, here interposed with effect, saying that Aldfrith had repented on his deathbed, and the bishops were won over, 'chiefly by the wisdom of that wise virgin.'

Wilfrid was given the abbeys of Ripon and Hexham and the bishopric of Hexham. In 709 he died at the monastery he had built at Oundle and was buried at Ripon. Wilfrid dissipated much of his energy in unnecessary quarrels, but few men have had so much to dissipate, and when we reckon up his various achievements we must admit that few greater men, and none more versatile, have sat on the bishop's throne at York.

Chad (d. 672)

After the Council of Whitby, Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, left his see and Wilfrid was appointed in his place. He transferred his seat to York, and went to Gaul to be consecrated, but stayed away so long that Oswy appointed Chad in his place. The Archbishop being dead, Chad was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester and two Cornish bishops; he acted as Bishop of Northumbria and ruled the diocese nobly (*sublimiter*) for three years until the arrival of Theodore, who told him that his consecration was defective.

Chad retired to Lastingham, but was withdrawn by Theodore, reconsecrated, and sent to be bishop of the Mercians (669). He was the first to fix the seat of the bishopric at Lichfield, and though not their first bishop, was the real apostle of the Mercians.

Bede says that he applied himself to humility, chastity, and study; that he travelled about his diocese in order to preach the Gospel on foot, like the Apostles; that, as he was a disciple of Aidan, he followed his example and that of his brother Cedd. He died on March 2, 672, his death being heralded by miraculous singing. 'The voice of persons singing most sweetly and rejoicing appearing to descend from heaven.'

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (668–689)

The appointment of Theodore was due to the custom, when a bishop died at Rome, of the Pope 'consoling' the widowed see by appointing a successor. That is how the Greek, Theodore of Tarsus, became Archbishop of Canterbury. His predecessor had been sent to Rome by the Kings of Northumbria and Kent to be consecrated and had died there, with his companions, from a pestilence. Theodore was sixty-six years old when consecrated and reigned for twenty-one years. Bede says that the Pope sent a certain Hadrian to be his companion and to make sure that he did not introduce any Greek customs into the English Church.

One of Theodore's first acts was to visit the different bishoprics of his province and to fill the vacant sees. At York he found that Wilfrid had been uncanonically deprived and replaced by Chad.

The Council of Hertford, 673.—In 673 Theodore summoned all the bishops to meet him at a synod to be held at Hertford. This was the first provincial synod of the English Church. Among other canons, it enacted that no bishop was to invade the diocese of another, that no priest was to transfer himself to another diocese without permission, and that no monk was to move from one monastery to another without proper authority.

Benedict Biscop (628?–690)

Of noble lineage, an Angle by birth and a minister of the Northumbrian King Oswy, at the age of twenty-five he abandoned

the world and made a pilgrimage to Rome. After a second visit he spent two years at the monastery of Lerins, where he received the tonsure, and returning to Rome was sent by the Pope to accompany Theodore and Hadrian to Britain, where 'he undertook the rule of the monastery of St. Peter at Canterbury,' but left it to make a third journey to Rome. On his return with books and relics he revisited Northumbria and built a monastery (673) on a site given by the king at the mouth of the River Wear. He brought masons from Gaul to build a church in the Roman style, and 'when the work was drawing to a close sent messengers to Gaul to fetch glass-makers, who were at this time unknown in Britain, that they might glaze the windows of the church, the cloisters and the refectory.'[1] After his fourth visit to Rome he returned with pictures, books, relics, John the arch-chanter of St. Peter's, and a letter from the Pope exempting his monastery from episcopal visitation, the first exemption of the kind received in England. He also founded the monastery of St. Paul on the opposite bank of the Wear.

Owing to his frequent absences, Bede tells us that he appointed a colleague to be joint-abbot with him at St. Peter's. 'His frequent travelling for the benefit of the monastery and absence in foreign parts was the cause,' which has a very modern sound. Bede had apparently heard his conduct criticised, as he defends him by producing precedents from antiquity. When his coadjutor was installed, Benedict made his last journey to Rome and returned enriched, as always, with innumerable gifts for his churches, 'both books and pictures.' He died imploring his brethren to hold fast his rule, which, he said, 'I learned from seventeen monasteries, which I saw in my travels and most approved of.'

Aldhelm (640–709), Bishop of Sherborne

Of noble, if not royal lineage, he was educated at Canterbury under Hadrian, Theodore's companion, and at Malmesbury under an Irish monk named Maildulf, who had settled there as a hermit but was forced by indigence to eke out inadequate alms by taking pupils. He afterwards founded Malmesbury Abbey, of which Aldhelm became a monk, and eventually abbot, being one of the most learned men of the day. He knew Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and also composed English verse. William of Malmesbury[2] says that he used

[1] 'Bede, *Lives of the Abbots.*

[2] *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum.*

to stand on the bridge leading into Malmesbury and sing comic songs. A crowd would soon gather, taking him for a professional singer, whereupon he would gradually introduce edifying passages into his songs[1] and so edify his audience. Aldhelm's other biographer, Faricius, says that he used to meet the country-people on the bridge as they were going home after doing their business and preach so persuasively that many of them followed him to church, heard the divine office, and went home with souls refreshed. But Faricius, as William explains, was an Italian and did not understand English, and may have got the story wrong, or he may have thought it undignified for an abbot to sing comic songs. Aldhelm, at any rate, understood the difficult art of open-air preaching.

He founded monasteries at Frome and Bradford-on-Avon. The parish church at Frome retains his dedication, St. John the Baptist, while his Bradford church is believed to survive to this day. He built besides churches at Malmesbury, Wareham, and Sherborne. He also had dealings with the West Saxon Britons. Kentwine, King of Wessex, in 682 'drove the Britons to the sea,' presumably the Britons west of the Parret to the Bristol Channel, and made them tributary. These Britons still observed their own ecclesiastical customs, and several meetings of West Saxons were held to consider what was to be done. It was at length decided that they were to be persuaded and not forced. Accordingly Aldhelm was deputed to reason with them, and in 705 wrote a letter to Geruntius, King of Damnonia (Devon and Cornwall), to urge the British Church to return to Catholic unity, attributing the Celtic tonsure to Simon Magus. He complained also of the want of charity of the priests beyond the Severn, who refused either to pray in church or sit at the same table as the Catholic clergy, and even threw away their leavings to dogs and pigs and ceremoniously cleansed with sand and ashes the dishes the Catholic clergy had used.

Bede says that his letters 'persuaded many of those who were subject to the West Saxons to adopt the Catholic celebration of Easter'; William of Malmesbury, that 'they very ungratefully, on account of their innate depravity, threw away his treatise.'

In 705 the West Saxon diocese of Winchester was divided and Aldhelm became the first Bishop of Sherborne. He was a diligent bishop, journeying about his diocese on foot and preaching constantly. One village, Bishopstrow (Bishop's Tree) is said to derive its name from his staff, which took root and sprouted there while he preached.

[1] 'Inter Ludicra verbis Scriptuarum insertis.'

He died in the wooden church of Doulting, near Wells, and was buried at Malmesbury. The many miracles recorded during his life and at his tomb testify to his reputation for holiness.

The Venerable Bede (673–735)

Before closing this description of the early and heroic days of the English Church, some account must be given of the historian to whose labours and industry we owe our knowledge of them. This was Bede, called 'the Father of English History.' Born near Jarrow, he was entrusted at the age of seven to Benedict Biscop, abbot of the monastery at Wearmouth and later also of that at Jarrow, five miles away. Bede spent the rest of his life at one or other of these monasteries. He received an invitation to go to Rome and advise the Pope on matters requiring a scholar's help, but it does not appear that he ever went. As a student his labours were immense. Besides his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* and his *Lives of the Abbots*, he wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, a book of hymns, treatises on the art of poetry, on natural sciences, on the art of medicine, and mathematics. In fact, for the benefit of his pupils, he wrote on all subjects of knowledge then known. But his chief title to the admiration and gratitude of posterity rests upon the industry, candour, and love of truth to which we owe the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Bede brought his history down to the year 731, at which date he considered the condition of the Church satisfactory, at any rate, in Northumbria, where he says that, owing to the peacefulness of the times, many of the Northumbrians, both nobles and private citizens, were inclined to lay aside their weapons and dedicate themselves and their children to monasticism rather than to study martial discipline. The canons of the Council of Cloveshoo (747) and the *Penitential* of Archbishop Egbert (*c.* 766), however, seem to indicate that the moral standard of the clergy was not high. Nevertheless, both learning and devotion lived in Northumbria. There was a flourishing school at York, which produced the learned Alcuin (735–804), who resided there as pupil and teacher until he was enticed away by Charlemagne and went to promote the cause of learning among the Franks.

VI

MISSIONS FROM ENGLAND AND IRELAND

In the seventh century the English Church began to repay its debt and to send missionaries to the Continent. Wilfrid landed in Frisia in 678 while on the way to Rome. According to his biographer, Eddi, nearly all the chiefs and many thousands of the people were baptised. This was the foundation on which Willibrord, who had been his pupil at Ripon, built when he arrived about fourteen years later. Wilfrid, however, continued his journey and left the Frisians to themselves. Missionary work on the Continent was then taken up by a succession of Hibernicised Englishmen, Northumbrians who had gone to Ireland to acquire learning and see monastic life in its perfection, and had been there infected with missionary enthusiasm.

Bede says that a certain Egbert, who lived as a stranger in Ireland, proposed to sail round Britain and to preach to some of the heathens who had not heard the Gospel. Though twice warned by a dream that he was to go to Iona, instead of Germany, he persisted in his intention, but after being shipwrecked abandoned the enterprise. One of his companions, Wictbert, however, went and preached to the heathen Frisians for two years, ' but reaped no fruit for all his great labour among the barbarians,' and returned ' to the beloved place of his peregrination,' presumably his cell in Ireland, and ' as he could not be profitable to strangers by his teaching, resolved to edify his own people by his virtuous life.' When Wictbert returned, Egbert with creditable persistency persuaded Willibrord to go. Willibrord was a Northumbrian, a disciple of Wilfrid, who had gone to Ireland and lived as a monk there for twelve years. He arrived in Frisia in 690 and at once established friendly relations with Pepin of Herstal, ruler of the Franks. Five years later he was made Archbishop at Rome and on his return set up his seat near Utrecht. He laboured among the Frisians with great effect for more than forty years. Among other achievements, he destroyed a pagan shrine in Heligoland and attempted to convert the Danes (*ferocissimos Danorum populos*). Failing in this, he brought thirty Danish boys back with him in the hope that when instructed they might become missionaries to their own people. He failed to convert Rathbod, the King of Frisia, and his successes with the heathen were perhaps more

apparent than real. At least, we find that his main work in Frisia was done in the wake of the victorious Frankish armies, and was largely overthrown after his death.

Bede also mentions two other Englishmen, long resident in Ireland, who went to the Continent as missionaries. These were Black Hewald and White Hewald. They set out to convert the Saxons, but were martyred almost immediately. Black Hewald was tortured, and torn limb from limb and his remains thrown into the Rhine; Pepin, when he heard of the tragedy, had the remains of both martyrs collected and buried with much honour in Cologne.

BONIFACE

But the most famous missionary of all, Winfrid or Boniface, was English by birth, education, and training. Born in 680, he very early resolved to become a monk, and was entrusted, while still a child, to the abbot of the monastery of Adescancastre (? Exbury, Hants)[1] and was afterwards educated at Nursling, where he acquired some celebrity as a preacher and teacher, both of men and women. His pupils were distinguished by their assiduity, which his biographer expected in men, but did not look for in those 'who were denied the faculty of perseverance by the imbecility of their weaker sex.'

The call to go overseas came from within. He began to long for foreign lands in place of the country of his birth. He set out in 716 with two monks and joined Willibrord in Frisia; but, being refused permission to preach by Rathbod, went to Rome and received a commission to preach to the heathen tribes of Germany. After preaching with great success to the heathen Hessians, he was summoned to Rome, consecrated bishop, and returned with a letter to

[1] Crediton is generally given as the birthplace of Boniface, though the earliest authority for doing so is the collection of legends of the saints made by Bishop John Grandison of Exeter about 1350. The contemporary life by Willibald says that his religious impetus was given him when a child by some travelling monks who visited his father, and that he was entrusted to the care of Wulfhard, abbot of the neighbouring monastery, Adescancastre, which has been assumed to mean Exeter (Isca Damnoniorum). But Exeter was then under the rule of a British King, Gerontius, and the Britons, as we learn from Aldhelm's letter, were on anything but good terms with their West Saxon neighbours.

It is almost incredible that Boniface should have been sent from the British Exeter to the Saxon Nursling, nearly 100 miles, and we know he went to Nursling to be educated—even if his parents belonged to a Saxon trading colony in Exeter, in itself unlikely. Exbury, at the mouth of the Beaulieu River, is only twelve miles from Nursling, and might very well be Latinised as *Adescancastre* by an eighth-century writer.

Charles Martel, who gave him leave to preach beyond the Rhine. The authority of this Frankish king he used freely. 'Without the protection of the King of the Franks, I could neither rule the people of the Church nor defend the priests or clerks, the monks or handmaidens of God; nor have the power to restrain pagan rites and idolatry in Germany without his mandate and the use of his name.' From 723 to 754 his work in Germany was of two kinds, organisation and conversion. He founded four bishoprics in Bavaria, and four in Hesse and Thuringia, and held many councils for the reformation of abuses. Two of his most troublesome opponents were Clement and Vergil, both Irish Scots, who resisted his authority. Vergil was accused by Boniface of holding unsound views on baptism and astronomy. Vergil was upheld by the Pope, became Bishop of Salzburg, and was eventually canonised.

Boniface resigned his see in 754, and determined to devote his remaining years to the conversion of Frisia. He preached, baptised 'many hundreds of men, women, and children,' and appointed the eve of Whitsun, 755, for a confirmation. The newly baptised were to meet him at Dokkum, between eastern and western Frisia. When the day arrived, instead of the candidates, a band of armed pagans appeared and surrounded the camp. His followers wished to resist, but Boniface refused. 'Let us not return evil for evil; the long-expected day has come, and the time of our departure is at hand. Strengthen yourselves in the Lord, and He will reverence your souls. Fear not them which can destroy the body, but put your trust in God, who will give you an eternal reward and admit you into His heavenly kingdom.' Whereupon they offered no resistance and were all massacred, fifty-two persons in all.

Another missionary, Willehad (d. 789) was a Northumbrian and a friend of Alcuin, who, fired by the deeds of Willibrord and Boniface, preached to the heathen Saxons and became Bishop of Bremen (787). His life was written by Anskar, the Apostle of Sweden.

VII

ISLAM

In the year 622 Christianity in some form or other was professed by the great majority of people in western Europe, in the highly civilised fringe of North Africa, in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria,

while the Nestorians were spreading over Asia. Within a hundred years, Islam reigned triumphant in Asia from the Oxus almost to Constantinople ; it had submerged Egypt and North Africa ; had overrun Spain and threatened to engulf France and the rest of Europe. Except in Spain, it has, on the whole, held its ground ever since, and remains to-day the only serious rival of Christianity as an aggressive missionary religion, claiming to include the whole world in its scope.

The word 'Islam' is the infinitive, and Muslim or Moslem the participle, of a word, which, according to Professor Margoliouth, means in this connexion to turn to one God in prayer. It implies a total rejection of polytheism and idolatry. Mohammed (*c.* 570–632), its first preacher, was a native of Mecca in Arabia, fifty miles from the Red Sea. Mecca was a place of pilgrimage on account of its Kaaba, a sanctuary which contained a sacred black stone and 360 images, the objects apparently of fetish worship. To Mohammed's tribe belonged the guardianship of this sanctuary. Mohammed possessed a mind intensely aware of God and susceptible to religious impressions, and a masterful and self-confident character, with strong moral impulses. He had some knowledge of Judaism and a smattering of Christianity. When he rejected the degraded polytheism in which he had been brought up, Islam was the result. Its main tenet was 'There is one God, and Mohammed is His prophet.' Accepting Abraham, Moses, and even Jesus as prophets, he claimed to supersede them all and to bring to man a perfect revelation of the mind of God. He professed to have received his revelations direct from God. After his death, they were embodied in a book, called the *Koran*. Belief in the verbal inspiration of all its statements is a fundamental article of faith with Moslems.

Its chief features were : (1) *Theological.*—Insistence (*a*) on monotheism, (*b*) on Mohammed as the supreme prophet, and (*c*) on a future life of a sensuous kind, where eternal misery or bliss would depend on the life lived on earth, the surest passport to heaven being death in battle with the unbeliever. *Ritual and ceremonial.*—Fixed prayers, to be repeated facing Mecca five times daily, preferably in a mosque, with a public service at noon on Fridays.

(2) *Moral.*—Infanticide was forbidden. Wives were limited to four. Divorce was regulated.

(3) *Puritanism.*—Sensible images in divine worship, *e.g.* pictures or singing, were forbidden, as were wine and pork. Dancing and singing, if not forbidden, were discouraged. Fasting was enjoined

during the month Ramadan, when all food and drink was forbidden between sunrise and sunset.

(4) *Militarism.*—It was avowedly militarist and a religion of force. 'The sword,' said Mohammed, 'is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer; whoever falls in battle his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim.'

We need not doubt that Mohammed believed in his own plenary inspiration. A mere charlatan could not have inspired such whole-hearted belief, but once launched on his career, the opportunities for delusion by unconscious auto-suggestion were numerous. He began his career as a prophet at the age of forty. His first converts were his wife and most intimate friends. He then made proselytes of ten chosen citizens of Mecca and spent the next three years in secret propaganda, which resulted in the conversion of fourteen more. His next step was to summon his fellow-tribesmen and announce his claims and his mission, after which he began to preach publicly in Mecca. After doing this for about ten years, his enraged fellow-tribesmen tried to kill him, and he fled to Medina. This was in A.D. 622. It is called by Mohammedans the *Hegira*, and from it they date their calendar. Medina accepted him as a prophet, and gave him a base. Beginning with raids on caravans for the sake of plunder, he attracted to his banner a numerous band of predatory Arabs and went on to the capture of Mecca and the conquest of Arabia (629–32). He died in 632, when setting out for the conquest of Syria.

In that year his followers embarked on the conquest of the Persian Empire, which had for centuries withstood the majesty of Rome and was the home of the Nestorian Christians. The conquest was completed by 651, when the last King Yezdegerd fled beyond the Oxus. By 710 Transoxiana was added. Damascus fell in 634, Jerusalem in 637. Egypt was invaded in 638, Alexandria taken and its library burnt.

With Alexandria as a base they were able to make expeditions by sea. They besieged Constantinople 668–674, again in 716, but without success, the repulse in 674 being their first set-back. Carthage fell in 703 and with it the North African kingdom of the Vandals. In 711 they crossed to Spain and overran that

country. Then passing the Pyrenees, they invaded France, where their victorious career was checked at Tours, in 732, by Charles Martel. In 841 they took Sicily, where they remained until expelled by the Normans. In the ninth and tenth centuries they held the command of the Mediterranean and deprived the Eastern Empire of its maritime communications with the west, while the Mohammedan pirates from the North African ports became as great a menace as the Danes were in the north.

The causes of success were threefold.

1. *Religious.*—The Arabs were capable of embracing a religion with fierce intensity, and Mohammedanism was adapted to their capacities and tastes. In the prescription of fasting, of abstinence from pork and wine, it gave scope for expression of the instinct of self-sacrifice where self-sacrifice was felt least. In the practically unrestricted licence it gave to sexual desires it made no demand, where the moral demand would have aroused far more resistance. It inculcated belief in a future life, with joys which the average sensual man could appreciate.

2. *Social.*—In theory at least, all Mohammedans are equal. Islam has always succeeded in realising a considerable degree of brotherhood among Moslems, which is to this day its great attraction. As against the equality of Moslems, the inferior status of non-Moslems was enforced. It was their business to support the fighting Moslem by the payment of tribute.

3. *Military.*—The armies of the Saracens in their great days were comparatively small, but in all ages a small and well equipped army has been able to give great odds in the way of numbers to forces inferior in those points. 'The wolf does not care how many the sheep be.' The Arabs began their career of conquest when the Eastern Empire was weak and was in a state of chaotic disorganisation. The Western Empire had broken up and its place was taken by warring tribes. When the Arabs met a group of those tribes welded into the semblance of a nation by the genius of Pepin and his son, they met their match.

The effect on the Church was shattering. The Nestorian form of Christianity had spread from the Euphrates to China. The first wars of Mohammedan conquest not only overran its base, but made a permanent wall between it and the rest of Christendom. The Eastern Empire was hemmed in and deprived of Syria and Egypt. North Africa and Spain became Mohammedan. Spain was won back after centuries, Africa never.

VIII

THE EASTERN CHURCH (726–1000)

Iconoclasm

The Orthodox Church in the East did not long enjoy peace after its separated members were buried in the comparative obscurity of an alien dominion. The controversy which arose over Iconoclasm, or image-breaking, nearly rent the Church in two. It was begun by Leo the Isaurian, a successful soldier, who had saved Constantinople from the Saracens. He issued a decree against images in 726. All images in churches and all paintings were to be destroyed or obliterated. His son, Constantine Copronymus, continued the same policy, which met with a fierce resistance, especially from the monks and the populace.

The Council of Constantinople (754), called by Hefele a mock-synod, comprising 348 bishops, condemned the worship of images and proscribed the 'lawless and blasphemous art of painting.' The Empress Irene (780–802), who reigned first as regent and then as empress, headed a reaction and restored images. Under her auspices the second Council of Nicea was held in 787, which anathematised the proceedings of the Council of Constantinople and restored images. They were to be treated as holy memorials, and worshipped, only without that peculiar adoration reserved for the Invisible God. More Iconoclasm followed her death, and the controversy lasted until 842, when a compromise was arrived at by which pictures or ikons, though not images, have had a recognised place in the Eastern Church.

The Iconoclasm of Leo and Constantine was not so much a Puritan as a free-thinking movement. Constantine was accused of providing in churches the music of harps, flutes, and cymbals, as a popular attraction, and after the sacred paintings had been stripped from the walls of the church he had them replaced by representations of fruit and flowers. He was ribald in speech and disliked asceticism and monasticism as much as images. The real objection was not so much to symbolism as to the thing symbolised. Both Leo and Constantine were accused of acting under the influence of Mohammedans. Assemanus, the great Orientalist, thought 'they imbibed that madness from the Paulicians.'[1]

[1] *Assemini Bib. Orient.*, iii. 2. p. 85.

Paulicians were so-called because for Scripture they only accepted the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. They were non-sacerdotal and non-sacramental and rejected images, pictures, and fasting, and were an off-shoot from the Manichæans. When driven out of the empire, they took refuge in Bulgaria. From them descend the Bogomils, Cathari, and Albigenses, of whom we hear so much in the thirteenth century.

Under the Macedonian or Armenian dynasty (867–1056) the Eastern Empire reached its highest point of secular greatness. They won back South Italy, Sicily, and Crete from the Saracens and regained the command of the Mediterranean, while Venice became a faithful ally. On the north they defeated the Bulgarians, who at one time threatened Constantinople itself. On the east (963–975) they regained Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria, taking Damascus and even threatening Bagdad.

Missionary Enterprises of the Eastern Church

1. **Bulgaria.**—The Bulgarians were Mongols who came from Central Asia. Their first preachers were Christian prisoners who had been carried off at the capture of Adrianople in 813. They bore witness to their faith, and many of them sealed their witness with their blood. About 860, Boris, the Bulgarian king, in response to the entreaties of his sister, who had become a Christian while a prisoner in Constantinople, sent for Christian teachers, and he and his people accepted Christianity.

2. **The Balkan Slavs.**—Methodius and Cyril were the apostles of the Slavs. They were brothers, sons of a Thessalonican notable. Methodius, the elder, began life as a soldier, Cyril, the younger, as a civil servant. Both became monks. Moravia was the principal field of their operations. They were sent in 863 by the Emperor Michael in answer to a request from the King, Radislav, for Christian teachers who knew Slavonic. The Moravians had been conquered by Charlemagne, and some rather perfunctory efforts at conversion had been made by the Archbishop of Salzburg. But the missionaries did not know Slavonic and the services and the Bible were in an unknown tongue. When Radislav wrote he said: 'Our *land* is baptised, but we have no teacher to preach to us, to instruct us, and to explain to us the Holy Scriptures.' Both Cyril and Methodius had missionary experience, as they had already worked as missionaries

among the Khazars. Their great work was to reduce the Slavonic language to writing, to translate the Acts and Gospels into Slavonic, and to provide services in the vernacular. Mr. Baring-Gould gives the following translation from the Olmutz breviary, showing that Cyril was the linguist : ' The blessed Cyril, by the grace of God, after he had converted the Moravians, invented new alphabetical letters and translated the Old and New Testaments and many other things from Greek or Latin into Slavonic, and he provided mass and the other canonical hours of the Church in that language.' It goes on to record that, when at Rome, being rebuked for allowing mass to be sung in Slavonic, he quoted the words of the Psalm ' Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum,' saying, ' If everyone that hath breath is to praise the Lord, why, my fathers, do ye forbid me to perform the mass in the Slavonic tongue or to translate other things from Latin and Greek into the vernacular ? Finding the people ignorant and simple, I by the inspiration of God found this means of drawing many to God.' The Pope, after this spirited defence, withdrew his veto. Cyril died in Rome in 869. Methodius returned to his converts, being consecrated by the Pope, Archbishop of Pannonia, in 870. In spite of difficulties with the Pope, with German bishops on the confines of the see, and with secular princes, he continued his labours until his death in 885, ' when all the Slavonic races from Croatia and Dalmatia to the borders of Poland heard in their own tongue the divine mysteries.'

3. **Russia.**—Russia was still heathen and addicted to human sacrifices in 955, when Olga, the queen-mother, went to Constantinople. Nestor, the Russian chronicler (b. 1035), says they used to cover the soil of Russia with the blood of their victims. He compares Olga to the Queen of Sheba, with the difference that she went in quest of heavenly, her prototype, of earthly, wisdom. During her visit she was baptised. The Emperor, charmed by her beauty, wished to marry her, but she refused. On her return she tried to persuade her son to be baptised. ' How could I adopt a foreign religion ? ' he said. ' All my people would laugh at me.' ' If you were baptised,' said Olga with truer insight, ' all your people would follow your example.' The son was not a promising subject for conversion. ' Brave and warlike, he was agile as a panther and delighted only in the noise of camps. . . . He despised cooked food and devoured lumps of horse-flesh thrust for an instant into the camp-fire.'

His son, Vladimir, who succeeded to the throne (*c.* 980), brought

the Gospel to Russia. Nestor compares him to Solomon for his attachment to women. He had five wives and 800 concubines, besides other ladies to whom he was less permanently attached. He was a zealous worshipper of the national idols, and set up one to which human sacrifices were offered. According to Nestor, he inquired into the tenets of Mohammedans, Jews, Roman Catholics, and Orthodox, before changing his religion. He would have nothing to do with Mohammedans because of their abstinence from wine. 'Drinking is the delight of Russians; we cannot live without it.' He seems to have been won over to the Greek Church by the reports of the beauty of its worship. His emissaries reported: 'We almost thought we were in heaven: for it is impossible to find so much magnificence on earth. We believe that we were there in the presence of God and that the worship of other countries is totally eclipsed.' They also said: 'If the Greek religion was bad, your grandmother, Olga, would not have adopted it.'

It is likely that his motives were as much political as religious. At least we know that he married the Eastern Emperor's sister in 988, and his baptism was a condition of the marriage. The bride wept at the prospect before her, but was encouraged by the hope of being the means of converting the Russians. Vladimir's baptism was followed by the destruction of the great idol he had erected. When no ill results followed, the inhabitants of Kieff were ordered to repair to the banks of the Dnieper or be treated as rebels. The next day all were there. They said: 'Baptism cannot be a bad thing, or our princes and nobles would not have consented to it.' An innumerable crowd entered the river. 'Some plunged into the water; others swam about while priests read prayers. It was a wonderfully curious and beautiful sight,' wrote Nestor. Everywhere idols were destroyed, churches built and priests established. Children of nobles were taken from their parents, much to the distress of their mothers, and sent away to be educated in the faith in order that they might become teachers of their fellow-countrymen.

To Vladimir's son Jaroslav (1017–54) is due the real conversion of Russia. Nestor says that he was a great lover of the clergy, especially monks. Like our own King Alfred, though constantly occupied in wars, he was a student, 'reading night and day without rest.' He employed a large number of scholars in translating Greek books of religion into Slavonic and in composing religious manuals for the better instruction of his people. He built churches in many places, appointing the clergy himself. 'He was a noble prince whose

joy increased with the number of churches and clergy.' Nestor says that in his time the Christian religion began to grow and to 'propagate itself.'

IX

THE REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

The Popes remained during the seventh century subject to the Eastern Emperor. Martin I (649–655) roused the anger of a Monothelite Emperor by excommunicating the Patriarch for Monothelitism. The exarch was ordered to send him to Constantinople, where he was stripped, led through the city with an iron collar round his neck, thrown into a dungeon, and finally died of ill-treatment. Another Pope, Constantine, was summoned to Constantinople (709), to give an account of his conduct, but was treated with honour and returned in safety. He was the last Pope to be the vassal of the Eastern Emperor. For Iconoclasm roused the Pope to assert his independence.

Effect of Iconoclasm in the West

In the East Iconoclasm was a controversy which raged for a time and ended in a compromise. In the West, its effect was far-reaching. It brought the Pope into collision with the Emperor when the Emperor was fully occupied with the Saracens. For Iconoclasm could not be treated as a domestic affair concerning the East. The exarch as in duty bound published the Iconoclastic Edict in Ravenna. The Pope, Gregory II (715–31), was aghast. He made peace with the hated Lombards, held a council at Rome, and excommunicated the Emperor and all Iconoclasts. His successor, Gregory III, also defied the Emperor and excommunicated the Iconoclasts.

The Pope was comparatively safe from attacks from the East, because, owing to the Saracens, it was difficult for the Emperor to bring forces to Italy, but the Lombards were a near and pressing danger. In 739 they prepared to descend on Rome, and the Pope in terror appealed to Charles Martel, the ruler of the Franks: 'I adjure you by the living God and by the sacred Kings of the Confession of the blessed Peter, which I have sent you, not to prefer the friendship of the Lombards to the love of the prince of the apostles.'

This letter marks an epoch. Henceforward, though Gregory III had himself waited to assume papal power until his appointment had been confirmed by the Emperor, the Pope was free of Constantinople. Further, he inaugurated the papal policy of securing his own temporal independence by calling in a transalpine power to redress the balance of power in Italy and prevent the predominance of any one power in that country.

The alliance was strengthened in the reign of Pepin, son of Charles Martel, whom the Pope crowned King of the Franks. Subsequently Pepin conquered the exarchate of Ravenna and handed it over as a temporal fief to the Pope, who in return bestowed the title of Patrician on the King. The title was vague but seems to have conveyed the idea of a protector, as though Pepin were constituted Protector of the Papacy.

Charlemagne.—Pepin's son and eventual successor, Charles—commonly known as Charlemagne—is one of the world's great men, and a fit hero both of history and legend. His biographer, Eginhard, says that he was seven feet high and broad in proportion, temperate, and though a member of a drinking nation, a hater of drunkenness; skilled in bodily exercises, a great soldier and a lover of learning who understood Latin and even Greek, and introduced Alcuin, 'the most learned man of the day, John the deacon, historian of the Lombards, and other learned men into his kingdom to teach these subjects.' During his meals he listened to music or to a book being read. His favourite book was Augustine's *Civitas Dei*. 'His rule extended from the Danube to the Pyrenees, he conquered the Lombards and assumed the crown of Lombardy. The Slavic kingdom on the borders trembled and paid tribute; Alfonso of Asturias found in him a protector from his infidel foe.'

His Coronation.—Charlemagne had paid two visits to Rome before his coronation; once for the baptism of his son, once in 781 to deliver the Pope from the Lombards. Leo III, who became Pope in 795, was four years later the victim of a ferocious assault in Rome and fled for help to Charles. Labbé says that his eyes and tongue were torn out but sight and speech were miraculously restored. King and Pope returned together. On Christmas Day, 800, Charles attended mass at St. Peter's and at its close the Pope placed the imperial crown on his head with the words: 'God grant life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor.' This was not in theory the setting up again of the Western Empire. It was a renewal (*renovatio*) of the undivided empire of Constantine, for

the throne at Constantinople was at the moment occupied by Irene, whose rule was not recognised by the Pope, and the throne was by him considered vacant.

'The coronation of Charles is not only the central event of the Middle Ages, it is also one of those very few events of which, taking them singly, it may be said that if they had not happened, the history of the world would have been different.'[1] Certainly the effect on the Church was considerable. Now that the Saracens had made interference from the Eastern Emperor a negligible danger, the papacy was in danger of being dominated by a King of Italy, if any one should be strong enough to assert himself in that position, or by some lawless baron or group of barons in the neighbourhood of Rome. When the Carolingian line of emperors came to an end, this danger was realised. Neither had the Church freedom to elect a Pope, nor had the Pope when elected freedom to act as head of the Church. By installing a transalpine power, who could be appealed to for help as required, and whose own claims for domination could be repudiated with comparative impunity, because of the distance at which he lived from Rome, the papacy acquired reasonable security and freedom.

Moreover, the theory of the empire, that all secular rule was derived from God, the Emperor acting as God's vicegerent, helped to make intelligible the theory of the papacy, that the Church was a monarchy under the Pope, to whom God had committed the rule of all spiritual things. The monarchical idea helped both. At the moment the respective spheres of action were not defined. Later, disputes concerning them gave rise to bitter controversies.

The Reforms of Charles.—Charles was in his way a devoted churchman. Eginhard says that he was most regular in attending church, 'at matins and evensong and also during the night and at the time of the Sacrifice.' He was in his own kingdom a religious reformer, and summoned the Council of Frankfort in 794 to remedy ecclesiastical as well as civil abuses. The Council under his presidency presumed to reject the canons of the second Council of Nicea, which had allowed the veneration of images, though they had been sanctioned by more than one Pope. Among other things, it enforced the payment of tithes, prescribed the duty of residence to the parochial clergy, fixed the age of ordination to the priesthood at thirty, and laid down that 'there is no tongue in which prayer may not be offered.'

[1] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*.

Charles took pains to appoint good men as bishops. His conversion of the Saxons by fire and sword can hardly have helped the cause of religion, but the bishops he sent to carry on or rather to inaugurate the work of conversion carried their lives in their hands and were good men.

His reign marked a great and unfortunate advance in the feudalisation of bishops and clergy. Estates were granted to laymen on condition of the fulfilment of certain duties, including the duty of military service. They were now granted to bishops and abbots on very much the same terms. Kings often preferred them to laymen as vassals, as they could not found a family and were thought to be more easy to control. The effect of making the bishop or abbot into a secular potentate was unfortunate for the Church. It put a temptation in the way of worldly men to seek the position, often by very unworthy means. It made it inevitable that the lay lord would expect to appoint the bishop and that he would look for other than spiritual qualifications in the man he did appoint.

Louis the Pious, Emperor, 814–839.—Louis had his father's interest in religion but little else in common with that great man. His reign is noteworthy for the monastic reforms of Benedict of Aniane and for the mission to Sweden undertaken by Anskar at the request of Louis.

Benedict of Aniane (d. 821).—Benedict was a Goth who, after serving Charlemagne in the wars, entered a monastery near Dijon. Here he led a most ascetic life, aspiring to emulate the great Egyptians, maintaining, when rebuked by his abbot, that the rule of Benedict was for novices and invalids and that for himself he preferred the rule of Basil and Pachomius. 'He was so reduced by fasting,' we read, 'that his skin adhered to his bones.' Like many other saints, he had a gift for crying at will. 'Whenever he wished he cried.' He never had a bath, wore the most disgusting rags, was covered with lice, and looked more like a beast than a man. With the help of Louis, whose ecclesiastical adviser he became, he founded a monastery on the Aniane. Louis also set him over all the monasteries in his kingdom, and a synod held at Aachen in 817 tried to get his reforms adopted and partly succeeded. The chief points were :

1. That uniformity should be secured between the different monasteries. In the Benedictine scheme, each monastery was a separate and independent family. The rule as left by Benedict was

not exhaustive and required supplementing and interpreting. Thus each monastery tended to have its own customs, based upon the original rule, but differing in details from others.

2. A considerable lengthening of the services said by the monks in chapel. Benedict of Nursia drew up his rule for labourers, who were to spend most of their time in manual work. Benedict of Aniane seems to have contemplated a community, mostly composed of priests, whose time could be occupied by other than manual work. Hence the longer time devoted to the *opus Dei* (work of God), as the sacred offices were styled.

3. A regular visitation of all abbeys. This was also an entire innovation and in contradiction to the *family* idea of Benedictinism.

This new movement was premature. It died with its founder, only to be brought to life again and to be the inspiration underlying the great monastic revival of the tenth century.

Secular Clergy.—Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, had (*c.* 750) drawn up an elaborate rule for secular clergy. His plan was to make them live together under rule. Presumably it was meant to apply only to the clergy of cathedrals. The Council of Aix (817) revised the rule and ordered it to be observed.

X

BREAKDOWN

The reforms instituted by Charlemagne and furthered by Louis the Pious were inspired by the heads of the State and found little response in the Church at large. At least the only spontaneous reforms we read of, those of Chrodogang and Benedict of Aniane, came to little. However, the want of response is explained by the state of Europe, which had not for a thousand years been so deplorable. There had been under Charlemagne a kind of false dawn, but after his death the Dark Ages reached their darkest point. It was the nadir of civilisation.

Charlemagne died in 814. After his death, instead of a strong, vigilant, central power, we find a number of rival princes contending for the mastery, and a chronic state of civil war was the result. Louis the Pious was attacked first by his brothers and then by his sons.

When he died the empire of Charlemagne, which was beginning to divide into Germany, France, an ill-defined Burgundian kingdom between the two, and Italy, was devastated by never-ending wars between the princes of those regions. No one was strong enough to make his rule effective over the whole empire. The political history of the century and a half after the death of Charlemagne is a history of wars and feuds between fathers and sons, brothers, uncles, and nephews, forming ever-varying permutations and combinations.

Raids.—Into this distracted empire poured the Danes and Northmen, Saracens, and, after 884, Hungarians. In 841 the Danes burnt Rouen and all the monasteries on the Seine. In 842 the Saracens sailed up the Rhône and plundered Arles. In 843 Northmen killed the Bishop of Paris before his high altar. In the next year they sailed up the Garonne as far as Toulouse; in 845 they sailed up the Elbe and burnt Hamburg. In 847 the Saracens sailed up the Tiber, devastated St. Peter's at Rome and carried off the high altar and the treasures of the church. In 884 we read[1] 'the Northmen do not cease to capture and to kill Christians and to destroy churches, walls, and cities. In every street lie the bodies of clergy, laymen, nobles, common folk, women, children, those that suck the breast. There is no road or place without dead bodies.' In 884 the pagan Magyars burst on Europe and created unprecedented terror. They ravaged France, Germany, and Italy, burning at the same time Bremen on the Baltic and St. Gall on Lake Constance. They were the terror of Europe from 884 to 934, when they were defeated by Henry the Fowler. Whole regions were devastated, Flanders, the valleys of the Meuse, the Seine, and the Loire, and what was to become Normandy. In the general disorder religion suffered. Monasteries were the first objects of Danish attack. In the *Life of Odo* we read that many monks left their monasteries for fear of the Northmen and returned to the world, and when their monastic habits wore out put on coloured garments.

Lawlessness.—Nor were the Danes and their fellow-pirates the only depredators. Synods in vain set out the sacredness of church property and the lives of the clergy. The Synod of Aix (816) anathematised the unlawful holders of church property, and the Synod of Thionville (821) the murderers of bishops, priests, and deacons. A series of synods at Thionville (844), at Meaux, and

[1] *Annales Bertiniani.*

Paris, from 843–46, protested against the invasion of the rights and property of the church, of kings, and barons.

The Emperor Lothair in 841, after his defeat at Fontenay, passed through the Morvan to the Cenomanni pillaging and burning, and did not hesitate to rob churches and monasteries. In 846 the bishops' proposals for reform were brought before a Diet held at Epernay. 'Never since Christianity was founded was episcopal authority treated with such contempt,' is the comment of the chronicler. Of eighty canons passed by the Synod of Paris only nineteen were confirmed by the Diet. In 854 Charles spent Lent in Aquitaine, during which season 'his escourt (*ejus populus*) spent their entire energies in robbing, arson, and kidnapping, sparing neither church nor altar.'

The Danes.—In England the Church fared no better. The Danes were pagan and burnt churches and monasteries, slaying monks, nuns, and priests. They began by burning Lindisfarne in 793 and Jarrow a year later, and were an unceasing scourge until the victories of Alfred (871–901) gave England peace nearly a century later. In the eastern part of England they were for a time supreme. Wessex alone held out, and in Wessex King Alfred was at one moment driven to take refuge in the marshes of Athelney. His great work was to make a breathing space for religion and learning by his successive victories over the Danes and by the crowning peace of Wedmore (878), by which they were confined to the Danelagh—that is, the eastern half of the kingdom which lies north of the Thames. But for more than a generation all able-bodied men had been wanted for fighting. Even bishops took up arms and led armies in the field. The inevitable result was the decay of religion and learning. Asser, King Alfred's tutor and biographer, tells us that he was unable to find any instructors in Wessex, and had to import them from outside: from Mercia, Wales, and overseas.

In Scotland, Candida Casa was ravaged in 776, Iona in 794, and again in 806, when forty-eight clerics were killed. Iona was deserted in 831. In 888 a pagan Viking kingdom was set up in the Shetlands and Orkneys. So completely were the traces of Christianity obliterated that the year 1000 has been given as the date of the conversion of the Orkneys.

The Danes arrived in Ireland in 795. In 822 the Irish Bangor was burnt. In 835 a celebrated pirate named Turgensius established the worship of Thor on the site of Armagh Cathedral. His

wife Ota desecrated the altar of Clonmacnois with human sacrifices. 'The sea also vomited up floods of foreigners into Erin, so that there was not a point thereof without a fleet.' After 850, they began to settle. Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick were Danish cities. Dublin was founded by the Danes and became the centre of a Danish kingdom.

Nevertheless attempts were made on the part of the Church to assert the sacredness of its property and of the persons of its ministers and the supremacy of its law, notably by the author of 'The False Decretals,' and by two Popes, Nicholas I and Hadrian II, in the form of papal protests.

The False Decretals.—These Decretals[1] were published in the year 850, under the name of Isidore Mercator, which was probably intended to suggest the name of the Spanish bishop, St. Isidore of Seville. They consisted of authentic canons and papal decretals, interspersed with others purporting to have been issued by the Popes from the earliest times, which were in fact fabricated by the author. They were accepted in good faith. Doubt was cast upon them by Nicholas of Cusa in the fifteenth century and by Erasmus and others in the sixteenth, but it was not until the seventeenth that they were given up by the Roman Church.

The main purpose of the author was to protect the persons and property of ecclesiastics from violence and depredation. To do this it was necessary to make the ecclesiastic supreme in his own sphere. The layman was not to dispose of church property or have any say in church government, or in church courts, or in the trial of clergy. Where authority had been given to the Emperor it was now to be given to the Pope or his representative. The Emperor was forbidden, as Charlemagne had done, to summon synods. Further, though the State was not to interfere with the Church, the Church might interfere with the State, holding a kind of moral censorship over all acts of the secular government.

The author disliked the rising power of the metropolitan almost as much as the intrusion of lay influence into the Church and for the same reason. The Archbishop was a lay lord, appointed chiefly because of his suitability as a lay magnate, and no more scrupulous than laymen about the rights of the Church. For the oppressed bishop the only court of appeal was the Pope. The Archbishop was, as likely as not, the cause or instrument of oppression.

[1] See Davenport, *The False Decretals*.

Their immediate effect was negligible. But in the tenth and eleventh centuries they were a potent weapon in the hands of the theocratic Popes from Hildebrand to Boniface VIII.

Papal Protests.—Nicholas I (858–867) and his successor, Hadrian II (867–872) protested vigorously against demoralisation in Church and State, and were almost the last Popes to bear effective witness to the supremacy of the moral law until the advent of the reforming Popes in the eleventh century. Nicholas was, like his great predecessors, Leo I and Gregory I, a Roman by birth. His distinguishing characteristics were energy and hatred of wrong-doing. If there were any scandal in the Church 'he gave neither rest to his body nor sleep to his members' until he had dealt with the situation by letters or legates.

Three instances of interference may be noted.

(i) His championship of Ignatius, the deposed Patriarch of Constantinople, which is described elsewhere.

(ii) *The Case of Theutburga.*—Theutburga was the wife of Lothair, King of Lorraine, and was accused of incest by her husband. A synod at Aix pronounced a decree of nullity, and Lothair married Waldrada (862). The Pope promptly interfered and despatched legates. Another council was held at Metz at which the legates were present, but some way had been found of securing their silence, and the acts of the former synod were ratified without protest. Nicholas acted with decision. He annulled the acts of the synod of Metz, which he called a brothel of adulterers, and excommunicated the bishops who had taken part in it. In the end Lothair and his supporters had to give in to the masterful Pope. 'This Lord Nicholas, who calls himself Pope, accounts himself one of the Apostles, and makes himself Emperor.' Hadrian II, who succeeded Nicholas, upheld his decision.

(iii) *Controversy with Hincmar of Rheims.*—Hincmar provided a case in which the power of an archbishop over his suffragans was tested. Hincmar had a dispute with his nephew, another Hincmar, Bishop of Laon. The Bishop of Laon appealed to Rome, and the Archbishop stoutly denied the right of the Pope to interfere, asserting that metropolitan councils were of higher authority than the decretals of Popes. The case began under Nicholas I, was continued under Hadrian II, and the Archbishop had to yield. But after Hadrian's death, the new Pope being too weak to interfere, with the help of the royal power, the older Hincmar had his nephew seized and blinded. It is not surprising that the author of *The*

False Decretals should have seen in the appeal to the Pope the only remedy for the tyranny of archbishops over their suffragans.

The Papacy (882–1047)

The papacy shared the general demoralisation. Nicholas I and Hadrian II had done their best to stem the flood. After them for 250 years with a brief interlude when Otho appointed German popes, the holders of the office were, if not criminal, men of little account. Men of bad character were frequently appointed. Formosus (d. 896) had been excommunicated by a former Pope for conspiring to murder the Pope and admit the Saracens. Boniface VII (896) had twice been deposed from holy orders for his scandalous life. In 903 Leo V was ejected by Christopher, who usurped his place only to be deposed and expelled by Sergius, who appeared in Rome at the head of an army. During his reign the infamous Theodora first comes into notice. She and her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, disposed of the papacy for many years. John X (914–28) was the paramour of Theodora, and was appointed by her influence. He was ejected by Marozia, imprisoned, and, so it was said, smothered with a pillow. John XI, appointed three years later, was the son of Marozia. Marozia's grandson, John XII, was only nineteen when he became Pope in 955. He was the first Pope to take a new name. In 963 he was deposed by Otho for various crimes.

Gregory V and Silvester II, appointed by Otho III, make an oasis (996–1003). Silvester II deserves a word in passing. He was the most learned man of his time and invented an organ which was played or blown by steam power.[1]

After the death of Silvester, the era of the Tusculan popes began, so-called because they were appointed by the Counts of Tusculum, who were themselves descended from Marozia. From 1014 till 1046 the papacy was an appanage in their family. A climax was reached in the reign of Benedict IX, who ruled for twelve years, leading a life so foul and shameful, that one of his successors said that he shuddered to describe it.

[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*.

XI

THE CONVERSION OF SCANDINAVIA

Sweden

Anskar, Archbishop of Hamburg and Bishop of Bremen, is generally regarded as the Apostle of Sweden. His career shows that missionary enterprise had sunk to a low level in the Church of his day. Born in 801, be belonged to the monastery of New Corbie in Westphalia when the call came. Harold, King of Denmark, had been driven out of his kingdom and had sought help from the Emperor, Louis the Pious. Louis promised the assistance asked for on condition that Harold adopted Christianity.[1] Accordingly, Harold was baptised and asked for a missionary to take back with him. Louis called together his council and made known the request. The opinion was generally expressed that no one could be found to undertake so perilous an enterprise. Whereupon the Abbot of New Corbie sent for Anskar, who was offered the mission and accepted it to the general astonishment, all the ecclesiastics present expressing surprise that he should be willing to leave his country, relations, and friends, and live among barbarians in a foreign country. Some even reproached him and tried to dissuade him from his intention. Only one of his fellow-monks was willing to go with him. The two accompanied Harold to Denmark, where, besides preaching, Anskar started a school. To supply it with pupils he bought boys whom he hoped to train as missionaries.

After two years Harold was expelled (828) as the result of a pagan reaction, and the missionaries returned. However, when in 829, an embassy arrived at the court of Louis from Sweden, asking for Christian missionaries, Anskar was sent and preached in Sweden for two years. He then became Archbishop of Hamburg, which Louis made an archi-episcopal see to serve as a base for missionary enterprise in Scandinavia. Later, when Hamburg had been devastated by Danish pirates, he was made Bishop of Bremen with the same missionary intention. The Swedish mission was transferred to Gautbert, who became the first Swedish bishop. Gautbert was driven out and a companion murdered, and it was seven years before Anskar could send any help to the orphaned flock. He then

[1] *Life*, Migne, *P. L.*, 118, p. 967.

sent a hermit, who soon left his post, wishing to lead a solitary life. Anskar then asked Gautbert to return. When Gautbert refused, saying that he did not dare go, Anskar decided to go himself (853). This time he was more successful. He persuaded the Swedish King to summon an assembly of his people to decide whether they would adopt the new religion. They began by casting lots to ascertain the will of their gods. The answer being favourable to Christianity, they proceeded to debate the matter. An aged councillor made a speech which recalls that of Coifi before Edwin at Godmundingham. He said that many of them knew by experience that the Christian God helped those who believed in Him; that he and others had many years before made an expedition to Dorstede, in order to embrace this religion, thinking it would profit them, and as their own gods could not save them from storms or depredations of pirates, he urged his hearers to accept Christianity. This speech was decisive, and the assembly resolved to adopt the Christian religion, an example followed in other parts of Sweden.

After this, Christianity had no serious set-back. Olaf, the Lap king, who reigned 993–1024, was the first Christian king, and after his time Christianity was recognised as the national religion. It was not apparently enforced by violent methods. Anskar left Sweden[1] in 854 and died peacefully at Bremen in 865. In early life he had had a vision in which his martyrdom by the heathen was foreshadowed, and he always had a grudge against Providence that this vision remained unfulfilled.

Denmark

In spite of Anskar's mission, Denmark remained heathen for more than a century. In the year 972 the Emperor Otto led an expedition against Denmark and defeated the Danes under their King Harold assisted by Earl Hakon of Norway. As a condition of peace, Harold was baptised. Bishop Poppo instructed him in the faith. According to one account, apparently as part of the instruction, the bishop 'bore red-hot irons in his hands and

[1] The biographer of Anskar relates that before Gautbert left Sweden, he gave one of his converts, a pious lady named Frideburg, the sacrament to reserve against the day of her death as no priest was left. This reservation was in the species of wine, 'de vino aliquantulum in quodam fecit reservari vasculo et filiae suae in fide commendans, ut si quando ei ultimum tempus instaret de ipso vino quia sacrificium non habebat, ei in os distillaretur; ut vel sic Domini gratiae exitum suum commendaret' (*Vita*, ch. 32).

exhibited his unscorched hands to the King. Thereafter, King Harold allowed himself to be baptised and also the whole Danish army.' Earl Hakon and his men were also baptised. King Harold held fast to his religion to his dying day, built churches and received bishops and other missionaries, but Hakon soon afterwards renounced Christianity and offered his son as a sacrifice to Odin.[1]

Canute, King of England and Denmark (1016–35), was a zealous promoter of Christianity in both countries. In Denmark, he forbade pagan worship, ordered that his subjects should be taught the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and receive Holy Communion three times a year, and had many bishops consecrated in England for missionary work in Denmark. Henceforward, Denmark was Christian, at any rate in name.

Norway

The principal agents in the official adoption of Christianity as the national religion in Norway were two Olafs, Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haroldson, commonly known as Olaf the Saint. They had both made names as warriors and raiders before ascending the throne, both were men of considerable force of character, and both assumed that force and intimidation were not incongruous with the work of conversion, to which they applied themselves with whole-hearted enthusiasm.

Hakon was the first Christian King of Norway. He had been brought up in England at the court of Athelstan, where he learned his religion. He became King of Norway in 934, and sent to England for a bishop and Christian teachers. He endeavoured without success to persuade his subjects to adopt his religion. Instead, they turned the tables upon him by insisting that he should adopt theirs. He was compelled to practise his religion in private and even to take some part in heathen sacrifices. He was killed in battle in 960 and almost his last words were ' If fate should prolong my life, I will leave the country and go to a Christian land and do penance for what I have done against God.'

Olaf Tryggvason.—In 995, Olaf Tryggvason became King of Norway. Before becoming king he had led many piratical expeditions and on one of them, after raiding in Northumberland, Scotland, Ireland and France, put in at one of the Scilly Islands, where a hermit so impressed him by his predictions, that he was

[1] Laing, *Heimskringla.*

baptised and ' took the true faith and got with him priests and learned men.' He was confirmed soon afterwards by Bishop Alphege at Winchester in 994.

On his return to Norway, he collected his relations and friends and told them that he ' would bring it to this, that all Norway should be Christian or die.' In his progresses through the country he assembled the principal inhabitants and invited them to become Christian, ' and those who opposed him he punished severely, killing some, mutilating others, and driving some into banishment.' [1] In one place, the chief men were obstinate and prepared to fight. He offered to sacrifice and appointed a day for the feast. When the day came, he surrounded the assembly with his soldiers and said : ' I will make the greatest sacrifice. I will sacrifice men. But I will not select slaves or malefactors for this, but will take the greatest men only to be offered to the gods,' [2] and named eleven of the principal men present. Whereupon his opponents gave in and consented to be baptised.

His zeal was not confined to Norway, but found an outlet overseas. Iceland was a Norwegian colony and had not long before received missionaries. Olaf sent the strangest missionary ever chosen to commend the Gospel in a yet heathen land. ' There was a Saxon priest in his house who was called Thangbrand, a passionate, ungovernable man and a great manslayer ; but a good scholar and a clever man. Olaf would not have him in his own house on account of his misdeeds, but gave him the errand to go to Iceland and bring that land to the Christian faith.' [3] Thangbrand is said to have persuaded some of the chiefs to be baptised. He stayed in Iceland two years, and killed two bards, who lampooned him, and another man before he left.

Even Greenland, which had been colonised from Iceland a few years before, was not neglected. In the year 1000 Olaf sent a Viking there, accompanied by a priest and other teachers, to proclaim Christianity. We know nothing of the results of this mission, but Greenland had a succession of bishops from 1112–1409, and, as late as 1448, wrote to the Pope asking that a bishop and priests might be sent there, on the ground that they had been attacked by the heathen and their clergy killed or enslaved. Soon afterwards, the colony came to an end, and the next missionary expedition to Greenland was by the Moravians to the Esquimaux in the eighteenth century.

[1] Laing, *Heimskringla.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

Olaf Tryggvason perished in a sea-fight against the Swedes and the Danes in the year 1000. After fighting desperately, he jumped overboard and was seen no more.

Saint Olaf.—In 1015, another Olaf came to the throne. This was Olaf Haroldson, known as Olaf the Saint. He combined the piety of the Christian saint with the native ferocity of the unregenerate Viking. He is said to have made his first voyage at the age of twelve and was engaged continuously in Viking forays from 1007 until 1015 when he returned to Norway.

Force was his chief weapon, but he took pains to provide teachers for those who had accepted Christianity under compulsion. Early in his reign he carried out a kind of metropolitical visitation in the Uplands of Norway and summoned all the head-men of the districts to come to him. 'He inquired particularly how it stood with their Christianity, and where improvement was needful, he taught them the right customs. If there were any who would not renounce heathen ways, he took the matter so zealously that he drove some of them out of the country, mutilated others of hands or feet, or stung their eyes out; hung up some, cut down some with the sword, but let none go unpunished who would not serve God. He gave them teachers and was accompanied by 300 deadly men at arms.'[1]

Opposition he often met with and usually overcame by force, but on at least one occasion he had recourse to guile.

In a certain valley, Gudbrandsdal, where a man named Gudbrand ruled like a king, the inhabitants met in arms to resist conversion. The King summoned them to meet him in a Thing, as the assembly was called. They met and were addressed by the bishop. 'The bishop stood up in his choir-robes, with bishop's coif upon his head, and bishop's staff in his hands. He spoke to the bondes of the true faith and told the many wonderful acts of God.' Then one of the chief men got up and said: 'Many things are we told by this horned man with the staff in his hand, crooked at the top like a ram's horn; but since ye say that your God is so powerful and can do so many wonders, tell him to make it clear sunshine to-morrow forenoon and then we shall meet here again and do one of two things—either agree with you about this business or fight you.'

The account continues: 'The King was in prayer all the night, beseeching God in his mercy and goodness to release him from evil. When mass was ended and morning was grey, the King went to the

[1] Laing, *Heimskringla*.

Thing. When he came there . . . they saw a great crowd coming along and bearing among them a huge man's image glancing with gold and silver. When the bondes who were at the Thing saw it, they started up and bowed themselves down before the ugly idol. Thereupon, it was set down upon the Thing field ; and on the one side of it sat the bondes, and on the other, the King and his people.' Then Gudbrand got up and said : ' Where now, King, is thy God ? I think he will now carry his head lower and neither thou or the man with the horn, whom ye call bishop and sits there beside you, are so bold to-day as in former days.' Now the King had by his side among his followers a warrior called Kolbein the Strong, whose favourite weapon was an enormous club, and said to him : ' If it comes in the course of my speech that the bondes look another way than towards their idol, strike it as hard as thou canst with thy club.' At that moment the rising sun began to appear. The King stood up and spoke. ' Thou wouldst frighten us with thy god . . . but now I expect it will be but a short time before he meets his fate ; for turn your eyes towards the east—behold our God advancing with great light.' All turned to look, and then crash ! Kolbein had smitten the god with his club and it broke in pieces. The King then gave them two conditions—' either accept Christianity or fight this very day.' [1] They all received Christianity and Gudbrand built a church in the valley.

Yet Olaf had a real zeal for Christ, even if not according to knowledge. ' It was his custom,' we are told, ' to rise betimes in the morning, put on his clothes, wash his hands, and then go to church and hear the mattins and morning mass. . . . Christian privileges he settled according to the advice of Bishop Grimkel and other learned priests ; and bent his whole mind to uprooting paganism and old customs, which he thought contrary to Christianity.' [2] In one place we read, as though it were a common occurrence, ' The king was riding on his way singing Psalms.'

In 1025, Norway was conquered by Canute the Great of England and Olaf fled to Russia, where he was offered the country of the heathen Khazars, east of the Volga, but, warned by a dream, returned to Norway and struck a last blow for his kingdom. He refused to allow any to fight for him who were not Christians and of 900 heathen in one troop who volunteered, he sent 500 away who refused to be baptised. Two brothers, celebrated pirates, offered to fight for him with their followers. The King asked what

[1] Laing, *Heimskringla*. [2] *Ibid*.

their religion was. One pirate replied : ' We have no faith except in ourselves, our strength, and the luck of victory ; and with this faith we slip through sufficiently well.' The King said : ' A great pity it is that such brave slaughtering fellows did not believe in Christ their Creator.' The other retorted : ' Is there any Christian man, King, in thy following, who stands so high in the air as we two brothers ? ' The King told them to be baptised and follow him or go away.

He told his men to go into battle, crying, ' Forward, forward, Christ men ! Cross men ! King's men ! ' He gave ' soul-mulct,' that is, money to be laid out in masses for souls, for his enemies who should die in battle. His own he said would not need it. ' The men who follow us to battle and fall therein will all be saved together with myself.'

The battle was fought at Sticklestad in 1030. Olaf fell fighting desperately. Soon after his death, miracles were recorded at his tomb and he became the patron saint of Norway. Whatever we may think of his Christianity, it cannot be denied that he was a civilising agent. Paganism with its orgies and sacrifices, often human, did nothing for the soul or mind of its votaries. Christianity brought in with it the beginnings of learning, and a gradual amelioration of manners. His Norse successors were Christians and no attempt was made to put the clock back. Schools, churches, and monasteries were built and the land became Christian.[1]

XII

THE CLUNIAC REVIVAL

Both church and civilisation reached their lowest point in the year 900, but a religious revival was in sight. It was to be monastic, the first of three waves of monastic revival that profoundly affected Europe in the tenth and three following centuries. The first was the Cluniac, then a whole crop of reformed Clunys of which Cîteaux may be taken as the type ; last of all, the Friars.

Cluny

Odo, though not its founder, was the chief architect of the fortunes of Cluny. The son of a pious noble, he spent his early

[1] See also A. Robinson, *Conversion of Europe*.

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years at the court of William of Aquitaine, but at an early age forsook the world, made his vows at the shrine of St. Martin of Tours, and became a canon there. But life at Tours did not appeal to him. The canons wore coloured garments and deferred the midnight office until break of day for fear of soiling their shining shoes by walking through the mud in the dark. Desiring a stricter life he retired to a cell near by, where his bed was the bare ground and his food bread and a few beans. There he was joined by a friend, a certain Adhegrinus, a soldier.

After living as anchorites for a time they resolved to join a monastery, if they could find one sufficiently austere. We are told that they visited in person or by deputy monasteries in every part of France without success until they found the monastery of Baume, founded by Columban, and lately reformed by a wealthy Burgundian named Berno, who had in drawing up his rule been an imitator of 'a certain Eutychus.' This Eutychus was Benedict of Aniane. The fame of Baume reached William of Aquitaine, so that when he wished to found a monastery he sent for Berno and asked him to choose a site. To William's dismay, Berno chose the site of the Duke's kennels at Cluny. However, the site was granted and the abbey built. Its first charter was drawn up in 910. But both the founder and the first abbot died before the buildings were finished.

Odo became the second abbot in 927. During his rule, Cluny became a centre of reform and the most famous monastery in Christendom. He was called upon by the Pope to undertake the reform of other houses and his activities extended over the whole of France and part of Italy. He was not always welcome. When he arrived at the great house of Fleury (*c.* 930), which claimed to possess the bones of St. Benedict, accompanied by a body of bishops and nobles, the monks armed themselves with swords, helmets and missiles, manned the entrance and swore to die before they would admit him. However, after three days, Odo taking his life in his hand, entered alone, overcame the monks by gentleness, and carried out a reformation. His chief difficulty, a difficulty which met all monastic reformers at this time, was in overcoming the craving of the monks for meat. He was himself an attractive character. One night, when praying, he saw a thief make off with a horse belonging to the monastery. The rule of silence forbade him to shout. However, by signs, he let the horse-keepers know what had happened and they followed the thief and at dawn came up with him. They brought him back a prisoner, but Odo not only insisted

on his release, but gave him money, saying that it would be unjust not to pay him, as he had worked hard all night without profit to himself.

His reforms were based on those initiated by Benedict of Aniane. The chief points were : (1) The greater time given to the daily office, originally occupying four to four and a half hours, now six to seven ; (2) greater freedom from lay or episcopal control ; (3) instead of each abbey being an independent unit governed by its abbot, the abbot of Cluny appointed priors and through them ruled all dependent abbeys, visiting them in person or by deputy. Representatives from every house were summoned to a general chapter at Cluny.

Cluny became a centre of reform. Its abbots were called upon by kings, nobles and bishops to send monks to new foundations and to restore those which had fallen into decay. In 937 there were seventeen monasteries dependent on Cluny ; in 994 thirty-seven. In 1049 five new monasteries and twenty-five old foundations had been added. Under the rule of Abbot Hugh (1049–1109) the congregation consisted of 200 monasteries and of these many had a number of dependent priories. They had twenty-six dependent monasteries beyond the Pyrenees.[1] There were also many other monasteries like the English houses which had been reformed under Cluniac influence but remained independent.

The constitutions which Lanfranc drew up for the monks of Canterbury in 1077 were an abridgment of the customs compiled by Bernard of Cluny not long before (1067). William, abbot of Hirsan (1068–91) introduced them into Germany. Miss Graham quotes Hermann, Abbot of Tournay (1127–32), as saying that it was hardly possible to find a monastery in France or Flanders in which they were not observed.

Besides the greater elaboration and length of service, and the uniformity of rule and system of visitation, Cluny encouraged magnificence in building and the apparatus of worship. Odilo in 981 rebuilt church and monastery on a magnificent scale with marble columns brought by water on the Rhône and Durance, ' not without great labour,' and used to boast that he had found Cluny wood, and left it marble. Nevertheless, in 1089, forty years after his death, the third church was begun. When consecrated in 1132, it was said to be the largest church in western Europe. The climax of the greatness of Cluny was reached when Pope Urban II came to

[1] Hasking, *Renaissance of Twelfth Century.*

consecrate its altars. Urban was a monk of Cluny and said to his former brothers, ' Vos estis lux mundi.' [1]

It is difficult to over-estimate its importance. It generated a supply of spiritual enthusiasm, which is the raw material of reformation. Charlemagne had tried to reform the Church and had failed, because there was no spring of enthusiasm on which he could draw. The reforming popes from Leo IX to Hildebrand would have been helpless if it had not been for the Cluniac influence.

In England.—Revival in England was begun by King Alfred (849–901), who had come to the throne (871) when religion and learning were in ruins and had laid foundations, if he was not able to rear an imposing superstructure. He imported teachers. He founded a monastery for men at Athelney, and one for women at Shaftesbury, but Asser says that no one of his own nation was willing to enter the monastic life, and he had to fill them with foreigners from across the seas. The filling up of vacant bishoprics and the creation of new sees, an urgent need, was not accomplished until after his death, when on one day in 909 Plegmund, Alfred's Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated seven bishops, three of them to the new sees of Ramsbury, Wells, and Crediton, created respectively for Wiltshire, Somerset, and Devon. The same year saw the birth of Dunstan, who was destined to reap the harvest of which Alfred and Plegmund had sown the seed.

St. Dunstan (909–88).[2]—This remarkable man was born near Glastonbury and educated at Glastonbury Abbey and has claims to be considered the most versatile and accomplished of all English archbishops. He was a student, a musician and composer, a painter and illuminator, and an artist in iron work, as witness the legend depicted in a window in Wells cathedral, in which he is seen grasping the devil's nose with a pair of blacksmith's tongs. For ten or twelve years he was a professed monk, but lived principally at court and gradually made his way as one of the most trusted of the King's advisers. About 940 he was appointed Abbot of Glastonbury. He set to work to rebuild the monastery, and train a body of monks after the Benedictine rule. His instruction and discipline became so famous that his pupils and disciples were eagerly sought after as teachers, deacons, abbots, bishops and even as archbishops. He was made Bishop of Worcester and London, and, in 959, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was, however, only the third choice for that

[1] L. M. Smith, *The Monastery of Cluny*.

[2] For Dunstan's dates, see J. A. Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan*.

position. The Bishop of Winchester had been appointed, and was on his way to Rome to receive the pall, when he was snow-bound on the Alps and succumbed to the cold. After him, Brythelm of Dorset was elected, but Edgar, thinking that his disposition was too mild, 'bade him return by the way by which he came and resume the office he had given up.' Dunstan was then appointed.

During his tenure of the see, the work of re-establishing Monasticism, begun by him at Glastonbury, went rapidly forward. Ethelwold, once a friend at court, then one of his monks at Glastonbury, he had already sent to Abingdon to refound the monastery there. Ethelwold now became Bishop of Winchester (963) and was the most prominent figure in the monastic revival. Ethelwold's biographer states that not content with founding monasteries in the West, he did the same in the remote parts of Britain. Coming to Ely, he found the famous abbey derelict and its property in the possession of the royal treasury. Accordingly, he bought it from the King 'for no small sum,' and made it a monastery for monks. He also bought Peterborough and Thorney, and refounded monasteries there. In his own diocese he found some monasteries, not derelict, but in the hands of married priests. His biographer has given a vivid picture of the fate that overtook them at Winchester. 'There were those in the old minster, where the Bishop had his seat, evil-living clergy, proud, insolent and luxurious, so that some disdained to celebrate mass in their town. They used to put away the wives they had married unlawfully and take others, being given to surfeiting and drunkenness. This the blessed Ethelwold could ill brook, and with King Edgar's permission, very quickly expelled these unspeakable blasphemers of God from the monastery, and bringing in monks from Abingdon, placed them there and ruled over them himself as abbot and bishop.' The King showed his approval by sending one of his principal ministers to assist the bishop, and the clergy were told that they must become monks or go away. Indeed, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it was the King and not the bishop, who took the initiative in expelling the monks. The abbeys of Milton and Chertsey were treated in the same manner.

In contrast with the severity of Ethelwold at Winchester, Oswald, who became Bishop of Worcester, after founding monasteries at Westbury-on-Trym and Ramsey, did not expel married priests, but kept filling up the vacancies with monks. 'Thus,' wrote Ethelwold's biographer, 'it came about with the consent of the King

that partly by the counsel and action of Dunstan, partly by Ethelwold, everywhere among the race of the English, monasteries were established, some for monks, and some for nuns.' Dunstan had kindled the fire, and he helped to fan the flame. His biographer says that he used to go the round of the religious houses, out of his solicitude for the inmates, and ' for the edification of their souls.'

The Monasticism thus revived was not only revived but reformed. Dunstan, during his exile, had found an asylum at St. Peter's at Ghent, one of the reformed Benedictine houses on the continent, and had come under the influence of Cluniac Benedictinism. Ethelwold was in close touch with continental Monasticism, and Oswald, who became Bishop of Worcester in 961, had spent some years at Fleury. The results of this foreign influence may be seen in the *Concordia Regularis*, drawn up as a guide for monastic life at a synod held at Winchester. The compilers profess to have examined the customs of the Roman Church and to have called in monks from Fleury and Ghent to assist. The intention was to produce uniformity on the new continental model with some alterations.

Dunstan, besides reviving Monasticism, was indefatigable in discharging the duties of his see. The following description of him, given by one who knew him in his later years, gives a rough sketch of his manner of life. He looked on prayer and devotion as his most important work. Often overcoming sleep he spent much of the night in prayer. At the rising of the sun, he would set to work correcting faulty manuscripts. He spent his day judging and making up quarrels, upholding the marriage law, relieving the widow, the orphan and the stranger. He was an admirable steward of the Church's wealth, and a great builder and endower of churches. He was an indefatigable teacher and ' filled England with light.' He died in the year 988, as his biographer says : ' an old man full of blessed days ' (*plenus felicium dierum*). The miracles almost immediately performed at his tomb testified to the feelings he had inspired and give the due to the success of his reforms. No greater man has ever sat on the throne of St. Augustine, but the men, women and children who knelt at his tomb and believed his spirit powerful to relieve their troubles, knelt not to the statesman, nor to the reviver of Benedictine discipline, nor to the builder, artist or administrator, but to the man of humble and loving heart filled with the living Spirit of his Master. This was the secret of his influence and power.'

Dunstan's death was soon followed by a renewed series of Danish invasions, only ended by the establishment of the Danish Canute as king in 1016. They destroyed much of the effect of revival. The one bright spot was the martyrdom of Alphege, who was taken prisoner by the Danes at Canterbury and, because he persistently refused to raise money for his ransom, murdered at Greenwich in 1012.

PERIOD IV

THE PAPAL MONARCHY

PERIOD IV

THE PAPAL MONARCHY

The reign of Charlemagne apart, western Europe had not since the fourth century acknowledged in any effective sense a *monarchy*, or rule of one. But from the revival of the papacy which dates from 1046 until the cataclysm of the sixteenth century the papal monarchy was a reality in temporal as well as spiritual things, though there was a very rapid decline in its effectiveness after the fall of Boniface VIII.

'If a man consider the original of this great ecclesiastical dominion, he will easily perceive that the papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' If Hobbes meant that the popes by claiming temporal, as well as spiritual, supremacy, were the true successors of the Roman emperors, he was not far wrong. Certainly, the popes from Gregory VII until Boniface VIII not only claimed this supremacy, but claimed it successfully. The papacy was a theocracy with all power ultimately resting in the pope; and considering the failure of secular governments to provide order and justice, and the frequent defiance by kings of the ordinary precepts of decency and morality, it was natural that high-minded popes should think that the world would be the better for their superintendence. The papacy was to be a super-state, which could effectively control international relations, prevent war and the exploitation or conquest of weak states, and intervene in the internal affairs of nations to prevent injustice and immorality, dethroning when necessary obdurate or persistently immoral sovereigns.

The aim was noble. Six hundred years after the papal attempt to realise it had failed, the League of Nations was established with some of its aims. An eminent statesman has said that if the League fails, Europe is lost. We can hardly therefore blame the popes for feeling much the same about their own supremacy in the twelfth century. It was no reactionary who wrote: 'The Papacy, taking

it all in all, was the greatest potentiality for good that existed at the time, or perhaps that has ever existed.' [1]

I

HILDEBRAND

The opportunity came to the papacy through the intervention of the Emperor. In 1046 there were three rival popes. An appeal was made to Henry III, the Emperor, who came to Rome, investigated the claims of the rival popes, deposed all three and appointed a German, Clement II. Then began a succession of German reforming popes nominated by the Emperor or elected under his influence.

An important step was taken by the *Election Decree* promulgated by the Lateran Council in 1059. Hitherto papal elections had been tumultuous affairs, in which Cardinals, the Roman populace, the Roman nobles, and the Emperor might, and often did, take an active part in the election. The original choice was now to be confined to cardinal-bishops and the election to the whole body of cardinals, the Emperor and the Roman laity having only some right of assent. Alexander II (1061–73) was the first Italian pope of the new order to be freely elected by the Cardinals.

Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII, was the real begetter of this theocracy. Born about 1020 and said to have been the son of a Tuscan goatherd, he was educated at a Cluniac monastery in Rome. He therefore had at his most impressionable age practical acquaintance with the degradation of the papacy, owing to the intrusion of self-seeking laymen into spiritual concerns; for he knew of the accession of Benedict IX, when a young man through the corrupt influence of the house of Tusculum, and of the scandals of his reign. The remedy of calling in the Roman Emperor to depose one pope and appoint another may have seemed to him worse than the disease. Though he may have been grateful for the succession of German reforming popes, their nationality cannot have appealed to his Italian soul, and we know that lay appointment to a spiritual office he thought highly improper. He had refused to accompany Bernard of Toul (Leo IX) when appointed by the Emperor, telling him that he was going more like an apostate than an apostle. It was

[1] A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages.*

probably under his influence that Bernard refused to enter Rome in state or to assume the status of pope until formally elected. Apart from his objection to a lay appointment, he had sufficient discernment to see that if a good emperor appointed good popes, a bad emperor might appoint bad popes.

Hildebrand was the power behind the throne during the greater part of the reigns of the reforming popes (1046–73), at any rate after the accession of Nicholas II (1059–61). Leo IX (1048–58) brought him back to Rome. Nicholas II made him archdeacon. Peter Damiani addressed letters to 'The Pope and the venerable Archdeacon Hildebrand' and wrote 'The Pope's lord I obey more than the Lord Pope.' In 1073, he was elected pope. He was first and foremost a Church reformer. The attainment of papal autocracy was a means, in his eyes the only means, to this end. It is noteworthy that he left William I and Lanfranc a practically free hand in England, though they refused to accept the Pope's theory of sovereignty, because they could be trusted to rule the Church righteously. Philip I of France and the Emperor Henry IV, on the other hand, were treated very differently, as Gregory attributed the immorality of the clergy to secular control by bad kings and greedy nobles. After a reign of twelve years spent in continual strife with the Emperor, he died in exile, an apparently beaten man; but he had made good the papal power, so that it was supreme, as well over kings as bishops, for more than 200 years. The struggle began almost immediately after his accession and continued during his lifetime. Certain features of the policy which mark the papal monarchs are conspicuous in his reign.

War against Simony and Lay Investiture.—Like his reforming predecessors, Gregory VII found that simony, that is buying a benefice, was both rife and scandalous, and like them he waged war on it unceasingly, even going so far as to deny the validity of orders conferred by a simoniacal bishop (1078). But Gregory cut at what seemed to him the root of the evil, when he forbade 'investiture by lay persons,' at first tentatively, and then definitely, in 1078, in spite of long usage and the fact that bishops were lay as well as spiritual magnates, so that their lay superior might reasonably claim a voice in their appointment. This was a new departure, though Cardinal Humbert in *Three books against Simoniacs* (1057–8) had denounced Simoniacs as vipers, foxes, fornicators, and worse than heretics, and included among Simoniacs, those who took part in lay investiture. However, Gregory did not make a great point of it. Simony proper

and clerical marriage remained for him the great objects of attack. It was left for Urban II to make the abolition of lay investiture the gage of battle.

Celibacy of the Clergy.—Gregory like all the stricter churchmen of his day regarded clerical marriage as a scandal, which cried to heaven for remedy. They called it concubinage, and even harsher names. Clerical celibacy was incidentally a necessary condition of papal monarchy. For married clergy with families were at the the mercy of the secular prince. Moreover, all offices at that day tended to become hereditary. If the office of the priesthood became hereditary, it would have become secularised. One of the first acts of Leo IX had been to carry on a crusade against the married clergy, who did not blush, we read, to celebrate their marriages openly. In this campaign, he was warmly seconded by Peter Damiani, who addressed a treatise to the Pope on monastic scandals, entitled *Liber Gomorrhianus*. At Milan the archbishop and clergy claimed marriage as a right. When a certain Ariald began to preach against the married clergy in Milan, he complained that they married openly like laymen (1056). Nicholas II, encouraged by Peter Damiani and Hildebrand (1059), forbade the faithful to be present at mass celebrated by a priest who had a woman in his house. One of the first acts of Gregory VII as pope was to denounce clerical concubinage and simony at a council held at Rome in 1075.

Much opposition was encountered. At the synod of Mainz (1074) the clergy said that they would give up their orders rather than their wives, and advised the Pope to get angels to take their places. The complete celibacy of the clergy was far from being secured. In England *focariae* (housekeepers) were the rule rather than the exception in Grosstête's time (1235–53). Still the stand made by the popes of this era against clerical marriage almost put an end to open marriage and made irregular unions more or less disreputable.

The Deposing Power.—This he claimed and exercised at a synod held at Rome in Lent 1076. The sentence ran : 'On behalf of Almighty God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost by the power and authority of St. Peter, I forbid to King Henry . . . the government of the Germans and Italy. I absolve all from the oaths which they have taken or shall take to him. I forbid anyone to obey him as king.' Gregory claimed this power of deposition as a prerogative of his see, as representing St. Peter. Peter is *Dominus*,

and *Imperator* after God, and Peter speaks through the Pope. ' If the son of Blessed Peter passes judgment on things spiritual, how much more on mere earthly concerns.' He not only deposed the Emperor, but claimed the right of transferring his kingdom to Rudolph of Suabia.

The use of Force.—Hildebrand used force freely to attain spiritual ends. When, as *Capellanus* to Gregory VI, he was charged with the oversight of pilgrims, he found that robbery with violence was common, even at the tombs. He organised an armed body of police and put an end to the scandal, ' commanding the Roman militia like a general.' He is also said to have created this armed force ' not on account of empty glory but in order to extend (*propago*) the Roman Church, which had suffered violence from the Normans.' He did not distinguish between force used for temporal ends to secure order, and force used for spiritual ends to win people to Christ. If the distinction had been pointed out, he would have replied : ' If you use force for temporal ends, how much more for spiritual.' Before he was pope he had arranged an understanding with the Normans, and at every crisis when violence was feared he brought up a body of Norman soldiers to keep order. To quote a Roman Catholic historian of the popes, ' Gregory like Leo IX soon saw that arms alone would keep the ambitions of Guiscard within bounds. To meet force with force, he endeavoured to ally to his own forces, the forces of Gisulf, Richard of Capua and Beatrice and Matilda of Tuscany.' [1]

In his quarrel with the Emperor, he had no scruple about calling on the princes of Germany to fight and dethrone Henry IV. It was at his instigation that Alexander II gave the consecrated banner to William before he invaded England, which act, he as himself tells us, brought him no small infamy. He was the first crusading pope, if not the first advocate of Crusades. He tried to rouse Christendom to take arms against the Saracens, and proposed taking command himself with the Countess of Tuscany and her daughter as companions. His readiness to shed blood in the Church's quarrel called out a protest from Sigbert of Gembloux, who said : ' David did not deserve to build a temple to God because he was a blood-stained man ; how should the high priest enter into the Holy of Holies if even a drop of blood has stained his garments.'

Temporal Rule.—He claimed *altum dominium*, or suzerainity, over Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Russia, Croatia, England, and all

[1] H. K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages.*

islands. This claim was repudiated by William I of England. He extended and consolidated the temporal power of the Pope in Italy. As part of the understanding with the Normans, Robert Guiscard had acknowledged the Pope as his feudal superior. Gregory arranged that the Pope should become the heir of the domains of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. The Pope was therefore *in posse*, if not *in esse*, the temporal lord of the greater part of Italy.

Quarrel with the Emperor.—The real ground of this long drawn out quarrel was moral. In the eyes of the Pope the Emperor was a young man of dubious morals, under the influence of evil counsellors, who were prepared to use that influence to resist salutary reforms. This comes out clearly in their correspondence.

At the beginning of his reign Gregory complained that Henry consorted with unworthy favourites, who had been excommunicated by Alexander II, while Henry in a letter to the Pope confessed that he had seized ecclesiastical property and given churches to unworthy men. In 1075 the Pope excommunicated five of the Emperor's counsellors 'by whose advice churches are sold.' After the decree of 1075 forbidding lay investiture, Gregory remonstrated with Henry for consorting with excommunicated counsellors, but showed himself ready to compromise on investitures.

By actively supporting the anti-reform party in Milan and Tedald its anti-papal archbishop, Henry showed plainly that he was a serious obstacle to the Pope's schemes of reform.

In this long duel, one dramatic incident has imprinted itself on the memory of posterity. This was the scene at Canossa in January 1077, when for three successive days, from dawn till eve, Henry stood barefooted in the snow, clad in the white dress of the penitent in the courtyard of the castle of Canossa, waiting to be admitted to the presence of the Pope. This was granted on the third day, but only at the intercession of the Countess of Tuscany and the Abbot of Cluny.

After Canossa, the Emperor rallied and peace was soon broken. The excommunication was renewed and a new king elected. However, this time Henry more than held his own. The rival king fell in battle. The Normans were busy with an expedition to the East. An anti-pope was set up, who crowned the Emperor in Rome. Gregory was besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo. The Normans came in answer to his appeal, drove out the imperial troops, rescued the Pope, and burnt and sacked a large part of Rome (1084).

Gregory was unpopular in consequence and soon left the ruined city, but, strange to say, in the company of Guiscard. He died in the next year with the words: 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity and therefore I die in exile.' Nevertheless, though apparently defeated he had won the victory. He had laid a foundation on which his successors were able to build.

Investitures.—The dispute continued after his death and became a quarrel about investitures. It had been the custom for the bishop to be invested by the prince with ring and crozier as symbols of his authority and to do homage for his temporalities. The scene will be remembered when Anselm was summoned into the Red King's sick room and his tightly clenched hands were forced open so that he cried out with the pain, in order that these symbols of his sacred office might be forced into them. This lay investiture was formally forbidden by Urban II at the Great Crusading Council of Clermont in 1095, and again at Rome in 1099. Accordingly, Anselm who had accepted investiture from William II in 1093, refused to accept it from Henry I in 1100.

A compromise was finally reached over investitures by the Concordat of Worms. No layman was to invest with ring or crozier; the clergy were to have the right of free election, but the election was to be made in the presence of the king. In Germany, the bishop was to receive his temporal rights by the touch of the royal sceptre.

II

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE CONTINENT

Edward the Confessor

With the accession of Edward the Confessor (1042) the English Church was brought into closer relations with the continent and the new spirit of reform there prevalent. Edward had been educated in Normandy, he spoke French, his sympathies were French. He began a continental as opposed to the insular trend of the English Church.

It is surprising to find how little, in spite of Wilfrid, the English Church had had to do with Rome. Archbishops got their palls from Rome and the pious made pilgrimages there, but only once,

when Offa was King of Mercia, and wanted Lichfield made into an archiepiscopal see, had the Pope sent legates (785).

But Edward sent English bishops to take part in the councils of the Church. He received papal legates. In his new foundation of Westminster he introduced the continental fashion in architecture, which before long was to dot the English landscape with masterpieces. Like the leading continental churchmen, he thought the best way to revive religion was to increase the numbers and improve the lives of *Religious*. He also introduced a large number of Norman ecclesiastics into positions of authority in the English Church. His subjects would perhaps have objected less if he had been more fortunate in his appointments. One Robert of Jumièges became Archbishop of Canterbury and his principal adviser. 'Whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.'[1] The result was a reaction headed by Earl Godwine and his son Harold, afterwards king. The foreigners were driven out, Robert having to cut his way through the streets of London with a sword (1052). Godwine died in 1053, and on his death Harold became the real ruler of the kingdom.

Harold

Harold represented the reaction in Church and State, and was typically English in his ecclesiastical policy. He was insular and what would later have been called Erastian, and was little inclined to submit to ecclesiastical interference. He was therefore opposed to the rising tide of papal and clerical pretension, which was flooding Italy and France, and found the ecclesiastics of Scandinavia and Germany more congenial. He was perhaps anti-Norman rather than anti-foreign. Two of his bishops were German and another, Aldred of Worcester, is mentioned as having gone over sea to Saxony and having been received there with great reverence. But the German bishops owed their promotion not to their nationality but to their usefulness as civil servants.

By no means without religion, as his foundation at Waltham and his friendship with Wulfstan testify—he used to say he would go thirty miles out of his way to talk with Wulfstan—he subordinated the interests of the Church to the supposed interests of the State in his ecclesiastical appointments. Wulfstan was the only one who was promoted on spiritual grounds, and Wulfstan was illiterate. Of

[1] William of Malmesbury.

one of his bishops, Leofgar, we read : ' He was the mass priest of Harold the Earl. He wore his *kenepas* (? headpiece) during his priesthood until he was a bishop. He forsook his chrism and his rood, his ghostly weapons, and took to his spear and his sword, after his bishophood, and so went in force against Griffith, the Welsh King, and was slain and his priests with him (1056).' [1] Walter, the German Bishop of Hereford, was a man of obscene morals.

Harold was, if not openly antagonistic to monks, no patron of Monasticism, and his own foundation at Waltham was secular. He quarrelled with the Pope—in fact, with a whole series of popes—over Stigand. When Robert of Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury, fled, the Witan under the influence of Godwine and Harold deposed him and appointed Stigand. Robert not being canonically deposed appealed to the Pope, who ordered his reinstatement. Harold, however, stood by Stigand. Stigand was excommunicated by five popes. The only pope to recognise him was an anti-pope who was subsequently degraded. It was Harold's championship of Stigand that procured for William I the papal blessing and a consecrated banner, before the invasion of England.

When Harold fell at Senlac, there fell with him the insularity of the English Church. Church and State alike were to be dragged into the orbit of the continental system.

The Norman Conquest

William triumphed in 1066 and the process begun by Edward the Confessor was carried through. As soon as the Conquest was complete and Stigand duly deposed, William sent for Lanfranc, the Prior of Bec, to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc was a Lombard, born at Pavia about 1005, who had crossed the Alps intending to settle in Normandy, and make a living by teaching. He set up a school at Avranches, but before long became a monk. He joined the poor and struggling monastery at Bec, where he remained for twenty-five years. His fame as a teacher was so great that the monastery attracted scholars from all over Europe. He became known to William of Normandy and was one of his most trusted counsellors. He was called in by the Pope to champion the doctrine of transubstantiation against Berengar of Tours. The doctrine is in effect that in the mass the *substances* of bread and wine are no longer present but are *transubstantiated* into the Body and

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* 1056.

Blood of Christ. Lanfranc was the protagonist on the papal side in this dispute, which raged most hotly between 1050 and 1060. He was, in fact, next to Hildebrand, the leading churchman in Europe, eminent alike for learning, wisdom, and piety. Ordericus Vitalis, the chronicler, says that the people of England would have offered boundless thanks to God, if they had known how much good heaven had bestowed upon them, in sending them Lanfranc as Archbishop. It is to be feared that the English never realised their good fortune.

The task before Lanfranc and William was no light one. To Lanfranc the English Church must have seemed almost wholly given over to the Evil One, the bishops and abbots illiterate barbarians, the secular clergy married, simony rife, the buildings mean and dilapidated. Monasticism was at a low ebb and learning non-existent. At Canterbury, the cathedral was in ruins as the result of a great fire in 1067. The monks, except that they remained unmarried, 'were living more like secular clergy than monks, being given to coursing, hawking, hunting, drinking, dicing and luxurious living.' William of Malmesbury adds that on account of the great number of their attendants, they lived more like officers of state than monks. At Rochester, Gundulph found the cathedral deserted and empty, 'in want of everything inside and out,' served, so far as it was served, by four priests, who lived in a state of miserable poverty. He replaced them with fifty monks, by whom the monastic rule was strictly kept.

The chief means by which Lanfranc and William strove to reform the Church were as follows :

The Appointment of Normans to Ecclesiastical Offices.—All important ecclesiastical positions were filled with Normans. Within three years of his consecration only one Saxon bishop remained, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. He was to have been deposed, but the council, before which he was summoned on a charge of illiteracy, was so impressed by what William of Malmesbury calls his *sancta simplicitas* that he was sent back to his see.

Lanfranc acted on the principle that if a good Norman could not be had, a bad Norman was better than an Englishman. Ordericus says that clergy and monks came from Normandy in swarms in order to share in the spoils, and treated the natives with contempt. This applied especially to the monasteries. The Abbot of Abingdon was sent as a prisoner to Winchester and there died in prison. He was succeeded by a foreigner who, on his arrival, sent

for his own relations from Normandy and endowed them with the property of the monastery. He would not allow St. Ethelwold or St. Edward to be commemorated in the services, 'and used to scoff at St. Ethelwold and his works and buildings.' When the Saxon Abbot of Glastonbury was deposed, his Norman successor fell foul of the monks by attempting to introduce a new method of chanting, new at least to the monks, and called in soldiers who, when the monks took refuge in the church, shot at them with spears and arrows. Two monks were killed, many wounded, and some of the missiles were left sticking in the crucifix. 'I could relate many such instances,' Ordericus adds.

Organisation.—The practice of holding councils of bishops was revived and the sees of bishops were moved from villages to towns. The Bishop of Selsey was moved to Chichester, the Bishop of Lichfield to Chester, the Bishop of Elmham to Thetford and then to Norwich, and the Bishop of Dorchester to Lincoln. John, Bishop of Wells, who had been a doctor of medicine and had made money by his profession, moved his throne to Bath, though not until after the death of the Conqueror. The Bishopric of Sherborne was transferred to Salisbury; not our Salisbury, but the fortress of Old Sarum, on an eminence two miles away from the present city. William of Malmesbury, who belonged to the diocese, says that Sherborne was 'a little village agreeable neither for its site or the number of its inhabitants, and that it was occasion for surprise and almost of shame that it should have continued to be the seat of a bishop for so many centuries.'

The Institution of Church Courts.—Before the Conquest, the bishops sat and spoke at the Witan or great Council. King and Witan helped legislate for the Church and the bishops helped them legislate for the State. There was no hard and fast line drawn. So also with the execution of the laws. Such clerical offenders as the bishops did not deal with came before the county courts where bishop and alderman sat side by side. To the Normans this confusion was intolerable. All ecclesiastical cases and all clergy charged with crime were to be tried not by the king's, but by the ecclesiastical courts. Appeals from the king's court went to the king and ended with him; appeals from the ecclesiastical courts rested finally with the pope.

Building.—The Normans were great builders, perhaps the greatest builders since the beginning of our civilisation. Lanfranc found Canterbury Cathedral in ruins, destroyed by a fire. He

rebuilt it in seven years ' and you would wonder whether to admire more the building or the speed with which it was erected.' Gundulph rebuilt Rochester Cathedral, and magnificent cathedrals and churches arose at Durham, Winchester, Tewkesbury and all over England.

Clerical Celibacy.—In the eyes of Hildebrand and Lanfranc the marriage of the clergy and simony were the two great evils. Simony he dealt with by the drastic method of deposing practically all the higher clergy whom he found installed, and appointing in their places men free from any simoniacal taint. Clerical marriage was attacked in a council held at Winchester in 1076. All canons, that is clergy who were living under a canon or rule, were obliged to put away their wives, the unmarried clergy were forbidden to marry, and bishops were forbidden to ordain married men. Ordinands were to be required to make a vow of celibacy. As to the parish clergy who were already married ' Let them not be compelled to dismiss their wives.'

The Revival of Monasticism.—Like all Church Reformers of the day Lanfranc regarded the revival of Monasticism as the principal means of reviving religious life. William of Malmesbury, writing about 1125, says that there had never been so many monks in England, and that for discipline they might be compared with the famous monks of Cluny.

Lanfranc died not long after his master in the year 1089, full of forebodings about the future. His work in England may be described as having extended to England the ecclesiastical system which was winning its way in the west of Europe. Before the Conquest, England with the Scandinavian and German nations was anti-papal, anti-monastic, and against a clean-cut between spiritual and secular jurisdiction. Its weight was now thrown into the opposite scale.

Relations with the Papacy.—Though one with Gregory VII in the matter of reform, William I made a firm stand against papal supremacy and the Pope did not dispute his position. The King refused to pay the homage that the Pope demanded for his kingdom, and laid down that (without the royal consent) (1) No Pope was to be acknowledged in England or papal letter received ; (2) No acts of the national synod were to be binding, nor (3) were any royal officers to be excommunicated.

III

NEW MONASTIC ORDERS

Contemporaneous with the revived Papacy there was a new monastic movement, which reinforced the popes with a background of prayer and enthusiasm and helped to win the conscience of the Church for clerical celibacy. This new monastic ardour even Cluny was unable to satisfy, as it was no longer strict enough to cope with the passion for asceticism of the new converts, on account of its wealth, its grandeur, and the impression of laxity which it made on many aspirants to monastic life. This appears plainly in the writings of St. Bernard, the great Cistercian. He accused monks, having apparently Cluniac monks in mind, of being intemperate in food and drink. He complained that their cooks enticed the appetite by a variety of dishes and by the excellence of their cooking: that the monks were connoisseurs of wine and drank too much. He says they were idle, and garrulous, and thought too much about their clothes: that the magnificence of their buildings and their equipages ill-assorted with their vow of poverty. He objected to carvings and ornaments in their churches, which besides costing money only served to distract attention. 'If you are poor what is gold doing in your sanctuary?'

Carthusians

The Carthusians were the first of these new orders. They were founded by Bruno (*c.* 1040–1101), a German, who was nearer in spirit to the eastern monks than any western reformer. He had been chosen Archbishop of Rheims in 1080, but refused the honour, abandoned the world, and eventually settled with six companions in a rocky wilderness near Grenoble, where they founded (1084) the monastery of La Chartreuse. Each monk slept, ate, and worked in silence, alone in his cell, except on Sunday when the monks ate together. They lived on bread and vegetables, except on Sundays, when fish and cheese were allowed. Like the Cistercians, their church ornaments were very plain. Bruno himself left the community in 1089 and settled as a hermit in Calabria, where he became a director of hermits and remained until his death. The order grew rapidly. In 1151 there were thirteen daughter houses, in 1258,

fifty-five. The first English house was founded by Henry II as part of his penance for the murder of Becket, at Witham in Somerset. It was *in extremis* when St. Hugh of Lincoln was put in charge (1176), who may be regarded as the father of English Carthusianism.

Cistercians

Cîteaux, the mother house of the Cistercians, was founded in 1098, as the result of a reforming movement within the monastery of Molesme. Some of the brothers wishing to keep the rule of Benedict less *tepide* got permission to move. Headed by their abbot Robert, they settled at Cîteaux. Their real founder was an Englishman, Stephen Harding, who was the principal instigator, *primus inter primos*, of the original secession. We are told that on their way from England, he and his companion, instead of looking at objects of interest met with on their journey, used to sing the Psalter through every day, and are reminded of the monks brought by Athanasius to Rome, who refused to look at the buildings. Stephen is said to have drawn up the Cistercian rule, which was in keeping with this narrative. Its note was hardness and simplicity. To preserve poverty their crosses were to be of painted wood, not gold or silver ; instead of brass candelabra, only iron candlesticks were allowed ; the incense-boats were to be of iron or copper, the chasubles of fustian or linen, without gold or silver embroidery ; the altar frontals of linen, without pictures. There were to be no carvings, no stained glass, no paintings ; ' which were not only an expense, but distracted the mind.' There was, in fact, a strong Puritan leaven in them, as afterwards in the Jansenists and in so many Catholic reformers.

Another feature of the Cistercian reform was a reversion to manual labour, which found little place at Cluny or in the scheme of Benedict of Aniane. This diminution of manual labour to allow more time for prayer had not been an unqualified success. At least Peter the Venerable, who became Abbot of Cluny in 1123, complained of the idleness of his monks, asserting that except for a few, who read, and fewer still, who wrote, they passed their time in sleep, leaning against (*adhærentes*) the walls of the cloister, or in idle talk. They were, in fact, unemployed.

St. Bernard (1090–1153).—The new order had one drawback : it failed to attract recruits. One day, when the monks were almost in despair, a young man of noble birth, and distinguished appearance, appeared with thirty followers and asked for admission.

This was the great St. Bernard. Bernard was a son of a Burgundian noble, a distinguished soldier, of Fontaine near Dijon. Conversion came to Bernard as it came to Francis, as he prayed at a wayside shrine. After his conversion, he began to preach, urging his hearers to forsake the world. So persuasive were his words that 'mothers hid their sons, wives their husbands, and companions their friends.' When he knocked at the gate of Cîteaux, he was met with the question: 'Why have you come?' To which he replied: 'To be crucified with Christ.' Such was the attraction of his personality that his father, mother, and all five brothers entered religion. Cîteaux which before his arrival was in danger of dying for want of numbers, in two years threw out three colonies.

In June 1115, he was chosen to head the second little colony of twelve monks, which settled in a gloomy valley in the diocese of Langres, four miles from La Ferté. There they put up a rough building, which was the beginning of the famous Clairvaux. During the next fifteen years, Bernard's time was passed mainly at Clairvaux. He was indefatigable in austerities, study, preaching and teaching. He was serious, modest and circumspect, assiduous in prayer, because he said that more could be done with prayer than labour, and foreseeing in counsel. In dress, unlike Benedict of Aniane, he loved poor clothing but hated rags.[1] His face shone with heavenly light and revealed the beauty of his character. At the very sight of him men rejoiced and were edified. To his monks he was a brother and companion rather than a master.

His fame spread, and during the last years of his life, he was the most powerful man in Europe. Pope and kings alike sought his advice and support. No wrong-doer was immune from his rebukes, or could afford to despise them. His monks occupied the most important sees. One became Archbishop of York, and another Pope. His reputation among the common people was so great that when he passed by shepherds and labourers left the fields and drew near to ask his blessing.

In 1146, he was bidden by the Pope to preach the Second Crusade, and this he did at Vezelai at Easter before the King and Queen of France and a vast assembly of knights and peasants. Those who could not hear were touched by his attenuated and spiritualised appearance. All were profoundly moved. Before long, a cry like the roar of the sea was raised of 'Crosses, crosses!' Bernard scattered them broadcast, and, when those he had brought were

[1] 'Paupertas semper placuit sordes nunquam.'

exhausted, tore up his clothes. During the next few months he made a tour through France and Germany, preaching the Crusade with tumultuous success, supporting his teaching by miracles, of which he is said to have performed thirty-six in one day. The Crusade was, however, a tragic failure and a bitter disappointment to Bernard.

He was a very pillar of orthodoxy, but this did not stop him from appearing as the protector of Jews. A monk, Rudolf of Mayence, had been preaching a Crusade against them, and Bernard protested vehemently and wrote, ' Does not the Church triumph more fully over the Jews by converting them from day to day, than if she once and for ever were to slay them all ? ' He then encountered Rudolph and an infuriated mob of his fellow townsmen at Mayence, and denouncing their barbarity, obtained their submission to his desires.

With such an example, it is not surprising that the Cistercians grew. Bernard himself lived to see 350 Cistercian abbeys with 150 dependent colonies, and within fifty years of his death there were 530 abbeys and 650 dependencies.

They came to England in 1128. The most famous Cistercian houses were those of Rievaulx, near Helmsley (1131), and Fountains, near Ripon (1133). In thirteen years, the monks of Fountains founded thirteen daughter houses. Like the Cluniac houses, they were exempt from episcopal visitation, and placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope.

Fontevrault (1094)

This was one of several orders for women founded in France about this time. The growth of monastic orders for women was a feature of this century.

The founder of Fontevrault was Robert of Arbrissel, a Breton. He was presiding over a company of anchorites when Urban II came to Angers and heard him preach. The Pope was struck by his eloquence and laid on him a ministry of preaching, telling him to be a sower of the Word. Accordingly, he itinerated with two companions in towns and villages, they preaching chiefly to men, he to women. In order to retain those who had been converted by preaching, they gathered their converts into monasteries. Robert in 1101 founded one for women at Fontevrault with a separate house for priests who were to serve the nuns. He set over Fontevrault and its dependencies women, accustomed to govern large

houses, whom he knew to be capable and prudent, and made them responsible for their government. Within fifty years there were fifty daughter houses in France.

Gilbert of Sempringham, who founded in 1131 the only indigenous English order, imitated the constitution of Fontevrault.

Præmonstratensians

Their founder was St. Norbert (1080?–1134), the forerunner of Dominic and Francis. He was a secular canon of Xanten, and on the day after his ordination began to expound the rule to the dean. He repeated his exposition daily to the annoyance of the canons, one of whom went so far as to spit in his face. After three years he left to become an itinerant preacher, for which he was called in question by a council which met at Fritzlar in 1118. He was asked by what authority he preached and why he wore rags. We are told that when he left the council, he was against every man and every man against him. He then resigned his preferments, sold everything he had and with two lay companions began itinerating. Their feet were bare, even when snow was on the ground, their tunics of wool, they slept out of doors. At meals 'The earth was his seat, his knees were his table.' Pope Gelasius gave Norbert permission to preach (1118) wherever he liked, and wherever he went, crowds flocked to hear him. He chose to stay in crowded towns, rather than in isolated villages. At length, the prevailing fashion proved too strong and he was persuaded to found a monastery. This he did in a valley near Laon, called Prémontré.

The Canons

Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, had, about 750, tried to organise secular clergy into bodies of canons living under rule. His rule was adopted with modifications by the Council of Metz, 816. Nothing much came of it at the time, but various attempts were made in the same direction in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most of them eventually adopted rules suggested in part by St. Augustine and were known as Augustinian canons, but the different bodies of canons were, like the Benedictines, loosely connected with one another. In secular foundations they were organised into chapters under a dean and had the privilege of choosing the bishop. They were very popular in England. St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield,

was an Augustinian church. In East Anglia, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire they were the most numerous order.

The Military Orders

The rise of the military orders was due to the Crusades. Besides taking the usual religious vows, the Templars were sworn to defend Jerusalem. Their rule was drawn up in 1128. They wore a white habit with a red cross. The Hospitalers or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem were founded originally in 1092 for the care of strangers visiting the Holy Sepulchre, but became a military order like the Templars, wearing a black habit with a white cross. Both orders became enormously powerful and rich. The Templars were suppressed by the Pope in 1312, having been found guilty by the Inquisition of apostacy and immorality. The question of their guilt cannot be gone into here. It is sufficient to note (1) that in England, where in spite of angry protests by the Pope torture was used hardly at all, there were few confessions of guilt, whereas in France where torture was administered ruthlessly, confessions were numerous ; and (2) that a large number of those who confessed under torture, afterwards withdrew their confessions, saying they had spoken falsely owing to the agony of the torture, though they knew that death by burning would be the consequence of the retractation.

But one thing was to be wondered at. All and each one utterly withdrew their confessions which they had made under oath, saying that they had spoken falsely through fear and the severity of torture.'[1] Fifty-four were burnt at Paris in one day in 1310.[2]

Other military orders were founded of which the most famous were the Teutonic Knights, who 'converted' Prussia with fire and sword.

IV

RENEWAL OF STRIFE

The strife between Pope and Emperor, or King and Archbishop, was not a contention between two separate bodies. It was not Church versus State, but a struggle between two sets of authorities,

[1] Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*. For suppression of Templars see also Acton, *Hist. of Freedom and other Essays*.

[2] Baluze, *Hist. Av. Pap.* See also Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. i.

ecclesiastical and lay, in the same body. It was, in fact, a struggle between the ecclesiastical and the lay elements in the Church as to which should exercise supreme authority in the same society which from one point of view was the Church, from another the State.

Anselm and William II

Anselm (1033–1109) was a native of Aosta, and as a young man entered the Abbey of Bec attracted by the fame of Lanfranc, whom he succeeded as prior. Afterwards he ruled the monastery as abbot for fifteen years (1078–93). He had one of the most original and penetrating minds of his own or any other day. His fame as a theologian rests chiefly on his three great treatises, the *Monologion*, the *Proslogion*, and the *Cur Deus Homo* ? which had more influence after his death than during his lifetime. He was of a devout and gentle disposition, and did not share the brutal manners of his day. Even Lanfranc had sentenced a refractory monk to be stripped, publicly flogged, and then turned adrift. The principal remedy in Church and State was force ; the chief motive fear. A story told of Anselm illustrates his different temper. A neighbouring abbot complained of the bad behaviour of the boys in his monastery. Though beaten continually they only grew worse. Anselm asked what they were like when they grew up. ' Dull and brutal,' was the reply. ' You are very unfortunate,' said Anselm, ' if you only succeed in turning men into beasts.' He then went on to compare boys to young shoots in a garden, which resent too much constraint and must be allowed room for development.

When Lanfranc died William II refused to appoint a successor for nearly four years, tempted by the revenues of the see which fell to the king during a vacancy. But taken ill at Gloucester and being, as he thought, on the point of death, he was urged to make some atonement for his misdoings by appointing an archbishop. Whereupon, he pointed to Anselm, who was in England on the business of his monastery and had been called in to hear the King's confession, and said, ' I have chosen yonder holy man.' Anselm resisted, but in vain. The King held out the pastoral staff, which was forced into his clenched hands. ' You have yoked,' Anselm protested, ' an old sheep with an untamed bull to the plough of the Church, which ought to be drawn by two strong oxen.' This was in 1093.

The King's distinguishing features were violence and rapacity. He was restrained by few scruples. He seems to have feared neither

God nor man, nor even the devil. There have been worse kings, because he had no mind to let anyone else share the plundering of his subjects, but few more evil men. Anselm, on the other hand, was by nature gentle, courteous, generous, and unworldly, but quite inflexible on the point of religion or morals.

Anselm found the King would not give him leave to summon a council to consider how to deal with national vices, or listen to his remonstrance against keeping abbeys vacant in order that the royal purse might benefit by the revenue which accrued to it during the vacancy. A difference also arose as to which pope was to be acknowledged, as there were two in the field, Guibert, who had been set up under the title Clement in opposition to Hildebrand, and Urban II, the preacher of the First Crusade. William I had claimed the right, as king, to decide who should be recognised as pope in his dominions. But Normandy had already spoken and decided for Urban before Anselm left. He was therefore bound to Urban, but the King was not, and dissension became acute before William acknowledged Urban, without, however, yielding his claim to decide which pope was to be acknowledged in England. This was in June 1095. The King, however, continued a policy of petty persecution until Anselm, despairing of doing any good as archbishop, left the country in October 1097. The Pope received him with flattering consideration, calling him the patriarch, or pope, of another world. But though the Pope treated him with great honour he refrained from definitely committing himself by condemning William. While Anselm was still abroad, the news came of William's tragic death (1100).

Henry I on his accession invited Anselm to return, and he landed at Dover in September 1100. The new King was a very different man from his brother, but on the point of authority equally inflexible. A difficulty at once arose. Anselm had been present at the council at Rome in 1099, when lay investiture was declared uncanonical. There is no reason to suppose that he had any objection to lay investiture on principle and he had himself accepted the staff from William II and done homage to him. But the situation was altered by the decree of the council, and he refused to accept investiture from Henry or do homage for the temporalities of the see. After a long dispute, which involved yet another journey to Rome, a compromise was at length reached at a council held in London in 1107. Lay investiture with the ring and the staff was given up, but bishops were to do homage for the temporalities of their sees.

Frederick Barbarossa and the Papacy (1154–89)

The Concordat of Worms was only a truce. It settled details, but not the main question at issue, whether Pope or Emperor was to be supreme. Frederick I, called Barbarossa, became emperor in 1154, and was—learning apart—Charlemagne *redivivus*. He was master in his German dominions and fully intended to establish his power in Italy. No emperor since Charlemagne was so powerful. He held the loftiest notions of his prerogative and was to the empire what Hildebrand had been to the papacy. It may be said that if he could not establish his supremacy over the Pope, no emperor could.

In Hadrian IV (1154–59), the only Englishman who has ever sat on the papal throne, he found a man as determined to uphold the authority of the Pope as he was that of the Emperor. Their disputes turned mostly on questions of territory, claimed by both Pope and Emperor; but the real point in dispute was the question of supremacy, as was foreshadowed by an incident when they first met. The Emperor omitted to hold the Pope's stirrup while he dismounted, whereupon the Pope refused to give him the kiss of peace. The Emperor gave way, but with an ill grace.

Hadrian soon showed his conception of his office by entering into an alliance with the Norman King of Sicily and with the rising Lombard cities in North Italy, which eventually proved a stumbling-block to the Imperial armies. He also claimed to enter into possession of the lands of the Countess Matilda, which were held by the Emperor. The quarrel soon grew to a head. The Pope wrote to the Emperor at the Diet of Besançon (1157) speaking of the benefits (*beneficia*) he had bestowed, at which the German nobles protested indignantly, interpreting *beneficia* in its feudal sense as *fiefs*. 'Of whom,' then retorted the legate, 'does he hold power (*imperium*) but of our Lord the Pope?'[1] When the Pope demanded absolute dominion over the city of Rome, Frederick treated his demands with scorn. 'By the grace of God I am Emperor of Rome; if Rome be withdrawn from my authority the empire is an empty name.' According to Milman the Pope replied by a threat of deposition. 'That which we have bestowed on a loyal German we may take away from a disloyal German. Behold, it is in our power to grant to whom we will. For this reason, we are placed above nations and kingdoms, that we may destroy and pluck up, build and plant.

[1] Baronius, *Ann.*, xix. 107.

So great is the power of Peter that whatsoever is done by us worthily and rightly must be believed to be done by God.' [1]

Hadrian died in 1159. After his death two popes disputed the succession. A majority of the cardinals elected a cardinal Roland, the papal chancellor, who became Alexander III. A minority elected Octavian, who took the name of Victor IV. Alexander was supported by England, France, Spain, and, in fact, all nations except Germany and Scandinavia. The Emperor claimed to decide between the rivals, as Henry III had done in 1046. But his claim was repudiated by Alexander, who excommunicated the Emperor and retired to France.

The lay and clerical duel now extended to England where Henry II and Becket were engaged in the same quarrel and for the time usurped the centre of the stage, with Europe for an audience. Their quarrel was, in fact, inconvenient for the Pope. France was his asylum and France was hostile to England, but he had to be very chary of offending Henry II, because he depended on the gold of England. Nevertheless, notwithstanding this accidental difficulty, in spite of the schism in the papacy and the personality of Frederick, the Pope won. After a defeat at Legnano (1176) by the federated cities of Lombardy, the Emperor was forced to compromise by agreeing to the Truce of Venice (1177).

As far as material points were concerned, the peace was a truce, and the arrangements a compromise. But victory really lay with the Pope. The Emperor had to disown the anti-pope, and Alexander returned to Rome in triumph (1178) after an absence of nearly eighteen years.

Henry II and Becket

Henry I had died in 1135 and his reign was followed by the anarchy under Stephen. Henry II (1154–89) determined to reduce the turbulent barons to order and re-establish a strong central government. He found the position and privileges of the bishops and clergy an obstacle. He wished to have appointments more in his own hands, to have suits ended in the king's courts instead of going to Rome, and to do away with many clerical immunities in criminal prosecutions. According to the law, a clerk was tried and punished by an ecclesiastical court which could imprison but could not inflict punishment involving loss of life or limb. Moreover, this

[1] *Hist. Latin Christianity.*

' privilege of clergy,' as it was called, was extended to cover all who had received the tonsure ; any one who could write could receive the tonsure and need not discharge any ecclesiastical functions nor, if content with one of the minor orders, be debarred from marriage.

The King's proposals were embodied in the famous Constitutions of Clarendon (1164) which laid down among other provisions that clergy accused of crime might be summoned to the king's court and were not to be protected by the Church after their conviction, but were to be punished by the secular court. Appeals were not to go further than the archbishop's court without the king's leave. The Act in Restraint of Appeals by Henry VIII stopped appeals altogether ; this provision was to make them depend on the king's pleasure. Archbishops and bishops were not to leave the kingdom without the royal permission. During vacancies of bishoprics and abbeys the king was to receive the income. When a new holder of the office was to be appointed, the chief persons concerned (*potiores personae ecclesiae*) were to be summoned by the king, to meet in the royal chapel, and to elect. The person elected was to be approved by the king and to do homage for his temporalities before his consecration. This procedure would have given the monasteries or chapters not much more than the right of making suggestions to the king.

Becket refused to assent. A long and bitter quarrel ensued. Becket fled from the country and appealed to the Pope, remaining abroad from 1164–70. At length, terms were arranged and Becket returned, landing on December 1, 1170. His return to Canterbury was a triumphal march, but the quarrel was renewed by his excommunication of some of the King's barons. Henry broke out into a paroxysm of rage, four of his knights set out for Canterbury, thinking, rightly or wrongly, that they were carrying out his wishes, and killed the archbishop in Canterbury Cathedral.

Nothing in Becket's life became him so much as its end, and his influence when dead far exceeded any he had been able to exercise when alive. Nevertheless, in an age when bishops were for the most part State officials, or warriors, he was a true Father in God, devoted to the service of the poor, the sick, and the wretched. ' His hours of sleep,' we are told, ' were short because of his service to the poor, his tears and penance, his prayers and studies.' Again, we read that ' He was meek towards those of little might, but mighty and zealous towards the ribald.' So that when brutally murdered, he seemed to all men to have died in the defence of the Church and the poor, and

to have been the victim of a savage and tyrannical despotism. He was honoured as a martyr and his tomb became the most popular place of pilgrimage in England. Few people to-day take Becket's part in the quarrel. But if we put aside our twentieth-century prejudgments, and look at it from a twelfth-century point of view, there is something to be said on Becket's side. The clergy were the only body in the country who could oppose the absolutism and tyranny of a king like Henry or the power of the great nobles, if a king like Stephen were on the throne. To subject the clergy to the ordinary law was to remove the only bulwark against oppression.

In 1211 when Pandulph, the Roman legate, was in England, King John ordered all his servants to be seized. 'Some he blinded, from others he cut off nose or ears or legs or feet, or otherwise mutilated.'[1] One of these unfortunates had been guilty of coining, John ordered him to be flayed alive. Pandulph only prevented this sentence from being carried out by a threat of excommunication, and Pandulph was the legate sent by Innocent III under whom the papacy reached its zenith. On the other hand, this immunity sheltered some wrongdoers. The Bishop of Olmutz complained to the Pope in 1273 that on account of the paucity and poverty of benefices numbers of clergy 'are compelled to beg to the disgrace of the clerical order, or, which is worse, being unwilling to dig and being ignorant of any mechanical art by which they could earn a living, turn to theft, robbery and sacrilege. When caught they are handed over to the Bishop and escaping from his prison persist in their accustomed wickedness.'[2]

As a result of the martyrdom, Henry had to give way, and made his submission at Avranches in 1172. The Constitutions were in effect withdrawn. No restraint was placed on appeals until the Act of 1532, 'which may be regarded as the retort, belated but conclusive, to the *Concordat* of Avranches.'[3] Benefit of clergy was allowed, Henry in 1176 agreeing that no tonsured person should be tried by a civil court on a criminal charge.

Two years later Henry II got clerks made amenable to the Forest Laws. Nor were they exempt from trial by common law when charged with treason. In 1402 ten Franciscans of Leicester were accused of saying that Richard II was alive. The Franciscan minister pleaded for them but in vain. The King was obdurate and sent them to be tried by his Justitiarius at Westminster, and the

[1] *Eulogium.* [2] Raynaldi, *Ann.*, iii. 326.
[3] C. H. Smythe, *Theology*, December 1928.

prisoners were sentenced. 'You are to be drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, there hang all day, and then be beheaded and your heads to be placed upon the bridge.'[1]

When Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, was accused of rebellion and brought to York as a prisoner (1405), the Archbishop of Canterbury urged Henry IV to leave him to the judgment of the Pope, or even of Parliament. 'Far be it that your own hands should be stained with blood.' The King would not listen. He entered the archbishop's (Scrope's) hall, together with his household and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in order to sup. 'And while they supped the Archbishop of York was condemned . . . taken outside the city and beheaded.' The Pope excommunicated the slayers, but the Archbishop of Canterbury did not publish the sentence, and the affair blew over (*quievit materia*).[2]

These sentences are recorded by the chronicler as matters of interest but not surprise.

The result was a partial victory for the Church. The royal attempt to take away the clerical immunity from the secular courts had failed. No attempt to restrain appeals to Rome was made again until the Reformation. They are said to have trebled within fifty years. John made an attempt at independence and instead of winning it had to do homage for his kingdom. The policy of the English kings from Henry III to Henry VII was on the whole to come to a working agreement with the papacy. The king, in effect, appointed the bishops, but the bishops when appointed paid the pope heavily for the privilege, while the clergy were taxed by king and pope.

The following incident gives some idea of the papal claims and the checks they sometimes met with, at least in England.

In 1374, after Whitsun, Edward III summoned a great council of bishops and temporal lords to meet at Westminster. The Black Prince and the Archbishop of Canterbury sat in the middle as joint presidents. On the side of the Archbishop were seated all the bishops and by the prince all the temporal lords. In front, four Masters of Theology, the Provincial of the Dominicans, a monk of Durham, a Franciscan and an Augustinian sat on one form. Legal assessors sat on carpets on the floor. The Chancellor stated why the council had been summoned. 'The Pope has sent to our Lord the King a bull in which he writes that he is the universal lord of all temporal things, from his position as Vicar of Christ, and spiritual lord, besides

[1] *Continuatio Eulogii*, 390–94. [2] *Ibid.*

being feudal chief of England by the gift of John, formerly king, and demands a subsidy. . . . Therefore do you prelates say to-day if he is our temporal lord, as Vicar of Christ, and to-morrow do you temporal lords reply as to the deed of John. What do you say, my lord Archbishop?' He replied, 'He is lord of all. We cannot deny it.' So said all the bishops one by one. The Provincial of the Dominicans begged to be excused from answering so difficult a question and advised that according to the custom of his order they should sing a hymn, the Veni Creator, or the Mass of the Holy Spirit, 'that the Spirit might teach them the truth.'[1]

The monk of Durham quoted the text, 'Behold here are two swords,' which he took to mean that temporal as well as spiritual dominion had been conferred by Christ on Peter. The Franciscan countered by quoting, 'Put thy sword into its sheath,' showing that the swords did not signify such powers. He also said that the temporal power was derived not from Christ but from Constantine. The Archbishop said, 'There were good councils in England without Franciscans.' The Prince said, 'Because of your folly we had to summon them; if we followed your counsel we should have lost the kingdom.'

Next day the Archbishop said he did not know what to reply. The Prince said, 'You ass (*asine*), reply; it is your duty to instruct us.' The Archbishop said, 'It is my opinion that he (the Pope) is not (temporal) lord.' All the bishops agreed. The monk also. 'Where then are your two swords?' said the Prince. 'Master,' said he, 'I am now more cautious than I was.'

It is plain that the unfortunate clergy, from the Archbishop downwards, were likely to get into trouble, whichever side they took.

V

THE LATINISATION OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND AND WALES

In Ireland.—The heathen Danes in course of time adopted the religion of the country they had invaded. The Danish King who was defeated at Clontarf by the great Brian Boru in 1014 had a cross on his coins. The Danes of Dublin founded the see of Dublin in 1040. The ecclesiastical importance of the Danish kingdom is due to the fact

[1] *Continuatio Eulogii*, 337–39.

that the Danes, being more akin to the Normans and even the English than to the Irish, looked to Canterbury rather than Armagh. When the first Bishop of Dublin died in 1074 his successor went to Lanfranc for consecration and took an oath of canonical obedience to Canterbury. He brought back with him commendatory letters which show clearly that though Celtic Ireland had received the Roman Easter and the Roman tonsure, it had not received the Roman common law in respect of ordination, marriage, and baptism. For instance, he complained that single bishops still consecrated and took fees for doing so.

Gilbert, Bishop of the Danish see of Limerick, a friend and disciple of Anselm, and papal legate, was the first to divide the whole of Ireland into dioceses, but to Malachy, Bishop of Armagh (1134–36), whose life was written by St. Bernard, the credit for bringing this about really belongs. Celsus, the predecessor of Malachy at Armagh, was the eighth who had held the see in hereditary succession. It has been asserted that these bishops were laymen in possession of the temporalities of the see, and St. Bernard, who was quite familiar with lay abbots, says they were *absque ordinibus*, but Professor Stokes has produced three instances of bishops in this succession who undoubtedly performed episcopal functions.[1]

Malachy soon resigned the see of Armagh but continued his work for the Latinisation of the Church as papal legate. It was completed externally after his death at the Synod of Kells (1152), which organised Ireland into four provinces under the primacy of Armagh, and that see, which had hitherto been the centre of opposition to Rome, now became its principal support. The process of Latinisation was completed by the Norman Conquest under Henry II. An Irish historian says that Irish national and ecclesiastical dependence terminated practically together and their fate was finally sealed when the Archbishop of Armagh, Gelasius, visited Dublin in 1172 and made his formal submission to King Henry II.

In Wales.—After the failure of Augustine's conference, the Church in Wales was left to itself until Theodore became Archbishop of Canterbury (668–90). Theodore refused to recognise Celtic consecrations as valid. For instance, he insisted on reconsecrating Chad. As the Welsh bishops had to enforce discipline on unruly princes it would have weakened their position considerably if the validity of their title could have been disputed. So some of them, the Bishop of Llandaff in particular, sought consecration from

[1] *Ireland and the Celtic Church.*

Canterbury. The Celtish way of reckoning Easter was given up in 809.

The Norman Conquest was followed by the first real attempt to Latinise the Church in Wales. Norman castles were built and in their train followed Latin monasteries and ecclesiastics. Every castle was an outpost of the Latin Church. William II was the first king to appoint to a Welsh see, all the consecrating bishops being English, when he sent Urban to Llandaff. In 1092 Herveius, a Breton, was appointed to Bangor. In 1112, the Bishop of St. David's died and the Welsh chose a certain Daniel. Henry I set aside their choice and appointed a Norman, Bernard by name. Bernard was consecrated in Westminster Abbey by English bishops and the Bishop of the Danish see of Limerick and took the oath of canonical obedience to Canterbury. Gerald of Wales says that Bernard afterwards denied or repudiated this oath, but lost his case on appeal to Rome. Gerald also says that he was so confident of his right that he sometimes had a metropolitan cross carried before him through Wales. He also says of him that he 'panted after English riches by translation,' adding slyly, 'a malady from which all English sent hither seem to labour.' Bernard introduced the Cistercian monks into Wales who proved powerful agents in the further Latinisation of the Church. After Bernard, the Welsh Church was treated as subject to Canterbury and on the same footing as the rest of the province. In 1284 Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, held a visitation in Wales and prescribed that all things differing from the use of the English Church should cease. The Bishop of St. David's protested against the visitation, but his protest was overruled.

Nevertheless, the Latin influence was not so strong as it might have been, because the King's writ did not run in Wales so smoothly as it did in England, and therefore the bishop could not rely on the support of the secular arm in the same way. This state of things was remedied by the establishment of the Court of the Lord President of the Marches of Wales in the fifteenth century, of which the president, before the Reformation, was always a bishop. The final stage in the subjugation of the Church in Wales was not, however, reached until the reign of Henry VIII, who established the principle that English laws were to apply to Wales. This was of great importance as the ecclesiastical laws of the reforming Parliaments were binding on Wales.

In one point the Welsh clergy successfully held their own.

They resisted all attempts to force celibacy on them. The first recorded attempt was made in 961, when we read 'The priests were enjoined not to marry, on which account a great disturbance took place of the priests.[1] In Ireland the marriage of the clergy had been offically recognised in the beginning of the eighth century. In the canons attributed to St. Patrick, which are at least as late as this date, we get directions for the dress of the wives of the clergy. As late as 1100, a poem was written in praise of Sulien, Bishop of St. David's, one of his titles to admiration being that he was the father of four sons.[2]

The Norman bishops first endeavoured to enforce celibacy, but without much success. Giraldus Cambrensis,[3] says the canons of St. David's had midwives, nurses and cradles under the shadow of the cathedrals. Archbishop Peckham was distressed by the 'unbounded incontinence' of the Welsh clergy, by which he probably means that marriage was common. As late as the fifteenth century, a petition was presented to the Bishop of St. David's by the clergy, asking to be allowed to retain their wives on the plea that they were afraid of their wives' relations if they sent them away. The petition was granted.[4]

VI

THE CRUSADES

The Crusades, those strange episodes of the Middle Ages, were the outcome of the spirit of devotion, chivalry, and adventure. If begotten by religion, the fighting spirit was their nursing mother.

For centuries after the capture of Jerusalem by the Arabian Moslems (638), Christianity had been tolerated up to a point, and pilgrims to the holy places had received reasonable facilities. But in 1071 the Seljukian Turks, Mohammedans of a more savage race, burst into Asia Minor and threatened the existence of the Eastern Empire. Besides committing horrible barbarities they maltreated the pilgrims who still thronged to Jerusalem. Gregory VII tried to unite the forces of Europe against the Turks, but nothing came of his proposal, though a Norman expedition set out from Sicily to assist the eastern Emperor. The outrages continued unchecked,

[1] J. W. Willis-Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*.
[2] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 666.
[3] *Opera*, Rolls Ser. iii. 128.
[4] Willis-Bund, *op. cit.*

and news of them was distributed throughout Christendom by returning pilgrims, one of whom, Peter the Hermit, was afterwards credited with having roused Europe by his preaching. In 1095 Urban II inaugurated the first Crusade at the Council of Clermont. As an inducement he proclaimed an indulgence to all who should take part and promised, like Mohammed, instant entry into Heaven to those who lost their lives. 'Those who die will enter the mansions of Heaven.'

There followed one of the greatest waves of religious enthusiasm which the Church has ever experienced. William of Malmesbury says that no nation was so remote as not to contribute a contingent. 'The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with lice; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish. Lands were deserted by their husbandmen, and houses of their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated . . . they hungered and thirsted only after Jerusalem.' Whole families went together. 'The road was too narrow for the passengers, the path too confined for the travellers, so thickly were they thronged with endless multitudes. The number surpassed all human imagination, though the itinerants were estimated at six millions.' This is no doubt an exaggeration, but multitudes of enthusiasts started, of whom very few ever reached their destination. Nor was the enthusiasm merely superficial. William of Malmesbury, who was born the year the Crusade was preached and must have talked with many who took part in it, says that a countless multitude marched through Europe without plundering, and that when property was found on the march, the finder took all possible means to restore it to its owner.

Besides these mobs, armies under accredited chiefs set out for Jerusalem in 1099, and established a Latin kingdom. Considering the climate, the divided leadership, the different nationalities, the distance of the Crusaders from their base, and the novel kind of fighting, this kingdom must be acclaimed as one of the great triumphs of the human spirit, to be compared with the voyages of the Elizabethans and the conquest of Mexico by Cortes and his Conquistadores.

The second Crusade was provoked by the difficulties of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the loss of Edessa (1144). It is famous for the preaching of St. Bernard and the tumultuous scenes of enthusiasm which followed, but it accomplished little.

The third Crusade (1188) is pre-eminently the Crusade of chivalry and romance. Scenes taken from it are depicted by Walter

Scott in the *Talisman.* Three sovereigns took part, our own Richard Cœur de Lion, Philip Augustus of France, and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, while the chivalrous Saladin was the leader on the other side. Saladin had taken Jerusalem (1187) which the Crusaders failed to recover, in spite of the heroic feats of Richard. This Crusade was ruined by quarrels and jealousies among the Crusaders. The religious fervour of the first Crusade had in great measure evaporated, and the Crusaders had become adventurers rather than pilgrims.

The fourth Crusade (1204), which ended in the capture of Constantinople and the setting up of a Latin kingdom, is described elsewhere.

In 1227 Frederick II, after being excommunicated by the Pope for not going on the Crusade, and then being excommunicated for going, went to Palestine and secured by treaty the cession of Jerusalem on condition of leaving the Mosque of Omar in the hands of the Saracens and allowing them free access to the Holy City.

The last Crusade of importance was that undertaken by Saint Louis IX of France (1248). If Richard is the hero of the Crusades, Louis is its saint. He was the finest flower of Christian chivalry as portrayed by his squire, de Joinville. Louis tried unsuccessfully to conquer Palestine from Egypt, using Damietta as a base.

Reasons for Failure.—(1) *Political.* The Holy Land had for centuries been part of the Roman Empire and when reconquered the rulers of that empire felt that it lay within their legitimate sphere of influence, while the conquerors felt equally that the country was theirs by right of conquest and that they owed no allegiance to any external power, unless it was the Pope. The success of the Crusades meant the establishment, on a territory regarded by the Eastern Empire as properly its own, of a kingdom alien in thought and in civilisation, and alienated in religion. In a word it meant establishing a hostile power on its eastern flank. Moreover, in any invasion from the west, Constantinople was the most convenient base, while it was almost impossible for the invading forces to avoid touching on the territories of the Eastern Emperor. It is plain that under the circumstances it would have required the greatest goodwill and forbearance on both sides if collisions were to be averted. But relations between East and West had always been strained, and when the Crusades began the whole Eastern Church lay under a sentence of excommunication delivered by the Pope in 1054.

Under the circumstances collisions were inevitable. When the main body of the Crusaders arrived at Constantinople, they found

Hugh, brother of the King of France, held a prisoner. 'Having inconsiderately and with a few soldiers entered the territories of the Emperor, he was taken by his troops and detained in free custody.' Though he was released when the main body of Crusaders arrived, the incident shows which way the wind was blowing. Homage also was demanded from the principal Crusaders, and was refused by some. The Earl of Flanders, for instance, 'disdained to perform the ceremony, seeing that he was freely born and nurtured.' Disputes about the conquered territory began very soon. When Nicea was besieged by the Crusaders, the Emperor insisted on receiving its surrender, greatly to the annoyance of the besiegers, who had to be placated with gold. The Crusaders showed their resentment by making charges against the Emperor. He was accused of having poisoned Guiscard to gain possession of his wife ; of having betrayed into a Turkish ambush William, Earl of Poitou, as an act of revenge because he had refused to do homage ; of having poisoned the clothes the Crusaders wore and the rivers from which they drank. On the other hand the Princess Anna Comnena complained that the Crusaders stirred up the Bishop of Pisa to attack Corfu and other places within the empire, and that 'the barbarians' laid waste the whole sea-coast of Smyrna right up to Attalia. 'The Frankish counts,' she wrote, 'are naturally shameless, violent, and immoderate in everything they wish, and possess a flow of language greater than any other human race.'[1]

Moreover, Western Europe was honeycombed with strife. Its princes were perpetually at each other's throats. The only power which could have restrained them, the Papacy, plunged deeper and deeper into the political bog. In the thirteenth century the popes were as ready to proclaim a Crusade against King John of England, or Pedro of Arragon, or Sicilian insurgents, or the Greek emperor, as against the Saracens.

(2) *Military.* Jerusalem was too far from its base. A close alliance with the Eastern Empire would have met its difficulties in part, but as things were its only hope of survival would have been in organising a native army, as the English have done in India, and becoming, for purpose of defence, in a great measure self-supporting. After the first Crusade there was never any unity in the command. This comes out most clearly in the third Crusade, when the new jealousies and quarrels of Richard and Philip Augustus ruined what might have been a great success.

[1] *The Alexiad of Princess Anna Comnena.* Trans. by E. Dawes.

The Effect.—The chief effect of the Crusades was a brutalisation of the Christian spirit. They increased the tendency to look to brute force to attain religious ends, and to confound the secular and spiritual spheres. From the beginning bishops are found not only among the counsellors of Crusades, but among its warriors. Matthew Paris even speaks with contempt of one who alleged that a bishop was more suitably employed in preaching than in fighting. Once granted that armies were the proper instruments to effect spiritual work, it was a short step for the popes to proclaim crusades either against heretics, or to further their own political designs. It seems also not unreasonable to attribute to the influence of the Crusades that great increase in the bitterness and scale of religious persecution, which mark the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is after all but a step from killing Moslems on account of their religion to killing Christians. Ten thousand Turks are said to have been slain when Jerusalem was taken. A century later, after the capture of Constantinople, the scenes of slaughter and outrage are almost beyond belief, and the victims were Christians. Human life was cheapened.

Raynaldi (1595–1671), an Oratorian 'distinguished for his piety and benevolence,'[1] quotes a description[2] by the Abbot of Stade of a Crusade launched by the Archbishop of Bremen (1234) 'to the honour and glory of Jesus Christ,' against some German heretics called 'Stedinghi,' in which six thousand heretics were slain in battle, and the rest drowned in the Weser or 'scattered to the four winds of heaven.' He also tells us that the Archbishop of Narbonne, in 1243, 'strenuously carrying out the apostolic commands (*i.e.* of Innocent IV) delivered more than two hundred heretics of either sex to the flames,'[3] and records as evidence of the sincerity of the repentance of Raymund VII of Toulouse, that his last public act was to burn eighty heretics at Agen (1249).[4] Raynaldi gives no hint that he regards these acts of severity as other than praiseworthy.

The Crusades provided a precedent for the religious wars of subsequent centuries. The Hussite wars, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the wars of the League in France and the Thirty Years War can all find some sort of precedent in the Crusades.

On the other hand, the Crusades helped to revive the study of Aristotle by way of Averroes, promoted trade and intercourse between East and West, and also increased enormously the power of the Pope.

[1] *Catholic Encyclopædia.*
[2] *Ann.*, ii. 113.
[3] *Ibid.*, 294.
[4] *Ibid.*, 414.

The Pope, and the Pope alone, could speak in the name of the whole Church, and for the first time the Church acted as one.

The Crusades constitute the greatest tragedy in history. Never before or since has there been such a venture of faith, such a vast outpouring of toil and effort, of blood and treasure, for a cause at best unselfish, and the result, so far as we can see, an increase in the sum of human sin and suffering out of all proportion to any counterbalancing good. Such is the Nemesis of those who, in seeking to serve their Master, like the Sons of Thunder, 'forget what spirit they are of.'

The chapter may well conclude with Roger Bacon's judgment: 'Nor are the unbelievers converted in this way, but killed and sent to hell. The rest, who survive the wars, and their children are more and more embittered against the Christian faith owing to these wars and are infinitely alienated from the faith of Christ and inflamed to do all the harm they can to Christians. Hence the Saracens and pagans in many parts of the world are becoming quite impossible to convert and especially beyond the sea, and in Prussia, and the lands bordering on Germany, because the brethren of the German house ruin all hopes of converting them owing to the wars which they are always stirring up and because of their lust of domination. There is no doubt but that all the heathen nations beyond Germany would long ago have been converted but for the brutality of the German house, because the pagan race has again and again been ready to receive the faith through preaching. . . . Besides the faith did not enter into this world by arms, but by simple preaching. Again and again, we have heard of many who, though their knowledge of languages was imperfect and their interpreters feeble, yet have done great good by teaching and made countless converts to the Christian faith.' [1]

VII

INNOCENT III POPE (1198–1216)

Innocent was an Italian of noble birth and on his mother's side a Roman. By his family connexion he was a Guelf as the anti-imperialist party was called, the imperialists being called Ghibellines. His character was exemplary and his abilities considerable. He

[1] Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*.

studied theology at Paris, and law at Bologna. He became a cardinal at twenty-eight and Pope at thirty-seven. He set the note of his reign in his inaugural sermon, saying of the Pope, 'He stands in the midst between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none, for it is written—"I will judge."'

Politically, the outlook for the papacy was favourable. Barbarossa's son and successor, Henry VI, by his marriage to the Queen of Sicily, had jeopardised the strategic position of the Pope by putting him between two fires. But Henry VI died leaving an infant son, afterwards Frederick II. Innocent took advantage of the widow's weakness by making her do homage to him as feudal superior. The kingdom of Sicily was declared to belong to the Church of Rome and was required to pay tribute. When the Queen died (1198) the Pope became guardian of her infant son.

The office of emperor was still elective, and the electors chose Philip, brother of Henry VI. A rival was set up in the person of Otho and war ensued. Innocent claimed to decide between the rivals, and chose Otho. 'Him therefore we proclaim, acknowledge as king; him we summon to take upon himself the imperial crown.' Civil war in Germany ensued, accompanied by more than the usual horrors, and was only ended by the assassination of Philip. Innocent's nominee, Otho, succeeded without question. When Otho, in turn, defied the Pope, Innocent raised Germany against him and set up the young Frederick, a boy of seventeen, who succeeded as Frederick II in 1212.

In France, Innocent compelled Philip Augustus, the powerful King of France, to put away a wife he loved and take back a wife he loathed, after he had been released from the former marriage by the bishops of France. The King was furious. 'I will turn Mohammedan. Happy Saladin. He has no Pope above him,' he exclaimed. The Pope imposed an interdict, which is thus described. 'O how horrible, how pitiable a spectacle it was in all our cities! To see the doors of the churches watched, and the Christians driven away from them like dogs; all divine offices ceased; the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord was not offered; no gathering together of the people as wont at festivals of the saints; the bodies of the dead not admitted to Christian burial, but their stench infected the air, and the loathsome sight of them appalled the living; only extreme unction and baptism were allowed. There was a deep sadness over the whole realm, while the organs and voices of those

who chanted God's praises were everywhere mute.'[1] The King called a council of his barons at Paris. 'What was to be done?' he asked. 'Obey the Pope,' was the reply, and the most powerful sovereign in Europe obeyed.

In England, Innocent intervened in the case of a disputed election to Canterbury and when John refused to receive his nominee, Stephen Langton, excommunicated John and placed the kingdom under an interdict (1208). When, after four years, John was still obdurate, he was solemnly deposed, and a crusade committed to Philip Augustus to make the deposition a fact. John submitted and made his peace, agreeing to hold his kingdom as a fief of the holy see and to pay yearly 1000 marks as tribute. Whereupon the crusade was called off, to the no small indignation of the assembled army of Crusaders.

When later John was forced to sign Magna Carta by his barons, headed by Stephen Langton, the archbishop appointed by the Pope, they were condemned by Innocent for conspiring against a vassal of the holy see. 'What!' he exclaimed, 'have the barons of England presumed to dethrone a king who has taken the cross, and placed himself under the protection of the apostolic see? Do they transfer to others the patrimony of the Church of Rome?'

In Spain, he bestowed the title of king on Pedro of Arragon, who in return did homage for his kingdom, received it as a fief from the Pope and agreed to pay an annual tribute.

The Albigensian Crusade.—Innocent carried to greater length than any previous pope the policy of using the secular arm to further spiritual ends. For years he had tried to unite the sovereigns of Europe in an Albigensian Crusade, but vainly, until the murder of a legate roused public opinion; whereupon, a crusade was preached, the same indulgences and privileges were promised for sixty days' service as for a campaign in Palestine, and over 200,000 Crusaders are said to have assembled at Lyons in 1209. For twenty years the most civilised part of Europe was pillaged and trampled under foot. The storm of Béziers with which the crusade opened, set the note. When it was taken, a massacre of the inhabitants followed, at which enormous numbers were slain. A contemporary Cistercian monk relates of the legate Arnaud, Abbot of Cîteaux, that he is reported (*fertur*), when asked whether Catholics should be spared, to have replied: 'Kill them all, God will know his own.' The chronicler reports the saying, not as a fact, but as a rumour. There is no proof that Arnaud used these words. It is significant, however, that a

[1] Radulph de Coggeshall, *Chron. Aug. Rolls*, p. 112.

monk recording the siege should have thought so blood-thirsty an utterance not unworthy of credit. Peace was only granted the unhappy province with the complete submission of its Count, the confiscation of his territories, and the establishment of persecuting machinery

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215).—Innocent reached the pinnacle of greatness in the Lateran Council, which met in 1215 and was attended by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem in person and the Patriarch of Alexandria by deputy. This was possible owing to the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1204. Three of its enactments should be noticed. (1) *Transubstantiation* was declared for the first time to be *de fide*. (2) *Confession* was made compulsory. Every Christian who had attained years of discretion, was to make a full confession of all sins to his own priest at least once a year, perform the enjoined penance, and communicate at least at Easter. The penalty for neglect was excommunication. (3) The chrism and the eucharist were to be reserved under lock and key in all churches.

The reign of Innocent III was the culminating point of the papacy. The ideal which Innocent had before him, as had his predecessors for more than a century, was the conception of the Kingdom of God on earth, the pope acting as God's vice-gerent and directing all things to his glory and the good of mankind. To most men this dream must have seemed nearer realisation when Innocent died than ever before. Yet his reign shows that it was only a dream, because his attempts to realise it had vastly increased the sum of human misery.

VIII

THE FAILURE

Frederick II and the Papacy

The strife between Pope and Emperor was renewed by Gregory IX and Frederick II.

Gregory IX became Pope (1227), it is said at the age of eighty. As Cardinal Ugolini he had befriended St. Francis. He was famous for his eloquence and for his knowledge of canon and civil law, and had been the trusted agent and adviser of Innocent III. Frederick II,

who was crowned emperor in 1220, styled *Stupor Mundi* (Wonder of the World), was one of the most remarkable men of his age, which was an age of great men. A poet and philosopher, he allowed himself an oriental laxity in his relations with women, and was freely accused of being a free-thinker, a Jew, and a Saracen. He was eminent as a jurist, a soldier, and a man of affairs. He is the only Crusader who concluded an agreed peace, on advantageous terms, with the Saracens. He had the kind of mind which we delight to call modern; that is, he was free from fanaticism, he was witty, tolerant, had a wide range of intellectual interests, and believed in testing knowledge by experiments. He was singularly free from religious, moral, or intellectual prejudice, and whatever may have been his motives for persecuting heretics, we may be sure that enthusiasm for the Catholic faith was not among them. He was ambitious and by no means inclined to act as the humble servant of the papacy.

The quarrel began with Frederick's hesitation in keeping a vow he had made to head a crusade to the Holy Land. Once begun, there were too many burning questions at issue for peace to be made except by the complete submission of one or the other. Gregory IX excommunicated the Emperor, and for fourteen years Europe and the East were filled with the noise and fury of their strife. When Gregory died, Innocent IV (1243–64) renewed the excommunication and solemnly deposed the Emperor. Frederick continued the strife with unabated vigour, but when he died in 1250 he was a beaten man. It was the last great duel between Pope and Emperor, and the Pope had won.

Decline of the Papacy.—The victory, however, had been won at the cost of the moral deterioration of the papacy which began with Innocent IV. 'Innocent IV,' wrote Dr. A. L. Smith, 'appealed to mundane motives, local associations, individual interests. No Church principle, no Church property was allowed to stand in the way of securing one of these new proselytes. He had only to ask and have. The Bishop of Liége was allowed for twenty-seven years to go on without taking orders at all, though he was bound by oath to his chapter to do so. We ask why was this allowed? He was brother of the Count of Geldern, an important recruit. All manner of "irregularities," that is, slaughterings, plunderings, and burnings, were pardoned in papalistic clerics. Any one who would serve against Conrad, who was befriended by some leading papalist, who was powerful enough to be worth winning over, found no prohibited

degrees to any marriage, no cause or impediment to any match.' The result was that, to quote the same writer, he ' in eleven years had destroyed half the Church's power for good, and had launched her irretrievably upon the downward course. He had crushed the greatest ruling dynasty since the Cæsars, and ruined the greatest attempt at government since the fall of Rome. In ruining the empire, he had also ruined the future of the papacy. Was this a victory ? '

Frederick was dead and danger from another emperor was remote, but the papacy was to find trouble from the developing sense of nationality. Thus the Parliament that met in London in 1246 sent envoys to the Pope to protest on behalf of the nobles and the commonwealth of England against papal exactions and the intrusion of foreigners into benefices. In France Louis IX (1260) issued the *Pragmatic Sanction.* It professed to secure from papal interference both the rights of patrons and the freedom of chapters to elect to vacant bishoprics without interference from the Pope, and to forbid the imposition of taxes by the Pope unless with the express permission of King and Church. Its purpose was to deliver the French Church from papal oppression. Its effect was to place it in the power of the French king. In Sicily the inhabitants asserted their independence by rising against Charles of Anjou, the Pope's nominee, and successfully maintained the Arragon prince they had invited to be their king, in the teeth of papal remonstrances and excommunications. This rising became known to history as the Sicilian Vespers.

Boniface VIII.—The papacy under Boniface VIII (1294–1303) is sometimes taken as the high-water mark of papal pretensions. Certainly no one before him made more extravagant claims and no pope after him could have claimed as much without appearing ridiculous. His reign showed that these claims could no longer be substantiated. This was due no doubt to his own character. His head was turned by the applause of the Jubilee pilgrims in 1300. But there was also a change in the European situation.

When in the famous Bull *Clericis Laicos* (1296) he forbade any tax to be levied on Church property without the permission of the Pope, Edward I held a Parliament at St. Edmundsbury and outlawed the clergy. If they would not contribute to the safety of the kingdom they should not have the benefit of its laws. In consequence the clergy threw over the Pope and came to an agreement with the King, by which they were not to be taxed by the King without their own consent. This consent was to be given in Convocation summoned

for the purpose. It was not until 1664 that the separate taxation of the clergy was abolished.

In France Philip IV retaliated by forbidding the export without royal licence of gold or silver or valuables, thus cutting off supplies hitherto derived from France. Boniface found it prudent to let the English quarrel die down but that with Philip of France became a mortal feud. Philip seized the person of a Papal Nuncio. The Pope replied with a Bull which was publicly burnt in the royal presence in Paris. Like Edward I, Philip strengthened himself with a national backing. He summoned the States-General, which included for the first time not only representatives of the nobles and clergy, but also of the burghers, and appealed, not in vain, for their support.

Boniface boasted that he could depose the king as he would discharge a groom. In the Bull, *Unam Sanctam* (1302), he laid down that there were two swords, the spiritual and the temporal, the temporal sword to be used at the command of the priest; that the spiritual power must judge whether the temporal power is properly exercised, and that it was necessary to salvation to believe that every human creature was subject to the Roman pontiff.[1] Philip replied by summoning a meeting of the States-General, which formulated a charge of heresy and magic against the Pope and appealed to a general council for judgment. Boniface prepared a Bull of excommunication. It was signed and sealed, but before it was published a small body of French and Italian soldiers took Anagni, where Boniface was staying, and seized the Pope. He was insulted and maltreated, but allowed to escape. He never recovered from this treatment and died soon afterwards, a defeated and broken man. The papacy was to be for a long while the greatest power in Europe, but its decline had manifestly begun.

Reasons for Failure.—The late Dr. A. L. Smith has demonstrated in his illuminating study, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, the greatness of the Hildebrandine idea of the papacy, which was to bring about the realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth and establish a reign of righteousness and peace: in a word, to set up St. Augustine's *City of God*. He traces the beginning of the moral decline of the papacy to Innocent IV, who was the first of the great popes to make selfish and political ends his primary object, while utterly unscrupulous as to the means by which they were to be

[1] 'Subesse Romano Pontifici omnem humanum creaturam declaramus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.'

attained. It would perhaps be more true to say that the Hildebrandine papacy carried within its womb the embryo of its own destruction, through its claim to possess political power and the right to use force to attain its ends. Dr. Smith has himself expressed the contrast between the two kinds of power in these words: 'The ultimate aim of all true human activity must be, in the noble words of Francis Bacon, "the glory of God, and the relief of man's estate." And this aim may be approached either by the way of compulsion, organisation, legislation, in fact by political means; or else by the way of conviction and inspiration, in fact by the means of religion. If this be a just distinction, then where the Middle Ages failed was in attempting to unite the two spheres too closely, to make politics the handmaid of religion, to give the Church the organisation and form of a political State, that is to turn religion from an indwelling spirit into an ecclesiastical machinery.'

The blood which Gregory VII caused to be shed for the rights of the Church was the beginning of the decline. The sack of Constantinople and the Albigensian Crusade under Innocent III were the writing on the wall. If such things could happen under so disinterested, so devout, so strong a Pope, the decline was not only begun, it was well advanced. He had, indeed, not only set the example of shedding blood in rivers, instead of drops, but by taking over the Sicilian Kingdom, that *damnosa hereditas*, he had plunged his successors deeper than ever into the mire of Italian politics. The establishment of the Inquisition by Gregory IX, and the reckless crusades of Innocent IV, were stages in the same Rake's Progress, leading inevitably to the debacle of Boniface VIII and ultimately to the revolt in the sixteenth century.

Innocent III and Boniface VIII alike demonstrated that the theory of papal supremacy in things secular as well as spiritual as a means of securing peace and good government broke down in practice. It may have been the most magnificent failure in history, but a failure it certainly was.

IX

THE FRIARS

The reign of Innocent III (1198–1216) was marked by the rise of the Mendicant Orders, so called because their members did not live on endowments of land or tithes but on the proceeds of

begging. They were a new departure in religious life. The established monastic orders had been the response to the command : ' Come ye apart.' The world desolated by barbarism was savage and unsettled. Those who wished to labour and pray in peace must leave it.

But by the opening of the thirteenth century circumstances had changed. Western Europe was beginning to regain some of its lost civilisation. Its governments were more settled, and spiritual provision for the towns which were springing up had not kept pace with their needs. Ypres in 1247 with 200,000 inhabitants had only four parish churches. The towns contained beautiful buildings, but were cramped, their sanitary arrangements were non-existent, their inhabitants seldom washed, and lived in circumstances of sordid squalor, relieved with patches of magnificence and colour. The England of that day may have been merry ; it was certainly malodorous. The mediaeval city made its presence known to the nose of the traveller almost as soon as to his eye ; and the modern slum must have been a garden city in comparison. Dirt, disease, and ignorance were rife. Leprosy was common. Ministrations were badly needed for body, mind, and soul. Such evils were to be remedied not by fleeing from the world and leaving the sufferers, but by mixing with them. Norbert had set an example. It is the glory of St. Francis and St. Dominic that they were the first to take effective measures to cope with the situation.

Franciscans

St. Francis was born at Assisi in 1182, and after a gay youth was converted during sickness. Henceforward sorrow for the Passion of our Lord and shame for his own sins became the ruling motives of his life. ' I ought to go throughout the world bewailing the Passion of my Lord.' The actual form his devotion took was determined by the words of the Gospel heard in the Portiuncula, a church just outside Assisi, on the Feast of St. Matthias in 1209. ' As ye go preach, saying, The Kingdom of heaven is at hand, Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Freely ye have received ; freely give. Get you no gold or silver, no brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats nor shoes nor yet staves for the labourer is worthy of his meat.'

In 1210 he went to Rome to get approval for his rule from Innocent III. This he obtained after some difficulty, and his

followers multiplied rapidly. They called themselves at first Penitents of Assisi, later, the *Fratres minores*, or Lesser Brethren. They cleansed and repaired churches, ministered to the sick, and preached. To get a living they cut faggots, did domestic work as servants, and gathered olives, failing which they begged their bread. Their special work was ministering to lepers, and Francis himself did not hesitate to sleep in lazar-houses, and touch the sores of the inmates.

The strictest poverty was observed. It was to be the distinctive mark of a Franciscan. 'Brethren, know that poverty is the special means to salvation, the incitement to humility, the root of perfection. He who seeks to attain the height of poverty must in a sense renounce not only worldly prudence but the knowledge of letters so that divesting himself of these possessions he may offer himself naked to the arms of the Crucified.' When a novice asked if he might possess a Psalm Book, Francis replied: 'After that thou shalt have the Psalm book thou wilt be covetous and want to have a breviary and when thou hast a breviary thou will sit in thy chair like a prelate and wilt say to thy brother: "Fetch me my breviary." No brother has a right to have anything except his habit and girdle and hose.' An interesting parallel is found in 'Thomas of Margam'[1] who quotes Evagrius as saying: 'Voluntary poverty is this that a man should possess nothing except a cloak, a tunic, a bible and a cell.' Monks, on the other hand, were ordered by the Council of Paris (1212) to take money, when travelling, 'lest they be forced to beg to the disgrace of the Lord and their order.'

His reputation for holiness was increased by the belief that he had received the Stigmata, or marks of the Passion, during a Retreat in the Apennines before Michaelmas, 1224. In 1219, he went to the East and visited the armies of Crusader and Saracen, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When he returned he found that affairs in the Order had reached a crisis. A party in it was agitating for a more elaborate rule, regular convents and houses, the admission of students, and less strict poverty. Brother Elias was the head of the new movement, which was favoured by Cardinal Ugolini, afterwards Pope Gregory IX. Francis consented reluctantly, and soon afterwards resigned the office of Superior. After 1221, until his death in 1226, he had little voice in the policy of the Order and much that was done was against his wish.

The Order grew very rapidly and the first General Chapter

[1] *Book of Governors*, v. 8.

held in 1221 was attended by 5000 brethren. When Bonaventura held the General Chapter in 1260, the order was divided into 33 provinces, of which England was only one, and in England, about that time, there were over 1200 friars distributed among 49 houses.

Franciscans in England.—The Franciscans came to England in 1224, and soon became extraordinarily popular. They were, like the Dominicans, in great request as preachers and confessors. They took pains to make their preaching popular, shortened mass so as to give more time for the sermon, and took opportunities for casual services, such as those provided by rainy and market days, when people crowded into their churches. Like the Dominicans, they were in a constant state of feud with the parish clergy, whose rights they infringed, and with the monastic orders, who felt themselves surpassed. Moreover, people liked to be buried in their churches, and this meant loss of fees to the parish priest, who suffered in pocket as well as popularity.

It is interesting to note that, whereas Francis did not want to have students in the Order, the Franciscans became the most learned body in Europe. In England, they were distinguished from the first by their devotion to study and zeal for education. William of Occam, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon were all Franciscans. Roger Bacon deserves some notice.

Roger Bacon.—This remarkable man (1214–80 ?) anticipated his more famous namesake by laying down the principle that 'conclusions arrived at by argument must be verified by experiment.' He was a mathematician, and in his researches into optics [1] invented a combination of lenses, which amounted to a telescope. He invented gunpowder, though he concealed the prescription in an anagram which was only recently deciphered by Colonel Hime. He defined philosophy as the endeavour to arrive at a knowledge of the Creator through knowledge of the created world. He wrote a Greek grammar, and had some knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic. There exists in manuscript a collection of notes on the Old Testament, showing considerable knowledge of Greek and Hebrew and a grasp of the principles of textual criticism, which has been sometimes attributed to him: if not by him, it was by a contemporary, and shows traces of his influence.

Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans.—The second Rule drawn up by Francis Honorius III wished him to modify, but he refused on the ground that he could not alter the words of Christ. By

[1] Little, *op. cit.*

it, no member of the Order could receive money, except the ministers or provincial superiors for the care of the sick, or the provision of clothing. The brethren were always to walk when possible, and to go barefoot if health permitted. The clause requiring absolute poverty, which afterwards caused a schism in the Order, ran as follows : ' The brethren shall appropriate to themselves nothing, neither house nor place nor any other thing but shall live in the world as strangers and pilgrims and shall go confidently after alms.' Before long the differences between the party of literal observance, or Spirituals, and the party of lax observance, or Conventuals, became acute. After many years of quarrelling and many references to the Pope, Nicholas III, in 1279, undertook to settle the dispute. After two months' deliberation, he submitted his Bull to a commission, and then read it in full Consistory. It became known as the Bull *Exiit qui seminat*. It declared the Franciscan Rule to be the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and laid down that renunciation of property had been practised by Christ and the apostles and was meritorious.

The Avignon Popes, however, had little sympathy with asceticism. John XXII (1316–34) definitely took the side of the Conventuals. The Spirituals were persecuted by the Inquisition and four were burned at Marseilles in 1318, executions which were the prelude to many others. Their heresy consisted in holding that it was unlawful for a Franciscan house to possess a granary or wine-cellar. On November 12, 1323, in the Bull *Cum inter nonnullos*, John declared that the assertion that Christ and the apostles possessed no property was a perversion of Scripture and ordered the Inquisitors to treat as heretics all who held this doctrine.

In 1337 a Spiritual Franciscan was burned at Venice ' because he obstinately maintained that Christ and his disciples had no property, personal or in common, the contrary of which had been determined by John XXII in the Bull which begins *Cum inter nonnullos*.' And there were many victims.

Nevertheless, the Spirituals refused to give in and quarrelling went on until, in 1517, Leo X authorised the division of the Order into two distinct bodies, the Spiritual party of strict observance taking the name of *Observants* or *Recollects*.

Dominicans

St. Dominic, the founder of the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans as they were called, was a Spanish monk who accom-

panied his bishop on a missionary tour in Languedoc in 1206, where he preached to the Albigensian heretics, bare-footed and clad in the roughest garb. Hitherto, though repression had been used, little had been done to teach the faith. Such success attended his efforts and so far did the harvest seem to exceed the capacity of the labourer to cope with it, that he conceived the idea of founding an Order of Preachers, and in 1215 presented his Rule to Innocent III for authorisation. Innocent demurred. But Dominic obtained recognition from Honorius III in 1216, and the Order of Preachers held its first chapter at Bologna in 1220, when it adopted poverty and mendicancy as part of its rule. Unlike the Franciscans, mendicancy was in the nature of an after-thought. The object of the Dominicans was to preach. They thought they would preach more acceptably as beggars. The Franciscan object was to live the lives of holy beggars; for them, preaching was a by-product of the life.

The Order of Preachers spread with wonderful rapidity. When Dominic died it had sixty houses, divided among the provinces of Provence, Toulouse, France, Lombardy, Rome, Spain, Germany, and England. Each province was under a provincial prior, elected by the provincial chapter, and the whole order was under the master-general chosen by the general chapter. The order was from the first zealous for learning, and among its luminaries during the first centuries of its existence were Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, the great schoolmen, Eckhart and Tauler, the mystics. They came to England, where they were known as the Black Friars, and soon spread all over the country. So much so, that in 1250, the Prior Provincial got into trouble with his superiors for too much building. 'We ordain to the Prior Provincial of England five days on bread and water, five psalters, five masses, five disciplines, and let him meddle less in building.'[1] They furnished confessors to most of the kings and queens of England from Henry III to Henry VI, as well as to Catharine of Arragon, and Mary Queen of Scots, and were employed by English kings, not only as confessors but as political agents. We hear, for instance, of one Thomas Dunhead or Donhead at Rome, in 1325, trying to arrange a divorce for Edward II. They were also active at the opposite end of the social scale, and were accused of leading the Peasants' Revolt in the reign of Richard II.

The Mendicants as Missionaries.—The early mendicants anticipated the Jesuits, not only in their zeal for education, but in their devotion and enterprise as missionaries. Francis himself

[1] B. Jarrett, *English Dominicans.*

visited Palestine and started on a journey to Morocco, in which place missionaries of both orders are found as early as 1225. In 1233 Franciscans were sent to convert the Sultan of Damascus. A few years later ninety Dominicans were martyred in Eastern Hungary by the Tartars of Genghiz Khan. Alexander IV addressed a Bull in 1258 to all the Franciscans in the lands owned by the Saracens, Pagans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumans, Ethiopians, Syrians, Iberians, Alans, Cathari, Goths, Russians, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Indians, Muscovites, Tartars, Hungarians, and the missionaries of the Christian captives among the Turks. Dominic had wished to go on a mission to Persia. The Dominicans claim to have preached with such success in Abyssinia, as to have founded the Inquisition there, while Franciscans accompanied Columbus in his second voyage to America.

Ramon Lull (1235–1315), one of the greatest of all missionaries, was a Franciscan tertiary, who, after his own conversion, was moved by the failure of the Crusades to devote himself to the conversion of the Moslems by peaceful means. He studied Arabic and urged the establishment of missionary colleges for the study of the languages spoken in the Moslem world. His own active career as a missionary lasted from 1291 to June 30, 1315, on which day he was stoned to death by the mob on the sea-shore at Bugia.

Two circumstances gave them special opportunities for the exercise of their missionary zeal. One was the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople, thus enabling the Mendicant Orders to establish houses in the Eastern Empire, which could be made to serve as *points d'appui* for missionary enterprises. Thus the Dominican Friar Jordanus wrote a letter addressed 'to the Preaching and Minorite Friars dwelling in Tauris, Diagorgan, and Maroga,' all places in Persia and Armenia. There was a Dominican Archbishop of Solitania, the summer capital of the Mongol Khans of Persia, and the Franciscan, William of Rubruck, on his return from the Far East relates quite casually that he met five preaching friars in Armenia, on the way to the Far East, who returned to Tiflis, where apparently there was a Dominican convent, to consult with their brethren. In the *custodia* of Sarai, north of the Caspian, there were no less than ten Franciscan houses.

The other was the Mongol invasion. As early as 1222 the Mongols, already masters of Northern Asia from the China Sea to Lake Balkash, broke through the Caucasus and ravaged the valley of the Volga. In 1238 another war of invasion spread over Eastern

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Europe and threatened to engulf Christianity and civilisation. Matthew Paris echoes the terror that the threatened onslaught aroused. He gives a description of the Mongols and says that so great was the terror they inspired that the people of Gottland and Friesland did not dare to come to Yarmouth for the herring fishery. In 1241 Silesia, Moravia, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary were devastated, and Western Europe was only saved by the timely death of the Mongol Emperor.

Innocent IV preached a crusade against the invaders and summoned the Council of Lyons in order that it might 'find a remedy for the Tartars and other spurners of the faith and persecutors of the people of Christ.' There were reasons, however, for trying the weapons of persuasion before resorting to force. Persistent rumours were reaching Europe that the Mongol rulers were inclined to embrace Christianity. More than one Franciscan reached the headquarters of the Great Khan. William of Rubruck, a French Franciscan, set out from Constantinople in 1253 with letters from Louis IX of France to the Great Khan, and after an arduous journey across Central Asia, reached Caracorum (Urga) about 500 miles north-east of Peking. When he arrived at the Mongol headquarters, he claimed to be a simple missionary, explaining that it was his business to teach men to live according to the will of God and made this request: 'We pray then your mightiness to give us permission to remain in your dominion to perform the service of God for you, for your wives and children. We have neither gold nor silver nor precious stones to present to you, but only ourselves to offer to you to serve God and to pray to God for you.' At another interview, in reply to the question why he had come, he said: 'It is the duty of our faith to preach the Gospel to all men.' When he took his leave, he said: 'Our office is to teach men to live after the will of God. For that we have come here and willingly would we remain here, if it pleased you. Since it pleases you that we go back, that must then be. I will go back and I will carry your letters as well as I can, as you have ordered. . . .' The Khan replied: 'If your masters should send you back to me, you will be welcome.' William said: 'My Lord, I know not the will of my masters; but I have their permission to go, whenever I wish, where it is needful to preach the word of God; and it seems to me that it is very needful in these parts, so whether he sends back envoys by us, or not, if it pleases you, I will come back.' [1]

[1] *Journey of Friar William Rubruck.*

William, however, never returned to Asia. Roger Bacon mentions that he met him in France a few years later, and conversed with him about his travels.

In 1269 Niccolo and Maffeo Polo arrived at Acre with letters from the Khan asking for 100 friars to come as missionaries. There was a long delay, as the Pope had just died, but at length two Dominicans were despatched, and they returned on account of the terrors of the journey.

In 1294, when the next missionary arrived, another Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, the Mongols had conquered China, and the headquarters of the great Khan was at Cambalec (Peking). He stayed in China until his death in 1330, and two letters of his, which survive, give some account of his apostolic labours.

He found the Nestorians entrenched as the recognised exponents of Christianity. Although alone for eleven years, when he was joined by Brother Andrew of Cologne, John made considerable progress. When he wrote in 1305, he had built a church with three bells and had baptised 6000 persons. He had also formed a Choir School, consisting of forty boys between seven and eleven; 'the Lord Emperor,' he wrote, 'delights much in their singing. I have the bells rung for all the hours, and with my congregation of babes and sucklings I fulfil the divine office and we sing by ear because we have no office book with the music.' He had also translated the New Testament and the Psalter into the Tartar language. When this letter reached Pope Clement V, he nominated its writer as Archbishop of Cambalec and Primate of the Far East, and consecrated seven friars as bishops with orders to consecrate John and serve as his suffragans. Of these, only three survived the journey. They arrived in 1308, 'through much fatigue and sickness and want, through sundry grievous perils by land and sea, plundered even of our habits and tunics.'[1] John died in 1330. A vast concourse attended his funeral and he was venerated as a saint by Christians and heathen alike.

Friar Odoric, who travelled in the East between 1316 and 1318, though rather as a traveller than a missionary, says that one day he was sitting in the shade of a tree with four Franciscans, one of them a bishop, when the Khan was about to pass. When the Khan drew near the bishop put on his episcopal robes, raised a cross aloft and they all chanted *Veni Creator Spiritus*! Whereupon the Khan called them and the bishop presented the cross for the Khan to kiss. The

[1] *Cathay and the Way Thither*, iii. 71.

Khan, who was reclining in his litter, got up, doffed his cap and kissed the cross in the most reverent and humble manner.'[1] The bishop seems to have been John.

In 1333 Nicholas, a French Franciscan, was sent to succeed John, accompanied by twenty friars. They are known to have reached Almalig in Turkestan on the river Ili, but nothing more was heard of them. They never reached China. In 1336 an embassy arrived from the Khan at the Papal Court with two letters, one from the Khan asking for horses, and one from certain Christian Alans in his service asking for a successor to John. In reply the Pope sent a friar, John of Marignolli, but as a nuncio, not a bishop. His account of his visit survives. He says that Christians were held in honour by the Khan and that in the city of Zaytun the Franciscans had three fine churches and some bells. He shows a fine sense of his own importance but little missionary zeal. Nothing came of his mission, except a gift of two bells, one to be called Antonina and the other Johannina, which he presented to annoy the Mohammedans, who objected to bells.

When the Mongol dynasty was ejected and replaced by the Mings an era of persecution set in. The last Franciscan bishop alive in China was martyred with some of his flock in 1362, and when the Jesuits arrived, more than two centuries later, it was some time before they found any traces of the Franciscan mission.

In Turkestan.—A Spanish Franciscan, Pascal of Vittoria, wrote a letter in 1338, describing his attempts to convert the Saracens in the Middle Kingdom, that is, the kingdom midway between China and Persia. He writes, 'Beginning at Urgarth, which is the last city of the Persians and Tartars, all the way to Armalec (Almalig, south of Lake Balkash) I was constantly alone among the Saracens, but by word and act and dress publickly upheld the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. I have been cast into the water; I have suffered blows and other injuries.' His apparent want of success did not discourage him. 'It is for me to preach among divers nations, to shew sinners their guilt and to declare the way of salvation, but it is for God Almighty to pour into their souls the grace of conversion.' Not long after the Latin bishop of Armalec, an Indian Franciscan, two other Franciscans, and a merchant, suffered martyrdom together with Pascal.

Nor were the Dominicans idle. A certain Friar Jordanus, a Dominican, writing from Thana, near the modern Bombay, in 1323,

[1] *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ii. 270.

mentions the martyrdom of four friars, and describes his own subsequent loneliness and sufferings, how he had been cast into prison and 'left this long time past like some good-for-nothing vagabond to go about in my shirt without the habit of my holy order.'[1] The bones of these friars were collected afterwards by another Franciscan traveller, Friar Odoric, who carried them to China and laid them under the altar of the cathedral at Zaytun.

Their Influence.—The mendicants were responsible for a real revival of religion. They breathed new life into its dry bones, and brought it home to the hearts of men, as it had not been for centuries. Bishop Grosseteste was their patron and warm admirer. He always had two of each Order with him if possible. He attached the greatest value to their services, both as preachers and confessors, and was distressed and surprised to find that some of the clergy not only refused to hear their sermons, but even discouraged their parishioners from making their confessions to the friars and from hearing them preach. They were certainly popular as preachers. A letter survives from the parishioners of a parish in Devonshire, asking that a friar might be sent to preach to them. Their vicar does his best, but they want a friar.[2] The friars took great pains with their preaching, and had the great asset of being travellers and of bringing some of the outside world to the stay-at-home people of the villages. They were equally popular as confessors—their enemies said because they were too easy-going.

The thirteenth century suffered from a decline in church attendance, which the friars did something to remedy. The Bishop of Olmutz complained to the Pope in 1273 that the parish churches in Germany were deserted, and that those who went to church attended the churches of the friars, who gave them short services and popular sermons. 'The friars,' he wrote, 'are accustomed to say mass at dawn and continue until the third hour without ceasing: except for one solemn mass in the convent, they say a series of short masses, and since the present generation (*moderni*) loves brevity, people frequent their masses and desert the conventual and parish churches. They are also accustomed to attract people by their sermons.'[3]

The Institution of Tertiaries added greatly to their influence. The tertiary remained in the world, but was associated with one of the Orders, and bound by a rule—suitable to his condition. The

[1] *Cathay and the Way Thither*, iii. 78.
[2] Little, *op. cit.*
[3] Raynaldi, *Ann.*, iii. 327.

older religious revivals had tended to withdraw from the world those whose hearts were touched, if they were able to withdraw : but if not, there was no machinery for following up the work which had been begun. The tertiary system enabled the friars to keep alight the flame of devotion they had kindled, and also to increase their own influence and prestige. St. Louis IX of France was a Franciscan tertiary, as were many men and women of position.

The Mendicant Orders were undoubtedly a main support of the papal power until the Reformation. The vision in which Innocent III is said to have beheld the falling papacy, supported by St. Dominic and St. Francis, even if fictitious, is a true picture of what happened. They provided the Pope with a standing army of emissaries, propagandists, and spies. As early as the reign of the Emperor Frederick II, we read that two Franciscans were executed for acting as papal emissaries in the dominions of the Emperor. The Popes heaped privileges upon them, and they became by degrees exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction, and in return, proved themselves the faithful servants of the Pope.

Before very long they declined in spiritual power. On the Continent, the strife between the Spiritual and the Conventual Franciscans and between Franciscans and Dominicans did not make for edification. They were accused of greed, of being too easy as confessors, especially to the rich, and of getting wills made in their favour. Langland in the *Vision of Piers Plowman* makes one friar personify Wrath, to indicate a mischief-maker, and another Flattery. Chaucer has nothing but ridicule and contempt for the friars, while his parish-priest is a model of every Christian virtue. More significant is the difficulty they began to find in gaining recruits. The Franciscans were accused of gaining admission to schools in order to persuade scholars, while yet mere boys, to enter their Order, a sure symptom of decline in reputation and popular esteem.

X

THE SCHISM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

We may date the long struggle between the sees of Rome and Constantinople, which culminated in the final schism of 1054, from the reign of Maurice and the pontificate of Gregory I. It was during this period that John the Faster called himself *Œcumenical*, or

Universal Bishop, which provoked indignant remonstrances from Gregory I and compelled him to cry aloud and say, '*O tempora! O mores!*' Nothing much came of it at the time, but the rival and incompatible claims were clearly set out and only needed time and opportunity for them to develop.

The Iconoclastic controversy marked a further stage. Gregory III (731–41), the last Pope to have his election confirmed by the Emperor at Constantinople, excommunicated all Iconoclasts. The Emperor retorted by confiscating the estates of the Roman see in South Italy and Sicily and transferring the churches in those districts, and in Illyricum, from the obedience of Rome to that of Constantinople. This deprived the Roman see of money and dignity and was a very sore point. The quarrel over Iconoclasm was followed by the coronation of Charlemagne by the Pope (800), and the setting up of a rival emperor in the West, a fertile source of division and strife.

Nicholas and Photius

In 858 Ignatius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed for excommunicating the chief minister, who had divorced his wife and married his daughter-in-law. Photius, a lay professor of philosophy and a statesman, was hurried through the minor orders, consecrated bishop and appointed Patriarch. The Pope, Nicholas I, excommunicated Photius (863). The Patriarch retaliated by excommunicating the Pope. Photius was exiled for domestic reasons in 867, held the patriarchate for a second term (878–86), during which time he was anathematised by Pope John VIII, and finally died in exile in Armenia.

Photius and Nicholas I had also another bone of contention. They were rivals for jurisdiction over Bulgaria. Photius sent missionaries, but would not allow the Bulgarians to have a bishop of their own. The king then turned to the Pope, who sent a bishop and held out hopes of an archbishop, and even a patriarch. The Greek clergy were then expelled and the Pope acknowledged. However, in 870, the Council of Constantinople decided that Bulgaria was in the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Bulgaria was given an archbishop and ten bishops, and the Latin clergy were expelled.

Photius stood for the independence of Constantinople as against Rome, and also for the supremacy of Constantinople in the East.

He was in fact an Eastern papalist. During his last term of office (878–86) he even aimed at temporal power, either by making himself Emperor or by putting one of his creatures on the throne. From the final disgrace of Photius until the middle of the eleventh century, Pope and Patriarch kept the peace fairly well, mainly because of the degradation into which the papacy had fallen. Until the accession of Clement II in 1046 the occupants of the papal throne were too weak, or too dissolute, to trouble the Patriarch or Emperor at Constantinople.

The Schism.—In 1054 the schism was made, the Patriarch, Michael Cœrularius, being the aggressor. He was an Eastern Hildebrand, and aimed at making the ecclesiastical administration depend on the Patriarch and not on the Emperor or his officials. He is said to have worn red boots like the Emperor, claiming his right to do so as a patriarchal privilege.

When the Normans conquered Apulia, they transferred the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Patriarch to the Pope. The Patriarch retaliated by carrying on an anti-Roman propaganda among the Latin bishops of Italy, and by closing the Latin churches in Constantinople. The Pope sent three legates to Constantinople with letters of protest, in which he censured the Patriarch for trying to subject to himself the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria and for calling himself Œcumenical Patriarch. After some debate, being unable to get satisfaction, the three legates on June 16, 1054, entered St. Sophia and laid on the altar a sentence of excommunication. Four days later Michael in a synod at Constantinople excommunicated the legates.

No one at the time seems to have realised that what seemed only one out of so many quarrels was to remain unhealed after nearly 800 years, but so it was. The causes of disagreement and mutual dislike were too numerous to be made up.

These causes were not, however, mainly doctrinal. The famous *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed need not have been a bar to reunion, if reunion had been possible apart from it. As is commonly known, that clause was not in the original creed, but was inserted some centuries later. The dogma that it enshrines no Orthodox theologian disputes, while no Western asserts that it is part of the creed as approved by the fathers of Nicea and Constantinople. The only question is whether the words should be deleted from the Western creed as an interpolation, or inserted in the Eastern creed as a true statement of dogma. It was more an opportunity than a

cause of quarrel. There was, however, a serious difference in the respective teaching on purgatory.

But more important differences were (1) The Pope's claim to supremacy ; (2) the disputed jurisdiction in Sicily and South Italy ; (3) Iconoclasm—the Eastern Church allowed pictures but not images ; (4) ritual and ceremonial differences with regard to the liturgy, the arrangement of services, the language used, the vestments worn, the use of incense, the tonsure, the marriage of the clergy, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist by the Western Church, and the wearing of beards by the Eastern clergy. The first Latin Patriarch of Constantinople gave great offence to the Orthodox by his clean-shaven face, and was compared in derision to a pig. Moreover, the Latins and Greeks entertained for one another a mutual dislike and contempt. The Greeks looked on the Latins as savages, the Latins on the Greeks as clever but effeminate cowards.

The effect of the Crusades was to widen the breach. It brought hordes of rough warriors from the West into the Eastern Empire, who had very little respect for the religion, the laws, customs, or property of the people whose territory they entered.

Two significant and fatal events mark the hostility with which each side regarded the other. The first was the massacre of Latin Christians at Constantinople in 1182, when 7000 were said to have been slain, and the head of the papal legate was tied to a dog's tail, and the dog chased round the city. The other was the Latin conquest of Constantinople. In 1204 the fourth Crusade was diverted from its original aim of recovering Jerusalem and instead turned its arms against Constantinople. Led by the Bishops of Soissons and of Troyes, the attack was successful. The city was sacked, to the accompaniment of every horror of war. Churches were plundered and desecrated, and neither age, sex, nor religion was spared. An eye-witness, Nicetas, contrasted the humanity and discipline shown by the Moslems, when they stormed Jerusalem under Saladin, with the rapacity, lust, and cruelty of the Crusaders. Villehardouin says that more houses were burnt than were contained in any three cities of the Franks. After the sack, a Latin Emperor and a Latin Patriarch were established. Innocent III, though he condemned the cruelties of the sack and the method by which the Patriarch was appointed, accepted the arrangements and confirmed the appointment. The Latin kingdom and patriarchate lasted rather more than fifty years, coming to an end in 1261.

The Greeks were regarded by the Latins as schismatics, worse,

if possible, than the Moslems. 'I am not sure which is worse, the loss of Jerusalem or such a possession of Byzantium. In the one, Christ is not recognised, in the other He is insulted by such worship; the one are enemies, the other heretics, worse than enemies.'[1] So strong was this feeling that Constantinople was considered as only second to Jerusalem as the proper goal of another Crusade. Urban IV, 'struck senseless by the horrible rumour of its loss,' urged Louis IX in 1262 to lead one for its recovery. Clement V (1316) offered the same indulgence to those who took part in a Crusade against Constantinople as they would have been entitled to for participating in one having the recovery of Jerusalem for its object.

The Greeks reciprocated these sentiments, but were often compelled to disguise their feelings owing to the exigences of the political situation. When danger threatened from the Turks, the Eastern Emperors had to make overtures to Rome. John V, Palæologus, when hard driven by the Turks, visited Rome in 1369 and made a public submission to the Pope, Urban V. In 1439, when the long-threatened city was tottering to its fall, Pope Eugenius IV held the Council of Florence, which was attended by the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople and twenty-two bishops. The Greeks gave in on nearly every point, and an Act of Union was signed. But the agreement was repudiated when the Greeks returned home. The last attempt at reconciliation was made when the Turks were before the walls of Constantinople. The Greeks agreed to submit, and, in token of their submission, a Roman cardinal sang a solemn *Te Deum* in St. Sophia, when prayers were once more said for the Pope. Nothing came of it, however, The Pope could send no help. The Greek authorities could not get the Act of Union accepted. The clergy who had negotiated it were suspended from the exercise of their functions, while the mob shouted: 'We need no Latins. God and the Madonna saved us formerly from Persians and Arabs and will save us now from Mohammed.'[2] On May 29, 1453, Constantinople fell, a disaster attributed by the Greeks to the Pope, while the Pope regarded it as the divine punishment for schism. The Act of Union was formally denounced by a synod twenty years later.

The fall of Constantinople is one of the outstanding disasters that have befallen religion and civilisation. For a thousand years it had been the bastion of Christianity against the unbeliever and of civilisation against comparative barbarism. By the common consent

[1] Oceanus, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 247. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

of historians, the word *effete* has been the peculiar label of the Eastern Empire. Nevertheless, this effete empire acted as a screen against Persians, Saracens and Seljukian Turks, while the West slowly built up its civilisation and Church, and would hardly have succumbed in the end but for the fratricidal blows of the Crusaders.

XI

HARBINGERS

Until the twelfth century we hear little of heresy in the Western Church. There seems to have been little disposition to question its doctrines or authority. But for 400 years before Luther, the Church was never free from heresy. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when heresy was most dangerous, were centuries of great intellectual activity, but it does not appear that the heretics were unquiet in their minds so much as in their consciences. Their revolt was moral, not doctrinal. Their actions were more in protest against the moral conceptions than the doctrinal inadequacy of the Church. It might almost be said—the Cathari apart—that their theology was an afterthought.

Thus, early in the twelfth century, one Tanchelmus of Antwerp got into trouble for teaching that the sacraments were useless if administered by immoral clergy. In Rome, Arnold of Brescia maintained that the temporal power of the Pope was a usurpation, and that no bishop or priest who held property would be saved. He was burned for schism and rebellion, but he was suspected of heresy, and his followers, later on, joined the Waldensians. In Languedoc, Peter de Bruys, who founded a sect called the Petrobusians, denied the Real Presence, and in the same district, Henry of Lausanne preached anti-sacerdotal doctrines with such success that the great St. Bernard was called in to quell the heresy by his preaching. Bernard wrote of the country about Toulouse: 'Everywhere there are found churches without people, people without priests, priests without reverence, Christians without Christ, children deprived of baptism, prayers, offerings for the dead, invocation of saints, excommunications, pilgrimages, building of churches, holy days, blessing of oil and all institutions of the Church derided.' Bernard arrived 'like an angel from heaven,' and preached with such effect that Peter was handed over to the bishop in chains.

Both Peter and Henry were moved to deny the grace of sacraments because they were ministered by ungodly men.

Cathari

But the first heresy to attract serious attention was the Catharan, if the Cathari can be called heretics. The name itself comes from the Greek and means pure. Dualism was an essential feature of their faith, which was probably Paulician in origin. Étienne the Inquisitor says they were Manicheeans. They regarded matter as being essentially evil and the work of a malign deity. This explains their hostility to marriage, which they regarded as more evil than adultery, because permanent and likely to lead to child-bearing, and was condemned because it perpetuated material existence. They held that Christ came to save men's souls, not their bodies, that His body was not real but simulated, and that His crucifixion, resurrection and ascension were in appearance only.

They were organised as a church with bishops and dioceses, and were divided into an inner circle of *Perfect* or *Catharistae* (most pure) and an outer circle of *Hearers* or *Adherents*. The Catharistae undertook to abstain from marriage, trade, and bloodshed, from eating flesh, cheese, or eggs, and led lives of the utmost asceticism. The Hearers were allowed to eat meat, though not to kill ; they were permitted marriage but were urged not to have children. Otherwise, apparently, they could live as they liked, provided they were perfected or purified before death. One inquisitor says that many usurers, robbers and other bad characters were *hearers*, meaning to atone for their lives by death-bed purification.

They spread with extraordinary rapidity, especially in Lombardy and the south of France. In 1167, they held openly a council at Toulouse presided over by a bishop, who had come from Constantinople for this purpose, at which four bishops were appointed and questions settled as to the boundaries of certain Catharan sees.[1] When Innocent III became Pope in 1198, they were said to surpass the Catholics in southern France in wealth, numbers, and influence.

Catharism in France was crushed by the Crusade instigated by Innocent III, and the devoted labours of the Inquisition. Driven from France and Italy, they eventually found refuge in the Balkans, where they formed a majority of the population in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in spite of spasmodic persecutions, instigated

[1] Lea, *History of Inquisition in Middle Ages*.

by the popes, which, by dividing the population, rendered those countries an easy prey to the invading Ottoman Turks. The Cathari in the districts conquered by the Turks seem to have adopted the religion of their conquerors. Since then, as an organised body, they are heard of no more.

Waldenses

The Waldenses or Poor Men of Lyons, as they called themselves, because they claimed to be poor in spirit, were the disciples of Peter Waldo. Like Franciscans, their lives were a protest against worldliness and luxury.

Peter Waldo himself was a rich merchant, who lived at Lyons in the latter half of the twelfth century. He had had a translation made for his own use of several of the books of the New Testament and of the writings of the saints, and resolved to order his life in accordance with these precepts. He portioned his daughters, settled half his fortune on his wife, gave the rest away, and devoted himself to preaching, taking upon himself the office of an apostle. He was soon joined by disciples, mostly simple and illiterate folk, who, women as well as men, itinerated through towns and villages, preaching in houses, streets, market-places and even churches, anywhere, in fact, where they could get a hearing, thus anticipating the early Methodists, with whom they had much in common.

Forbidden to preach by the Archbishop of Lyons, they refused to obey, on the ground that they must obey God rather than man. Peter Waldo tried to get authority from the Pope to found an Order of preachers, but was refused. His followers were excommunicated in 1184, and condemned by the fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

They held that grace cannot come through graceless men; that all good men are priests—some added good women; that the efficacy of the sacraments depended not on ordination but on the merit of the celebrant; that any good man can give as valid an absolution as the Pope. They denied the existence of purgatory, '*nisi in praesenti*,' the efficacy of prayers for the dead and of indulgences, and the necessity of confession and of penance, asserting that if a sinner died penitent his soul flew straight to heaven. They derided the chanting of prayers, the observance of saints' days and fast-days, and obedience to the Roman see. They maintained that the adoration of saints, or of their images, or of the blessed Sacrament was a sin. They held that it was a mortal sin to take an oath, that all homicide was sinful,

whether in war or by judicial sentence, and that those who preached crusades were damned. In one point, they show a striking likeness to Arnold of Brescia, so close as to suggest some communication with his followers, affirming that the clergy who held property were sons of the devil and of perdition. Though their tendency was to deny any essential distinction between priest and layman, they had an order of ministers of their own, called the *Perfect*, or *Majorales*, who renounced marriage and property and devoted themselves to teaching. All, however, were missionaries, whether ordained or not.

The sect spread with extraordinary rapidity and extended from Arragon to Pomerania and Bohemia, though most numerous in the south of France, Alsace, and in the mountain districts of Savoy, Switzerland and Northern Italy. We hear of Waldenses being burned as early as 1212 in Strasburg, and by 1250 they were engaging the full attention of the Inquisition. More than a hundred years later, Gregory XI is found urging their persecution upon bishops and secular authorities with such effect that he soon had to beg the faithful to provide food for the Waldenses who were in prison: 'As we learn from our beloved son, the Inquisitor François Borelli, that he has imprisoned for safe-keeping or punishment many heretics and those defamed for heresy, who, in consequence of their poverty, cannot be sustained in prison unless the pious liberality of the faithful shall assist them as a work of charity.'[1] As late as 1393 the Inquisition is said to have burnt 150 at Grenoble in one day.[2] Innocent VIII organised a crusade in Dauphiné and Savoy, which resulted in many deaths, imprisonments and confiscations. At the Reformation, they joined the Calvinists. The slaughtered saints, whom Milton called upon the Lord to avenge, and in whose behalf Oliver Cromwell intervened, were their spiritual descendants.

Fraticelli

We have already noticed the cleavage among the Franciscans and the persecution of those who wished to observe the vow of poverty literally. The more extreme became known as *Fraticelli* or *Frates de paupere Vita*, and were numerous in Northern Italy and Sicily. They were the victims of fierce persecution. Nine were burned at Viterbo in the reign of Urban IV.[3] The proof of their heresy was the assertion that Christ and the apostles had no property. The inquisitor was instructed to make the suspected heretic declare:

[1] Lea, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

'I swear that I believe in my heart and profess that our Lord Jesus Christ and His apostles in this mortal life held in common the things which Scripture declares them to have had, and that they had the right of giving, selling and alienating them.'

A book called *The Everlasting Gospel*, by Joachim of Flora, had an extraordinary vogue among them. The title was derived from the text in Revelation: 'I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven having an everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth.' The book itself was comparatively harmless, but a new edition with an introduction attributed by common report to John of Parma, a Spiritual Franciscan, appeared in 1254, in which the author proclaims the coming of a new religion which is to supersede Christianity, now assumed to have failed.

The world had to go through three cycles: the first, that of the Father, the second, that of the Son, the third, that of the Holy Ghost. The third and last era, that of the Holy Ghost, was shortly to be inaugurated. It would be a perfect millennium; the Eucharist and the sacraments would be dispensed with. The conversion of the world to this new gospel was to be by means of a new mendicant order, presumably the Spiritual Franciscans.

In 1297 Peter John Oliva produced a 'pestiferous' book of Apocalyptic prophecies announcing the supersession of the whole Church system, which were regarded by the Fraticelli as divinely inspired.

The noteworthy feature of both books is the assumption that the Church had failed. Eymeric,[1] the Inquisitor, says that the extremists also declared that John XXII was Antichrist, the Roman Church the whore of Babylon, that the whole Church had apostatised and that the Fraticelli alone possessed the ministry and sacraments. They regarded themselves as missionaries whose duty it was to spread the knowledge of the new Church, and were much harried by the Inquisition.

Beghards and Beguines

The impulse of St. Francis and his followers gave rise in Germany and elsewhere to vast numbers of wandering mendicants, owning no fixed abode, called Beghards and Beguines. Baluze[2] says that in 1325 the Pope condemned a tract by a Franciscan, 'which gave rise to the pestilential sect called Beguines'; Bernard Gui,[3] an

[1] *Directorium Inquisitorum.* [2] *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium.*
[3] *Practica Inquisitionis*, ed. 1886, p. 264.

inquisitor, stated that after 1317 many of either sex were burned, chiefly in the south of France, and identifies them with the Fraticelli. These wandering Beguines are to be distinguished from the stationary Beguines, mostly women, living in Beguinages and devoted to good works, but not under permanent vows, who were often confounded with the wandering mendicants and suffered for their sins. The term Beghard or Beguine was used as a general term, to denote any wandering mendicant without fixed abode and belonging to no religious order. Bernard Gui says they often professed to be Franciscan tertiaries. They existed in vast numbers and became a social nuisance. Many of these Beguines belonged to a sect calling themselves the *Brethren of the Free Spirit*, who, like their contemporaries in Germany, the *Luciferans*, were Pantheists.

German Mystics

Mysticism, like Pantheism, is a protest against formalism in religion, which means the substitution of external acts for spiritual contact. The Pantheist seeks God in everything and everywhere, and thinks himself God, or a part of God. The famous Dominican, Master Eckhardt, was condemned for Pantheism, and Master Eckhardt was the source of inspiration of the German mysticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He was accused of having said that his little finger had created the world. The mystic believes that religion consists in direct or immediate communion with God, thus bridging the gulf between himself and his Maker. The formalist is content to substitute the performance of formal acts for intercourse with God. The sacraments of the Church may be used mystically or formally. They become formal if they are substitutes for intercourse with God, mystical if a means thereto. The formalist underrates the importance of realised intercourse with God. The mystic tends to depreciate the usefulness of external means of approach. In the vision of Jacob's ladder, the formalist would deny the angels, the mystic might fail to see the use of the ladder.

There was in Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries an association of men and women known as the *Friends of God*. It was an association of pious men and women, both in and out of communities, not necessarily unorthodox, attending mass and making their confessions, but bound together by a common mysticism.

An extraordinarily vivid account has survived of two of the Friends

of God in the life of John Tauler. In it we are introduced to Tauler, at the age of fifty, a Dominican, a famous preacher at Strasburg, much in request as a director, a pious and godly man, learned in the Scriptures. To him comes a layman, who asks Tauler to preach a sermon 'showing us how a man may attain to the highest path it is given us to reach in the present time.' The Master, as Tauler is called, consented, and preached the sermon. The layman's comment was: 'Sir, I give you to know that neither your sermons nor any outward words that man can speak have power to work any good in me. If the highest teacher of all truth shall come to a man he must be empty and quit of all the things of time.' He went on to accuse the Master of still being in bondage to the letter and in an unspiritual state. After some hesitation Tauler put himself under the direction of the layman, who advised him to abstain from preaching and study. After two years, Tauler was one night in his cell in a state of great weakness, meditating on the sufferings of Christ, when he heard with his bodily ears a voice telling him to trust God and all would be well. He fainted, and when he came to himself felt that he was possessed of new strength and power in body, mind and spirit. He sent for the layman, who assured him that he had now received for the first time the gift of God's grace, and that henceforth his doctrine would come from the Holy Ghost, and that now he should begin to preach again. The first sermon he preached has been preserved, and in it he declares that the loving soul often holds such converse with his beloved as words cannot perfectly express. It is this immediate and realised converse between God and the soul, which is the hall-mark of the mystic.

Although Tauler himself died in communion with the Church, Nicholas of Basle, one of the Friends of God, said to have been the layman in the incident narrated here, was burned as a heretic.

The *Brethren of the Common Life* were an offshoot in Holland, from whom, though originally non-monastic, arose several religious communities, in one of which Thomas à Kempis spent the greater part of a long life (1380?–1471) and wrote, or copied, the *Imitatio Christi*.

John Wycliffe

In England the only heresiarch of note was John Wycliffe. Born near Richmond in Yorkshire about 1324, he went to Oxford, where he spent most of his active life, became Master of Balliol, and attained great proficiency in scholastic studies. In course of

time he became Prebendary of Aust by Papal provision, and afterwards incumbent, in succession, of Fillingham, Ludgershall, and Lutterworth, but continued to reside at Oxford.

He was by instinct a Puritan and an ascetic. Roused by the scandals and abuses in the Church of his day, he began by criticising the wealth of the bishops and the clergy, which he regarded as the cause of these scandals. He wished to confiscate all endowments, hand them over to secular princes and compel the clergy to live on voluntary offerings. From practical abuses he was led to condemn doctrines from which the evils he deplored seemed to spring. He rejected the dominion of the Pope, and asserted that the Scriptures were the only law of the Church. He held that dominion was founded on grace only, that there was no other claim to rule or possession, that all unworthy holders of property should be deprived, especially if they were clergy, that the virtue of the sacrament depended on the worthiness of the minister, and that the Church consists of those predestined to salvation and of no others. His great achievement was the translation of the Bible into English.

It was not until 1380 that he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he did on philosophic grounds, as he held that *substance* was indestructible, whereas by *transubstantiation* the *substances* of the bread and wine were held to be destroyed. His most important contribution to what may be called Reformation thought was his view that the temporal sovereign was entitled to confiscate ecclesiastical endowments if improperly used, and was apparently to judge whether they were so used or not. Whether or no Henry VIII was acquainted with his theories we cannot tell, but to no one could they have been more acceptable.

His attacks on bishops, monks, and all who lived by endowments, made him many enemies, and his doctrines were called in question, but were not at first condemned, partly owing to the support he received from John of Gaunt and other lay nobles, who supported him from motives of policy. After the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, and the murder of Archbishop Sudbury, this support failed, as his teaching was considered to have been partly responsible for the outbreak. He had also put a weapon in the hands of his enemies by definitely repudiating transubstantiation. Accordingly, his teaching was condemned at Oxford in 1381 and by the Earthquake Council at Blackfriars in the following year. He was probably cited to Rome, but if so, refused to obey, and retired to Lutterworth, where he lived unmolested until his death in 1384. It was not until 1415

that he was condemned as a heretic and his bones exhumed and burned.

He had some years earlier formed an association of *Poor Preachers* whom he sent to preach up and down the country on the model of Franciscans. At first they were priests, then laymen. After his death they became merged in the Lollards. 'England,' wrote Adam of Usk, 'above all London and Bristol, stood corrupted, being infected by the seeds which one Master John Wycliffe sowed, polluting as it were the faith with the tares of his pestilential teaching. The followers of this Master John, like Mahomet, preached things pleasing to the rich and powerful, namely, that it was praiseworthy to withhold tithes and offerings and to deprive the clergy of their property.'[1]

Lollards

Lollard was a name applied to Wycliffe's followers, but the Lollard movement was wider and included some who were independent of his teaching. They were inclined to communistic views on property, and disparaged the Mass, the clergy, and Church order generally. When Henry IV came to the throne in 1399, as the champion of the orthodox party, the first Act against heresy was passed. Adam of Usk records that in 1414 Lollards met at Little Lincoln's Fields in London, where they were surprised by soldiers sent by the King and many were taken, of whom thirty-seven were hanged and seven burnt. The movement cannot be said to have had much, if any, direct influence on the actual Reformation.

John Huss

John Huss was a Bohemian, a teacher of the University of Prague, who was much influenced by the writing of Wycliffe. He taught that the Law of Christ as shown in the Gospel must override the ordinances and traditions of man, thus allowing the principles of private interpretation of scripture and the lawfulness of resistance to authority. He also taught that only the predestinate belonged to the true Church, that the efficacy of sacraments depended on the worthiness of the minister, and that popes and other spiritual potentates were to be resisted if they hindered people from following Christ.

[1] *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. 1876, p. 3.

The movement was national as much as religious. The Bohemians were Czechs and the authorities in Church and State German. So keen was the feeling that in 1409 the German students in the University of Prague, seceded and founded the University of Leipzig, leaving Huss to be Rector of the Czech students, who remained behind. Though excommunicated by the Archbishop of Prague, he was able to promulgate his doctrines for some years in safety. When the Council of Constance met in 1415 he was induced to attend it under a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, and was kindly received by the Pope, John XXIII. The first act of the Council after deposing the Pope was to burn Huss in spite of his safe-conduct, as it was held that no faith should be kept with heretics.

Bohemia, after the burning of Huss, was torn with civil war for half a century. Zisca, one of the most famous Hussite leaders, was blind and, when dying, ordered his followers to make a drum out of his skin. Besides orthodox Catholics there were moderate Hussites or Utraquists, so called because they insisted on communicating in both kinds, and extremists called Taborites. Æneas Sylvius (Pius II), who visited Bohemia, said that the Hussites rejected festivals, pictures, and confirmation, and held the Eucharist to be not the real Body but a kind of representation (*representationem quandam*), that they attached great value to sermons, and beat absentees with rods. After the Reformation, as Hussites they came to an end. Some became Calvinist and others returned to the Catholic fold. The Moravian Brethren are the only body that to-day trace their direct descent from Huss.

Savonarola

He was not a heretic, but a storm signal, heralding the revolt against the papacy. Though perfectly orthodox—'I have ever believed,' he declared, 'and do believe all that is believed by the Holy Roman Church'—he was prepared to defy the Pope at the dictate of his conscience. 'The Pope may not give me any command opposed to charity and contrary to the Gospel. If he should, we must reply, "Thou dost err; thou art not the Roman Church; thou art a man and a sinner"': a position not unlike Luther's at one time.

He was born at Ferrara and bred to medicine, but after a disappointment in love became a Dominican friar in 1475. He went

to Florence in 1481, became famous as a preacher in the Lent of 1489, and from then until his death was the chief power in that city. His main theme, as a preacher, was the denunciation of corruption and luxury, especially in the clergy. He was a Puritan, and reached the height of his success in 1496 at the *Burning of the Vanities*. It had been the custom at the mid-Lent Carnival for the young people of Florence to make a house-to-house collection and to spend the proceeds on amusement. Savonarola persuaded them to collect *vanities* instead. These were then assembled and burnt. They consisted of masks, wigs, costumes, frivolous books and songs, ornaments, mirrors, cosmetics, and pictures and statues of the nude. A merchant is said to have offered to buy the collection for 20,000 crowns.

He anticipated Zwingli and Calvin in desiring the enforcement of morality by the civil power, though the idea underlies the whole mediaeval papacy. He urged the government to stop gambling, blasphemy and immorality, by death if necessary. 'Forbid dancing; forbid gambling. Close the taverns.' He had the idea of the direct rule of God on earth as had Peter Oliva before him and the Anabaptists afterwards. Preaching on Haggai, he said that it was God's will to give a new head to Florence. 'This new Head is Jesus Christ. He seeks to become your King.'

Unfortunately for himself, he was mixed up in politics and incurred the hostility of the Medici, the ruling family of Florence, and of the Pope. It was said of him, 'His aim was to be the regenerator of religion—but the Florentines adored him as the founder of the republic.' He was summoned to Rome by Pope Alexander VI in 1495, but refused to go. In 1496 he was forbidden to preach, and in 1497 excommunicated 'for failure to obey our apostolic admonition and counsel.' In the following year the people turned against him: he was arrested, tortured, and executed by the civil power at the instance of the Pope. The charge was that he had risked a schism by demanding a General Council, that he had disobeyed the Pope and disregarded his excommunication, and had caused political and social discord.[1]

[1] See P. Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*.

XII

PERSECUTION

It may well be asked how the Pope managed to stave off a Reformation for 300 years, and to keep the seething pot from boiling over. The reasons were in the first place negative. There was a want of agreement and union in the reformers. Distances were great, communications bad, and there was no printing press. There was also among all authorities, secular as much as spiritual, a horror of heresy, as of something revolutionary, bolshevistic and subversive of the order of things. But all these might have been unavailing, had it not been for the positive weapon of repression. Ever since Constantine the Great had banished the bishops who would not sign the creed of Nicea, force had been used in theological controversies. Gratian, for instance, Emperor 379–383, ordered all churches to be surrendered to those who held communion with Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, and 'sent Sapor a renowned military chief to carry the law into execution, to drive away from the churches, as wild beasts, those who preached the blasphemies of Arius.'[1] But it was not until A.D. 385 that, despite the protests of St. Martin, the first blood was shed for heresy when Priscillian and his followers were executed.

Nevertheless, the general sentiment of the Church was with Martin, for of the two persecuting bishops, one resigned and the other was expelled. There were few executions for heresy in Western Europe for many centuries. When Gottschalk preached predestinarianism in the ninth century, he was only scourged, and this not for heresy, but because, being a monk, he had left his monastery and wandered about without authority. When we hear of a heretic being put to death, the Church authorities are rarely responsible. King Robert of France executed a number of heretics in the eleventh century on his own authority. When some Catharan heretics were discovered at Milan, the mob seized and burned them in spite of the protests of the Archbishop.[2] 'Saints,' wrote Peter Damiani, 'when they prevail, in no way destroy heretics and idolaters, though they do not hesitate to be slain for the Catholic faith.' In 1144, Wazo, Bishop of Liége, rescued some Cathari the mob wished to burn, saying: 'Lives should not be forfeited

[1] Evagrius, v. 2. [2] H. C. Lea, *History of Inquisition in Middle Ages*.

to the secular sword, as God, their Creator and Redeemer, showed them patience and mercy'; and when the Emperor Henry III executed some heretics a few years later, Wazo's biographer wrote proudly: 'If our Wazo had been alive, he would have acted like Martin.' In 1145, the great St. Bernard wrote: 'Heretics should be won by reason, rather than by force,' but he himself a few years later demanded the imprisonment of Arnold of Brescia. In 1155, Arnold of Brescia was burned at Rome by the ecclesiastical authority, which caused one writer to express regret that he had not been punished by exile or imprisonment or some bloodless punishment. As late as 1162, Pope Alexander III, when some Catharan heretics were sent him by the Archbishop of Rheims, refused to pass judgment, saying that it was better to pardon the guilty than to take the lives of the innocent.[1] Three years later, a public disputation between Catholics and Cathari was held, presided over by the Archbishop of Narbonne, a peaceful and reasonable method of dealing with heretics, which would have been unthinkable fifty years later.[2]

By the end of the twelfth century, the rapid progress of Catharism and its menace to Christendom frightened the authorities of the Church into a systematic and sanguinary persecution. The bishops in the disaffected districts were powerless; preaching was tried, but had little or no effect, and the conviction grew that force on an unprecedented scale would have to be used. In successive measures against heresy we can trace the gradual hardening of this conviction. In 1179, the Third Lateran Council commended the use of the secular arm in the suppression of heresy and proclaimed a crusade against the Albigensian heretics, offering two years' indulgence as an inducement. In 1184, the secular authority, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, not to be outdone, enacted outlawry as the punishment of heresy. In 1197, Pedro of Arragon first enacted death by burning as the penalty. In the next century Frederick II issued several persecuting edicts, finally making death by burning the penalty, both in his kingdom of Sicily and throughout the empire. In France, death by burning was not formally recognised by the State until 1270, but it had been customary there for many years. In England, the first statute against heresy was passed in 1401, death by burning being the punishment prescribed.

St. Thomas Aquinas may be said to represent the official view on the subject of persecution. His *Summa* was almost from the first the official text-book of Catholic theology, and indeed still is.

[1] *P.L.*, 142 xxiv. [2] Lea, *op. cit.*

He lays down [1] that heretics are not to be tolerated : that if they are obstinate, they are to be handed over to the secular authorities to be exterminated : that if coiners and other malefactors are executed by the State, much more should heretics be not only excommunicated, but slain. ' If he is found obstinate, the Church, despairing of his conversion, provides for the safety of others by separating him from the Church by the sentence of excommunication, and relinquishes him to the secular judgment to be removed from the world by death.'

The Inquisition

To deal with heretics on such a scale as was now considered expedient, new machinery had to be devised. It was the duty of bishops to prosecute heretics, and in the words of the Consecration Service in the Book of Common Prayer, to drive out strange and erroneous doctrine. But bishops had not the leisure or the skill to cope with the task unaided. Hence arose the Inquisition. The essence of that tribunal consisted in its being a commission deriving its authority immediately from the Pope, and its chief executive officers from the Mendicant Orders—principally the Dominican. Its origin is disputed by historians, and need not be discussed here. St. Dominic has been called the first inquisitor, but his claim to this bad eminence has been disputed. He certainly condemned to the flames heretics who refused to be persuaded by his arguments.[2]

According to Lord Acton, Raymond of Pennaforte was the real begetter. A native of Catalonia and Confessor to the King of Arragon, he went to Rome in 1230 to enlist the help of the Pope in the suppression of heresy. While at Rome he gained the favour of Gregory IX, at whose request he codified the papal decretals. He became General of the Dominicans, founded the Inquisition in Catalonia, and lived to be nearly a hundred. He was canonised in 1601, and is said, among other miracles, to have crossed the Balearic Sea in a cloak without getting it wet, and to have raised forty dead men to life.[3]

In any case the Inquisition became an integral part of the Roman system in 1233 when Gregory IX transferred the cognisance of heresy from the bishop's court to special commissions chosen from Franciscan and Dominican friars.

[1] II. 2, xi. [2] Acton, *History of Freedom and other Essays.*
[3] Raynaldi, *Ann.*, iii. 304.

Innocent IV enjoined the use of torture, but the torture was to be administered by the secular authority. This was found inconvenient in practice, so his successor, Urban IV (1267), authorised inquisitors and their assistants to absolve one another for any irregularities they might commit in discharge of their office, thus leaving them free to administer torture, 'that you may promote the work of faith more truly.'

He also laid down that the evidence of wives, children, and servants could be received against a suspect: that the names of witnesses were to be secret: that witnesses convicted of perjury could be excused if their perjury was the outcome, not of malice or levity or bribes, but of zeal for the faith.[1] Clement IV ordered that no superior was to be obeyed, if obedience hindered the work. Nicholas IV granted the same indulgences to those who assisted the work of the Inquisition as to those who went to the Holy Land.

Any advocate who acted for a suspect might be proceeded against as a *fautor* of heresy. The evidence of excommunicated, perjured, and criminal persons was admitted. A heretic could give witness against a suspect but not on his behalf. Five grades of torture were in use. Pegna says that some inquisitors devised new kinds of torture, but that he himself thinks that 'to excogitate such things is more appropriate to an executioner than a theologian'[2] and gives no details.

Procedure.—Eymeric, himself an inquisitor (1362–76), has left an interesting account of the procedure, in the form of a manual for the use of inquisitors, the *Directorium Inquisitorum*, which was revised and brought up to date by Pegna, another famous inquisitor. An inquisitor was appointed for each district, consisting of several dioceses, corresponding to the Province of the Mendicant Order to which he belonged. He was assisted by one or more delegates, a notary, and a number of familiars, who acted as police, escorts, spies, and torturers. When the Inquisitorial Court went on circuit, some days before it was due at its destination, a delegate arrived and preached, exhorting the inhabitants to repent of their heresy, and promising pardon to all who would confess and give the names of accomplices. The delegate also had power to arrest any persons he wished to have in custody. Those who denied the charge were subjected first of all to a very highly skilled cross-examination. If this failed, they were remanded to prison, where they usually remained in solitude, except for the visits of the inquisitor, or their

[1] Eymeric, *Directorium Inquisitorum*. [2] *Ibid.*

periodical appearances in the torture chamber. By law, torture could only be inflicted once, but, in practice, it was repeated as often as thought necessary, on the ground that the torture was not repeated but continued. The only limit to its severity was that it was not to cause mutilation or death.

The accused had small chance of escape, as the witnesses were anonymous, and he was only confronted with a *précis* of their evidence. If the inquisitor succeeded in extracting a confession, the accused was admitted to penance. When the inquisitor despaired of the accused, it might be after days or years, and came to the conclusion that he was obdurate, he was *relaxed*, that is, handed over to the secular arm, to be burnt. Relapsed heretics were burnt. A third chance was seldom if ever given. Heretics who repented at the eleventh hour through fear of death were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.[1]

The object of the Inquisition was to procure confessions and, consequently, restorations. Each heretic burnt represented an inquisitorial failure, and was a regrettable necessity. The penances—not penalties, for the theory was that they were accepted by penitents as their due—might be light or serious. The commonest were imprisonment for life or for some shorter period, the wearing of crosses, pilgrimages, and flogging, the last three often being combined. The pilgrim had to wear a cross and present himself stripped at certain stations to receive the discipline. Penance was often commuted by a money payment, which led to abuses and many scandals, and was the subject of regulation by several popes. Besides the live heretics burnt, it was a common practice to accuse the dead and exhume and burn their bones. Out of 636 sentenced by one inquisitor between 1308 and 1322, 300 were imprisoned, 40 burnt alive and 88 burnt after death.[2] As all condemnation for heresy involved confiscation and disability to hold civil office for two generations, the burning of dead heretics was a serious matter for their descendants.

No one was acquitted. An accused person might be released, but would be always liable to arrest. Any sentence might be revised without a fresh trial, at the discretion of the inquisitor. All the proceedings, except the sentences, were secret. The sentences were pronounced in the cathedral on a Sunday at High Mass, attended by the civil authorities. The penitents made public confession and

[1] *Bernardo Guidonis Practica Inquisitionis Hereticae Pravitatis*, p. 220.
[2] Lea, *op. cit.*

abjuration of their heresy. The obdurate and the relapsed were taken outside the church, and solemnly handed over to the civil magistrate, with a recommendation to mercy, and a direction that no blood be shed. The magistrate duly burned them the next day, and if he failed to carry out his duty was himself liable to arrest on the charge of being a *fautor* or abetter of heresy.

The Inquisition established itself firmly in France, Italy, Germany, and Arragon, but nowhere else in Spain, until its unification under Ferdinand and Isabella, when Torquemada, most famous of inquisitors, extended the institution over the Peninsula. It only once visited England, during the reign of Edward II, for the suppression of the Templars, and the Pope, Clement V, complained bitterly more than once of the unhelpfulness of the State and its reluctance to use torture.

Except in Italy, the Inquisition tended during the fifteenth century to fall into decay. This was due, in part, to the growing spirit of nationalism, which made the different sovereigns reluctant to acquiesce in an extra-national criminal jurisdiction: in part, to the fact that the Inquisition had done its work. 'Of late heresy has been extirpated to such a degree that obstinate heretics are rare, relapsed rarer still, and wealthy heretics rarest of all; there are only paupers.' Heresy could not hold up its head; it was, if not dead, at least, not dangerous. What was dangerous was not heresy, but a deep-seated feeling of disaffection and distrust, to which the heresies had witnessed, and which the Inquisition had done nothing to allay. The Inquisition had put out the fires, but had left a whole mass of combustible material lying about, which Luther was to set ablaze.

[For trustworthiness of Lea see Acton, *op. cit.*]

XIII

ABUSES

To understand the great revolt which we call the Reformation, and the causes which led to it, we must know something of the abuses against which good men had vainly protested for centuries. That abuses were rife is undeniable. But when we consider the consequences of the barbarian invasions with the influx of swarms of unconverted savages into the Church, and the subsequent devastations

by Northmen and Saracens, it is surprising that so much holiness survived.

For 300 years before the Reformation there had been insistent demands for reform in the Church. The great religious movements of the period, orthodox and unorthodox, may be regarded as protests against the abuses on account of which reform was needed. These abuses were due partly to defects in the ecclesiastical machinery, partly to the moral failures in the lives of those responsible for its working. Without attempting to decide whether it was the break-down in the machine which produced bad men, or bad men who made the machinery unworkable, it will suffice to point out certain abuses, which inspired the most vociferous demands for reform.

The Break-down of Episcopacy

The underlying, though hardly realised, cause of most of the abuses was the comparative break-down of episcopacy as a form of government. From the time that the Church emerged into the light of day, the unit of Church government had been the diocese, and in the diocese the bishop, outside the Celtic Church, was the supreme though not autocratic ruler. He was responsible for teaching, for the due administration of the sacraments, for the admission of fit persons into the ministry. It was his special business to promote, by encouragement, monitions and, if need be, correction, godliness, zeal, and devotion among the clergy. Some of his duties could be delegated. The pastoral care of the clergy could not. This break-down was due to several causes.

Size of Dioceses.—Out of Italy the dioceses were unwieldy. The diocese of Lincoln included the whole, or parts, of the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Oxford, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham. Even a saint like Hugh could not possibly have exercised effectual oversight over all his scattered and isolated charge. It is recorded of him that on his journeys, when his approach was known, women brought their children to be confirmed. We are told that he always got off his horse to confirm, whereas other bishops insisted on the children being lifted up to them, with the unedifying result that the children cried and struggled. The story is told to illustrate the superior piety and gentleness of Hugh. It shows rather the shifts to which the size of their unwieldy dioceses drove the most devoted of bishops.

Secular Occupations of Bishops.—The time of bishops was largely taken up with non-episcopal duties. Kings found ecclesiastics the natural class from which to draw advisers and civil servants, and ecclesiastical benefices the most economical form of payment and reward. Bishop Roger of Salisbury was Chancellor of England, when elected bishop in 1102. Later on he filled the offices of Chief Justiciar and Head of the Treasury, and remained the most important civilian until his death in 1139. The evil continued right up to the Reformation. Christopher Bainbridge, Cardinal and Archbishop of York, who was poisoned in Rome in 1514, was also a diplomatic agent at Rome for several years, and was paid for his services by the revenues of the see of York. His successor, Cardinal Wolsey, was Archbishop of York for fifteen years, during which time he discharged the duties of an entire modern Cabinet, and did not visit his see until after his fall. From 1497 until 1534 the Bishops of Worcester were Italians, the English representatives at the Papal Court, and normally resided in Rome. One of the Italian Bishops of Worcester paid a visit to England, but there is no record that he ever visited his see.

Among the secular occupations which occupied the time of many of the mediaeval bishops fighting must be reckoned. The fighting bishop was a product of the feudal system, which made military service a condition of holding land. Bishops were supposed to render their military service by deputy, but many preferred to appear in the field at the head of their contingent. The Crusades invested the fighting bishop with a halo. Of the troops fighting under the banner of Richard I in the Third Crusade we read : 'The clergy claimed no small share of military glory. Abbots and prelates led their own troops and fought manfully for the faith, joyfully contending for the law of God.' Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, was one of Richard's most skilful and trusted leaders. During the preaching of Richard's Crusade, Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, was held up to shame by a contemporary monk, because 'forgetting shame he pretended that the pastors of the Church should rather preach than fight, and that it is not necessary for a bishop to wear other arms than those of virtue.' Nor was this military ardour confined to the enemies of the faith. There is the well-known story of Richard I who captured a French bishop in arms against him, and when the Pope indignantly demanded his release, sent the bishop's coat of mail with the message : 'Know whether it be thy son's coat or no.' Matthew Paris remarks without betraying

surprise or indignation that a certain William was made Bishop of Liége by Innocent IV in order that he might lead the armies of the Pope against the Emperor. He says that Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, was more distinguished as a soldier than an ecclesiastic, and continually 'mixed himself up in a very unbecoming and inexpedient way in wars on the continent,' and on one occasion, when during a visitation a fracas occurred in church, he was observed in the struggle to be wearing armour under his robes.

Appeals to Rome.—These took up a great deal of the bishop's time and exhausted his income. The journey was long, and the procedure was slow. No attentive reader of history can fail to be struck with the number of bishops who died at Rome while waiting for the settlement of some dispute, which indicates a protracted stay as well as an unhealthy climate.

The Choice of Bishops.—Little or no care was taken to appoint the right man. The cathedral chapters elected, but the King generally intimated whom they were to elect. In England the King sent a *congé d'élire* (permission to elect), which usually contained the name of the person to be elected. In Magna Carta, John granted freedom of election to the chapter, but when the chapter chose to exercise the right, the King might, and often did, dispute the election, and an appeal to Rome ensued, which involved the chapter in vast expense, and often resulted in the Pope setting aside both candidates and appointing a third. When Boniface of Savoy, the uncle of Queen Eleanor, was elected by the monks of Canterbury, at the instance of Henry III, we are told that they knew nothing of his morals, knowledge, or competence, but knew that if they elected anyone else the King would invent some excuse and get the election set aside. Matthew Paris says that some of them were afterwards so filled with remorse that they entered the Carthusian Order, in order to perform continual penance as an expiation.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Pope tried, not without success, to appoint to sees vacant under certain conditions, by means of what was called *Provision*. Stephen Langton, who is commonly given chief credit for Magna Carta, was *provided* by Innocent III. In France the Pragmatic Sanction checked this practice. In England the *Statute of Provisions* was passed in 1351, by which it was enacted that when the Pope provided for a benefice the appointment should lapse for that turn to the Crown. The Statute was not very effective, as its efficacy depended on the willingness of the Crown to take action, and the sovereign, so far, at least,

as bishoprics were concerned, usually found it more convenient to allow the Pope to provide, if he provided the royal nominee. In this way, the King got his candidate appointed, and the Pope kept his rights, and was in a position to exact a pecuniary consideration. By the reign of Edward III the King had got the appointment of bishops pretty well in his own hand, and the election of the chapter had become a formality. Clement VI observed: 'If the King (Edward III) of England were to petition for an ass to be made bishop, we must not say him nay'[1]—which led to an unseemly jest, for when Bradwardine was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Avignon, at the banquet which followed the ceremony, an ass was led into the hall, bearing a petition that he might be made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Patronage.—As we might expect, the same disregard of the interests of the flock which prevailed in the appointment of bishops was shown in the distribution of lesser offices. If a conscientious bishop did his duty, he had to reject not infrequently unsuitable candidates for benefices presented by lay patrons from the King downwards, by the Pope or cardinals, and even by religious houses. Such a refusal, if the patron were rich or powerful enough, resulted in an appeal to Rome. This comes out very clearly in the letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1245–53. Grosseteste was a model bishop. He may be taken as a pattern to all diocesan bishops. He was one of the greatest scholars of his day. He was of so saintly a life that, though never canonised, Matthew Paris, his enemy and critic, after his death entitled him Saint Robert. Throughout his episcopate, we find him continually engaged in attempts to exclude unsuitable clergy from the charge of parishes. One is objected to as being a mere schoolboy, another as an ignoramus, another as a layman, another as of unsuitable appearance and behaviour. But his efforts were perpetually thwarted by the flood of papal provisors, which no protest was able to stem. On one occasion during his episcopate the Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury were ordered to reserve the 300 benefices that next fell vacant for papal nominees. Pluralism was rampant. 'The Pope,' wrote Adam of Usk under the year 1402, without any sense of shame or surprise, 'conferred on me the archdeaconry of Buckingham, with the churches of Knoyle, Tisbury and Deverill.'

[1] *D.E.C.H.*

The Corruption of the Papacy

Among the causes which led to the insistent demands for reform in the Church, not the least was the corruption of the papacy itself. The cry was for the Reform of the Church in its head, as well as in its members. The 300 years from the death of Innocent III witnessed a great decline in the moral character of the popes. It begins with Innocent IV (1243–62), whose reputation for covetousness penetrated to England. Many stories were told to illustrate his avarice. When he lay dying and observed the tears and lamentations of his relatives, he is reputed to have said : ' Why do you weep ? Have I not made you rich ? '

During the Great Schism, the spectacle of two men, each claiming to be the validly elected successor of St. Peter, each anathematising the other, each levying war and preaching crusades against his rival, was a scandal and an offence to Christendom.

The Great Schism. — Two years after the death of Boniface VIII Philip had sufficient influence with the Conclave to procure the election of a French bishop, who became known as Clement V, and took up his residence at Avignon, thus beginning the Babylonish Captivity, as the period of seventy-one years (1305–1376), during which the popes were resident at Avignon, came to be called. The Avignon popes had a reputation for luxurious living and financial rapacity. When Gregory XI, the last of these popes, was visited by St. Catherine of Siena, in order that she might persuade him to return to Italy, she said : ' You must abandon these beautiful things and take the road to Rome, where perils and malaria and discomfort await you, and there the delights of Avignon will be but a vain recollection.' The Pope reluctantly acquiesced. He arrived in Rome in 1377 and died there in 1378, having already made up his mind to return.

His death meant that for the first time since the move to Avignon, a papal election was to be held in Rome. Of the sixteen cardinals present in Rome eleven were French and desired a French pope who would return to Avignon. They were not, however, united in their choice of a candidate, and the demand outside for a Roman or at least an Italian pope was very strong and made itself felt within the Conclave. The choice eventually fell on a Neapolitan, who became known as Pope Urban VI.

Unfortunately this Pope suffered from what has been described

as a harsh and unloving temper, which St. Catherine of Siena vainly implored him to control. A gruesome account by a contemporary has come down, which describes the torture of five of the cardinals while the Pope, reading his breviary, walked up and down the garden outside the torture chamber to encourage the executioner in the performance of his task.[1] Urban VI speedily estranged the French cardinals, besides many of his own supporters. The French cardinals met, declared that they had consented to his election only through force, that he was a usurper and no pope, and elected Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. Thus began the Great Schism, which lasted for thirty-eight years, 1378–1413. There had often been anti-popes, but never before two popes, each solemnly elected by a conclave of cardinals and each claiming with some show of justification to be the constitutionally elected pope. France, afterwards joined by the Spanish kingdoms and Naples, supported the Avignon Pope. The rest of Italy, England, and Germany adhered to Urban VI.

XIV

THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT

The friars had tried to reform the Church by preaching and the asceticism of their lives, heretics by changing its faith. Others, for the most part men of learning, hoped to reform its abuses by improving its organisation. To them papalism was the enemy. They saw that papal supremacy was aggravating, instead of healing, the wounds of the Church, and it seemed to them that the only hope of reformation lay in controlling the Pope by means of a General Council.

The schism among other things gave a great impetus to this Conciliar Movement. Philip the Fair in his quarrel with Boniface VIII had appealed to a General Council, and when his enemy was dead had demanded a General Council to judge his memory. Marsilio of Padua wrote a book called *Defensor Pacis* in 1324. In it he laid down that the infliction of temporal pains and penalties, or any coercive jurisdiction, does not belong to the clergy. They may threaten and reason, not punish or compel. Persecution for heresy is thus implicitly condemned. He denied the lawfulness of papal supremacy, asserting that Saint Peter had no

[1] Niem, *de scismate*

supremacy over the other Apostles, and that if he had, his supremacy was not transmitted to the Bishops of Rome ; further, that the supreme power of the Church was vested in the Church and could only be exercised by a properly constituted Council of lay as well as clerical members. William of Ockham, a Franciscan, who had a controversy with the Pope in defence of the Spiritual Franciscans, also denied the supremacy of the Pope, and went on to deny the infallibility both of the Pope and of General Councils. The feeling in favour of a Council was intensified by the schism, which was felt to be a scandal to Christendom which nothing except a Council could heal. The difficulty was that the Pope was recognised in canon law as superior to General Councils. There was no law by which he could be judged. It is to the credit of the University of Paris that it laboured for peace and familiarised the world with arguments—chiefly through the Chancellor Gerson [1]—by which it was maintained that in case of necessity a General Council might judge a pope.

Council of Pisa

At last a Council, summoned by the cardinals of the rival Popes, met at Pisa in 1409 to heal the schism. One representative of the University of Paris argued that the Head of the Church is Christ, and that in unity with Him, and not necessarily with the Pope, the unity of the Church consists, and that the Church has authority from Christ to summon a Council to preserve its unity ; another, that, when canon law did not apply, divine law and natural law must take its place. The rival Popes did not appear. They were held to be contumacious and were deposed, and a third Pope elected, who died, however, before either of his rivals had retired. His successor was John XXIII, once a pirate, and still a man of great energy and practical ability, but more of a statesman and soldier than an ecclesiastic, and with the name for quite exceptional profligacy. He had no success in suppressing his rivals and, as there were now three popes in the field, consented to the summoning of another General Council to settle the matter.

Council of Constance

This Council met at Constance in 1414. It was summoned in the name of the Pope and the Emperor Sigismund. Invitations had

[1] Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*.

been sent to distinguished theologians, to all cardinals and bishops, to the principal abbots and friars from the universities, to princes and their ambassadors, and to a large number of the inferior clergy, but these last two classes were not allowed to vote. Its objects were defined in a tract written in 1414 as being : 'The establishment of one good pope, the limitation of the papal power, the restoration of the ancient rights of the Primitive Church, provisions concerning popes and cardinals, which may prevent future schism, and the removal of all abuses in the government of the Church.'

When the Council met it was found that the Italians far outnumbered the rest. So, to avoid the inequality, Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, persuaded it to vote by nations, Italians, French, Germans, and English. It began by passing a decree, in the absence of popes and cardinals, to the effect that 'This synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, forming a General Council representing the Catholic Church Militant, has its power immediately from Christ, and all men of every rank and dignity, even the Pope, is bound to obey it in matters pertaining to the faith, and the extirpation of the present schism, and general reformation of the Church of God in head and members.' It burnt John Huss and Jerome, a leading Hussite, and argued as to whether it should proceed to the reform of the Church first, and then choose a new Pope, or elect a new Pope and then with his help get on with reform. It was plain that if the Pope was first elected the question of reform would be very much in his hands. The cardinals, supported by the Italian bishops, demanded that the Council proceed at once to provide a Pope. The Germans, the English, and the French, desired reform first, but the French had just been defeated by the English at Agincourt, and the cardinals were able to detach them by playing on their national feelings. The English at first stood by the Germans, but when their leader, Robert Hallam, died, they gave in, and a new Pope was elected before anything effective was done in the way of reform.

Articles of Reformation were drawn up and presented to the Pope, Martin V, but the Council soon afterwards broke up and nothing came of them. The Council had succeeded in burning two heretics and healing the schism. But so far as reform was concerned it had failed. Its failure was partly owing to national jealousies, as the different nations would not agree on a common measure of reform ; partly to want of sincerity in a majority of its members. The bishops were ready enough to reform the Pope and cardinals,

but were by no means willing to reform the abuses that concerned themselves. The University representatives feared any increase in the powers of the bishops and supported the cardinals. The result was that nothing effective was done. The opportunity was lost. The apostles of reform were discredited.

Before the Council of Constance dissolved it decreed that another Council should be held in five years' time. It did not actually meet until 1431. Its summons was made necessary by the failure of Pope and Emperor to suppress the Bohemian schismatics.

Council of Basle

The crusading armies sent against the schismatics were defeated and it became impossible to hold out against the demand for a new Council. This Council met at Basle in 1431 and did not break up until 1446. It represents the last great constitutional attempt within the system of the Church to limit the papal power. It reiterated the decree of the Council of Constance asserting the supremacy of a General Council over the Pope. It deposed Pope Eugenius IV and elected a successor. But in the end the Council failed and the Pope triumphed. Its members belonged to different nations, they were by no means all sincerely desirous of reform, nor were those who desired reform unanimous in their opinion as to what reform should be introduced. The Pope was single-minded in his resistance and his eventual triumph was inevitable. Presided over by a non-reforming Pope, a reforming Council was powerless, unless animated by unselfish zeal and backed by an overwhelming force of public opinion. So little did the Council discern the signs of the times that one of its quarrels with Eugenius IV arose out of its claim to issue indulgences, which Eugenius asserted to be a prerogative of the papacy.

By 1443 the Council of Basle had failed and it became plain that General Councils were no panacea for the ills of Christendom. It is significant that Nicholas of Cusa, who in 1433 had written a book magnifying the function of a Council as the great agent in reform, went over to the Pope and laboured to restore that papal power which he had endeavoured to destroy. Theologians, like John of Torquemada, began once more after a lapse of a century and a half to write treatises extolling the papal power and combating the claims of General Councils. General Councils were in fact discredited, and reformers were once again looking to the Pope.

XV

THE RENAISSANCE POPES

From the collapse of the Council of Basle until the appearance of Luther the papacy was for the most part in the hands of men who were Italian statesmen, cultivated men of the world, and patrons of literature and the arts, rather than ecclesiastics. Some of them were great builders. Nicholas V rebuilt the Vatican. To Julius II belongs the infamy of destroying the ancient basilica of St. Peter, whose pillars dated from the days of Constantine, as well as the glory of laying the foundation stone of its successor.[1] Nearly all were politicians. Pius II, better known as Æneas Sylvius, who had begun life as a member of the conciliar party at Basle, and in that capacity lampooned Eugenius IV, took no steps, when he became Pope, to stop the publication of the more immoral of his youthful letters,[2] so great was his pride in his literary skill.

From the accession of the famous Rodrigo Borgia, who became Alexander VI in 1492, down to the revolt of Luther, the Popes were engaged in ceaseless intrigues, leagues, and alliances with the rulers of Germany, Spain, France, and England, by which they sought to strengthen and secure their political position in Italy. The most famous of them was Julius II, who first formed the League of Cambrai with France to dismember Venice, and left it to form the league against France (1511). While the war lasted Julius was his own commander-in-chief. He presided at councils of war, arranged the position of cannon, directed military operations, and inspected his troops.

Even after the condemnation of Luther, as late as 1524, we find the Pope, Clement VII, making a league with France and Venice against Charles V. When his ally was defeated Rome was taken and sacked by the generals of Charles V, and the Pope besieged in the castle of St. Angelo. Leo X, who held the papacy when Luther's active career as a Reformer began, belonged to the famous Medici family of Florence, being the youngest son of the great Lorenzo. He was created cardinal at the age of fourteen, though the creation was not announced until three years later. He then made a state entry into Rome and took his place as one of the Pope's cardinals.

[1] Creighton, *History of the Popes*, v. 9, 5.
[2] Creighton, *Historical Essays*.

In the year 1513, while still in his thirty-eighth year, he was elected Pope. He was a typical Italian ruler of his day, and was a great patron of art and a friend to learned men, including Erasmus, whom he would have made a cardinal if Erasmus had been willing. The serious business of his life was the aggrandisement of his house, by strengthening the secular power of the papacy and securing the Papal States. He was amiable and a lover of peace. He was also a lover of display and pageantry and was devoted to the chase ; a by no means unattractive character, but not the man to control the whirlwind or direct the storm that Luther raised.

Cardinal Wolsey, not, one would think, apt to take a narrowly ecclesiastical view of a Pope's duties, wrote : ' I do not see how it may stand with God's will that the Head of the Church should involve himself in war by joining with the temporal princes. Since these leagues in the Pope's name God hath sent affliction upon the Church and upon Christendom.' [1]

It is clear that when the storms of the Reformation broke, the papacy had lost the confidence of the Church in its moral integrity. It no longer commanded the reverence of Christendom. Whatever qualities it stood for in the eyes of mankind, moral grandeur and holiness were not among them.

XVI

THE OLD LEARNING AND THE NEW

The Old Learning

Learning, which had well-nigh perished on the break-up of the empire, was first revived by Charlemagne. During the centuries that followed, until the Renaissance *par excellence*, there were a series of renaissances or rebirths of learning.

John Scotus Erigena (fl. 850), a witty Irishman, famous for his *joca et facetiae*,[2] was the head of the first revival. He was for some time head of the school at the palace of Charles the Bald, whose favourite he was. He was a Neo-platonist, believing in creation as a series of emanations from the Godhead. But his chief interest

[1] Creighton, vi. 294.

[2] When sitting opposite Charles at dinner Charles asked him what was the difference between a Scot and a fool (*quid distat inter Scottum et sottum*). He answered at once, ' *Mensa tantum* '—' Only a table.'

for us lies in his assertion of the supremacy of reason over authority. 'All authority, which is not approved by true reason seems weak. But true reason, since it is established in its own strength, does not need to be strengthened by authority': a statement which he qualifies by going on to say: 'True authority is only truth discovered by the strength of reason and commended by the holy fathers.' In this he was centuries ahead of his day, and was attacked by Florus [1] for his presumption, as 'daring to define with his own reason what should be held and followed.'

William of Malmesbury says that on account of the 'infamy' he incurred through his writings he came to King Alfred and sought an asylum at Malmesbury, where he was stabbed to death by his scholars with their iron pens.

The Schoolmen

After the twelfth century, mediaeval students became known as *schoolmen*. The central subject of teaching was theology. Other branches of knowledge, such as natural history, were only valued as helps to the study of theology. Their standpoint was orthodox. The schoolmen took for granted the truth of the accepted theological dogmas and the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. They inherited also certain philosophical conceptions derived mainly from Plato and Aristotle. It was their business to reconcile the two and see how far the truths of religion could be proved by reason. Scholasticism was an attempt to organise Christian doctrine into a system through the use of dialectic, with the double object of opposing heterodox teaching, and reconciling those conflicting statements which were accepted as orthodox.

Anselm (1033–1109), who is sometimes called the first of the schoolmen, thought he could prove the existence of God and other dogmas by rational argument. He wrote to satisfy his disciples that what they had believed on faith could be proved by reason. He was followed by Abailard, Peter Lombard of *the Sentences*, and others. Abailard, the hero of the most tragic love story in history, pressed the claims of reason more aggressively and aroused the active opposition of traditionalists. In his *Sic et non* (yes and no) he had collected contradictory statements of the Fathers without an attempt at reconciliation, 'thus raising an issue from their apparent contradiction which might incite the young reader to search out the truth.' [2] In

[1] *P.L.* 119, col. 102. [2] Prologue *ad fin.*

his work on *The Unity and the Trinity*, he claims that his object was ' to expound the very foundation of our faith by applying the analogies of human reason, and was led to compose for my pupils a theological treatise on the divine Unity and Trinity. They were calling for human and philosophical arguments and insisting on something intelligible rather than mere words—saying : . . . that it was impossible to believe what was not understood.' ' Abailard's whole position is summed up in his declaration " By doubting we come to inquire, and so to the truth." These are not the words of a cynic but of a sincere intellectualist. Doubt is but the first step to belief, not because it leads to the destruction of credal positions, but because it drives men to take stock of what is meant and implied by their assent.' [1]

Bernard required no intellectual basis for his belief. He accepted it on faith, and to probe into it seemed sacrilege. To him faith was something to be apprehended by an act of the will. Philosophically Abailard was an intellectualist, Bernard a voluntarist.

Abailard's views were regarded as highly dangerous by the champions of tradition and authority, notably Bernard of Clairvaux. At his instigation a Council was held at Sens, 1141, in which Bernard was the protagonist of the conservatives. Abailard was condemned and retired to Cluny. He died the next year.

The thirteenth century was the great age of scholasticism. The works of Aristotle had now penetrated the West, and its thinkers found the world of nature presented as worthy of study for its own sake, apart from its bearing on theology. Aristotle had a great effect on mediaeval thought by giving it a wider range and making a clearer distinction between philosophy and theology. Philosophy no longer claimed to prove the contingent being of God, as with Anselm ; Abailard also proved the Trinity by logic.

The best-known names are those of mendicants. Alexander of Hales, Roger Bacon, Occam, Bonaventura, and Dùns Scotus were Franciscans ; Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, Dominicans.

Thomas Aquinas (1227–74).—To Thomas Aquinas and his teacher Albertus Magnus is due the credit of having been the first to divide the dogmas of theology into those which can be demonstrated by reason and those which are only to be learned by revelation. To the former belong such truths as the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul. To the latter, the Trinity and the Sacra-

[1] R. J. Sikes, *Journal Theological Studies* for July 1927.

ments. There are two sources of knowledge : revelation and reason. The channels of revelation are the Bible and the Church. The channel of reason the various systems of philosophy. There is no contradiction, for all alike come from God. The great work of Thomas was his *Summa Theologiae*, in which the whole of Christian theology is summed up in the form of question and answer, a work which has remained to this day the authoritative text-book in the Roman Church.

Duns Scotus (1265–1308), the great Scottish schoolman, held that the truths of religion were unproveable by reason. His chief characteristic was the emphasis he laid upon the will, as opposed to the intellectualism which marked Aquinas. For long his influence rivalled that of Thomas himself, their respective followers being known as Scotists and Thomists. He is also famous for having added the word ' dunce ' to the English language, as long after his death the name was bestowed in derision by the champions of the new learning on the devotees of the old.

Scholasticism tended to become a training in dialectic. The candidate for a degree at a university was given questions which he had to argue in Latin before his examiners, dividing, sub-dividing, producing proofs and authorities. Instead of lectures, university tutors gave object lessons in disputation, on such subjects as these: ' Whether, to avoid offending one's neighbour, it is permissible to break a vow or oath duly made,' [1] ' Whether angels have bodies naturally belonging to them,' ' Whether more angels than one can be in the same place at the same time ? ' The subject-matter was confined to theology and was by the fourteenth century worn threadbare. It left untouched the world and man, apart from their theological significance. It also left out of sight the beauty, not only of the world, but of literature. The schoolman was interested in nature, or in man, or in art, only so far as they seemed to bear directly on God. The Renaissance brought new worlds of knowledge and beauty into ken. The following quotation from Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* shows how an acute and candid mind regarded the learning then in fashion.

' They will explain the precise manner of original sin being derived from our first parents, and they will satisfy you in what manner, by what degrees, and in how long a time our Saviour was conceived in the Virgin's womb. Whether supernatural generation requires any instant of time for its acting ? Whether Christ as a

[1] P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus.*

Son bears a double specifically distinct relation to God the Father and His Virgin Mother ? Whether this proposition is possible to be true—"The first Person of the Trinity is later than the Second" ? Whether God who took our nature upon Him in the form of a man, could as well have become a woman, a devil, a beast, a herb, or a stone, and were it so possible that the Godhead had appeared in any shape of an inanimate substance, how He should then have preached His gospel ? '

The New Learning

The Renaissance, or rebirth of learning, if not a direct cause of the Reformation, undermined the established order of things and prepared the way for a revolution. It began as a rediscovery of the classics, which had been neglected for centuries. When Boccaccio visited the famous Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino, he found the library without door or fastening, the books covered with dust, and many with sheets torn out and margins clipped. But the Renaissance was far more than a mere revival of learning. It was a revival of interest in man, in nature, and in art in themselves, apart from their theological significance ; in a word, *Humanism.*

It began in Italy. The poet Petrarch and Boccaccio, author of the *Decameron,* were pioneers. Petrarch (d. 1375) discovered two of Cicero's orations and a bundle of his letters. Boccaccio, a contemporary, revived the study of Greek. Never has there been in Europe such enthusiasm for learning as Italy witnessed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. When Pius II visited Ferrara in 1460, statues of pagan deities were set up in his honour. Popes and cardinals prided themselves on the Ciceronian style of their allocutions. In the Council of Basle, the assembled Fathers were stirred to take courage and depose Eugenius by the examples of self-devotion given by Curtius, Leonides, Theramenes, and Socrates. When Pius II at Mantua preached a crusade against the Turk, he quoted the poet Anacreon and the philosophers Plato and Aristotle to persuade his hearers to despise death and join the crusade. There were learned ladies and literary *condottieri.* One general of mercenaries is said to have been bought off by a present of Greek manuscripts. North of the Alps there was less enthusiasm for the classics, but the bearing of the new learning on theology and the study of the Bible roused more interest than in Italy. Erasmus was its most shining light.

Erasmus (1466–1536).—Born at Rotterdam, he was sent to a

famous school at Deventer, maintained with other schools by the Brethren of the Common Life, a brotherhood founded by Gerhard Groot about 1380, devoted principally to copying manuscripts and the education of the young. Thomas à Kempis, the author or copyist of the *Imitation*, was a Brother. These schools were a bridge between the old learning and the new. Dr. Whitney says [1] that the birthplace of the German renaissance is to be sought in the Netherlands, and not in Italy.

While still a youth he became a monk against his will under pressure from interested relatives. After seven hateful years, he became Latin secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai, obtained a dispensation for non-residence, and studied at Louvain and at Paris. In 1508 he published a collection of proverbial sayings, which made him famous throughout Europe. This was a humanistic work. But the rest of his life was devoted to studies with a direct bearing on religion. His work was principally of two kinds.

(i) *Destructive.*—He attacked the religious abuses of his day with the wittiest pen in Europe. His most famous work of this sort was his *Praise of Folly*, written in England in 1509, in which he attacked, among other things, belief in the miraculous powers of images, indulgences, the unintelligent repetition of the Psalter, the sanctity of ignorance and dirt. He also wrote colloquies or dialogues ridiculing pilgrimages, monasticism, and prayers to the saints. In another work, published anonymously, purporting to be a dialogue between St. Peter and the shade of Julius II, he mocked the political ambitions and crimes of the papacy. His attacks were more dangerous than the fiercest invective because he made people laugh at his victims. They may be compared to the attacks of Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists in eighteenth-century France, which paved the way for the revolution by making Church and Crown appear ridiculous.

(ii) *Constructive.*—Unlike Voltaire, with whom he has points of resemblance, he was not merely destructive. He had a genuine zeal for the reformation of religion and morals and believed that what was wanted was a return to primitive religion. But if there was to be such a return, men must know what primitive religion was like. So the great work of his life was a new edition of the Greek Testament. His aim was to provide (i) the best Greek text available, (ii) a translation, which should be an improvement on the Vulgate. This work was begun in England and published with a dedication

[1] *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1920.

to the Pope in 1516. Dr. Allen says that he propounded the problem of critical scholarship, but did nothing to solve it. But at least he blazed a trail for others to follow. He also published paraphrases on the New Testament, commentaries on some of the Epistles, and editions of Jerome and others of the Fathers. He wrote innumerable letters and tracts on questions of the day. He was hated and feared by monks and theologians and was constantly engaged in controversy with them, and, but for the protection of the Pope and the Emperor, would have fallen a victim to the Inquisition.

His last years were embittered by Luther and the breaking storm of the Reformation. He hated quarrelling, he disliked extremes, he thought that ignorance and folly were the foes. He believed that before the rising sun of knowledge the mists of corruption in the Church would be dispelled and the required reforms ensue. Luther and the more violent reformers were little more congenial to him than ignorant monks and stupid theologians. He hated national as well as theological strife. He disliked physical violence, especially in religion. Like Francis Bacon, he thought that to use religion as a cloak for butchery and violence was 'to bring down the Holy Ghost instead of the Likenesse of a Dove in the shape of a Vulture, or Raven : and to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats and Assassins.'

PERIOD V

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION

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I

CAUSES

WHAT we call the Reformation was a revolt against the established order, moral, intellectual, and social as well as religious.

Moral.—In the sphere of morals it was, as we have already seen, only the climax of a long series of revolts beginning at least as far back as the Petrobusians and Cathari.

Intellectual.—Berengar had questioned the accepted doctrine of the Mass. Abailard had maintained against Bernard the right of free inquiry into ecclesiastical dogmas. But without the printing press and with Greek an almost unknown tongue these were voices crying in the wilderness, easily suppressed. There had been, of course, great intellectual activity among the schoolmen, but speculation was confined within limits and to a limited class of speculators, practically to the learned clergy, who were told in effect to speculate as much as they liked as long as they arrived at orthodox conclusions. The greatest of these speculators, Thomas Aquinas, had, more than 200 years before Luther, pretty well laid down what the conclusions were to be. But when the Reformation began there was a 'renaissance feeling' in the air, a sense that momentous discoveries were being made on all sides, in learning as in geography and science, and that the knowledge of Greek had thrown new light on the study of the Bible. Horizons were widened. Every young intellectual was turned into a budding Alexander, thirsting for new intellectual worlds to conquer and refusing to be warned off the hitherto exempted area of theology.

The Renaissance brought a modern scientific attitude to many questions concerned with theology. The knowledge of Hebrew and Greek made an enormous difference. The Vulgate had been treated as if verbally inspired. The learned now realised that the original Hebrew and Greek might entirely alter the sense of any

given passage, and this was enough to set rocking the whole edifice of mediaeval developments or accretions. It led to a revolt against many *doctrinae Romanensium* hitherto accepted on authority as articles of faith, but disliked by many on moral or intellectual grounds, such as the common teaching concerning pilgrimages, relics, indulgences, and purgatory, as we see in the writings of Erasmus.

Social.—The predatory instinct was aroused. A very large part of the lands of Germany and Britain was possessed by the Church. They had appreciated in value enormously. It made no difference that they had, to a great extent, been reclaimed from waste. Kings and rulers thought, or pretended to think, that a great part of the revenues of bishop and abbey would be employed to the greater advantage of their subjects if diverted to secular ends. One hesitates to credit the wolf with altruistic motives, but one must remember that not only kings and nobles, but Wycliffe and Arnold of Brescia had thought that the possession of property was for the clergy the root of all kinds of evil, while public-spirited men, like William of Waynflete and Wolsey, had not hesitated to appropriate church property in order to endow their educational foundations. Europe was, in fact, studded with Naboth's vineyards. As soon as some Elijah should arise and bid the waiting Ahabs enter and take possession, it was likely to go hard with the unfortunate Naboths.

II

ON THE CONTINENT

Martin Luther

Early History.—He was born, in 1483, at Eisleben in Upper Saxony. His parents were working people, but managed to send him to school and to the University of Erfurt. It was while a student at Erfurt that he received the strong religious impulse which made him determine to become a monk, much against the wishes of his father. In 1505 he entered the Augustinian order and two years later was ordained priest. He passed through a time of great spiritual conflict and anguish. He was troubled with a sense of unforgiven sin and the deprivation of God's favour. The dark night of the soul almost overwhelmed him. Once he wrote to his Superior, 'Oh my sins, my sins, my sins.' We read, 'Often was he

seen at the foot of the altar, his hands clasped, his eyes full of tears, raised toward heaven, earnestly beseeching pardon for his sins.' In his trouble he studied the Epistles of St. Paul and worked out his own theory of forgiveness, which was later on to become famous as *Justification by Faith*. Put very shortly, the theory is, that man is forgiven and accepted by God in response to faith, and in no sense because he has discharged a debt, or in some way earned pardon, by any form of good works or penance.

It was the discovery of a desperate man, thrown on his own resources, that is, his own interpretation of Scripture, conscious, like Job, of his integrity, and innocent of the blacker kind of sin, yet equally conscious of a sense of guilt, who clutched at this plank and on it swam to security. 'Thereupon' he wrote long afterwards, 'I felt as if born again, and it seemed to me as though heaven's gates stood full open before me and that I was joyfully entering therein.' His views were confirmed, if they had not been suggested, by St. Augustine, *On the Spirit and on the Letter* and the sermons of Tauler. The fundamental principle is that man cannot save himself. Acceptance and justification must come from God and cannot be earned by men.

To understand his future career it is necessary to give due weight to his spiritual experience at this time, his depth of depression and the sudden influx of illumination and joy. The importance he attached to his theory of justification testifies to the greatness of the rebound. If this doctrine could have been allowed, as it would have been apparently at the Conference at Ratisbon twenty years later, there need have been no revolt. But he could not deny his spiritual experience, and when faced with the alternative of revolt or denial, he revolted, and invented theories, no doubt in perfect good faith, to justify each step he took.

About 1510 he visited Rome on the business of his order, and was disillusioned as to the devotion of the Roman Church by what he saw. He found the cardinals pagan, the clergy undevout, and the glimpse he had of the Pope, Julius II, at Bologna during an interval in a campaign was not reassuring. Soon after his return he became Doctor of Divinity and lecturer at the newly founded University of Wittenberg, and was appointed town preacher by the Senate. It does not seem to have occurred to him or anyone else that his doctrine was heretical until the preaching of indulgences brought into conflict two diverging tendencies of thought, which had previously managed to exist together. Hitherto there had been

room in the Church for Paul the mystic, as well as Peter the disciplinarian, for those who put the emphasis on what God had done, as well as for those who emphasised what man had to do. For centuries the disciplinarians had had things pretty much their own way, and Luther headed the first successful revolt.

Indulgences.—In the year 1517 John Tetzel, a Dominican, appeared in Germany selling Indulgences for the rebuilding of St. Peter's at Rome. Europe, with the omission of Spain and France, had been divided into districts under commissioners for the purpose of facilitating the sale, and the commissioner for North Germany was Albert, Archbishop of Mainz. In his case the circumstances were peculiar. Albert had just paid 24,000 guelders to the Pope for his pallium and had borrowed the money from the banking house of Fuggers at Augsburg. By arrangement with the Pope the money was to be repaid out of the proceeds of the sale of the indulgences, of which Fuggers were to receive half, and their clerk accompanied the commission to attend to the interests of his firm.

The organising secretary, as we should call him, was Tetzel, who had been employed for nearly twenty years on similar work with great success. He left nothing to chance, sending round careful instructions and even specimen sermons to parish priests. In one sermon the congregations are to be reminded that for each mortal sin a penance of seven years is incurred, that mortal sins are committed daily and an infinite penance of flames incurred. An indulgence would give full remission from all penances already incurred and afterwards throughout life the same benefit after each confession, and again at the hour of death. They are reminded that visitors to Rome put their money in a bank and for 5 or 6 per cent. could get credit in Rome. 'Will you not give a quarter of a florin for these letters, by means of which, instead of receiving money, your immortal soul will have a safe-conduct to Paradise?'[1] He (Tetzel) said that 'If a Christian had slept with his mother and placed the sum of money in the Pope's indulgence chest the Pope had power in heaven and earth to forgive the sin, and if he forgave it God must do so also. Then, if they contributed readily, so soon as the coin rang in the chest the soul for whom the money was paid would go straightway to heaven.'[2]

When he entered a city 'the Bull was borne on a satin or gold-embroidered cushion, and all the priests and monks, the town council,

[1] Kidd, *Documents*. [2] *Ibid.*

schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, maidens, and children went out to meet him with banners and tapers, songs and processions. Then all the bells were rung and all the organs played : he was conducted into the church, a red cross was erected in the midst of the church and the Pope's banner displayed ; in short, God Himself could not have been welcomed and entertained with greater honour.' [1]

Luther's Protest.—It is not surprising that Luther, rejoicing in his theory of justification by faith, should have protested against the opposing theory thus crudely expressed. He wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Archbishop on All Saints' Eve, 1517, and posted on the cathedral church his famous ninety-five theses, in which he offered to maintain as an academic exercise the unlawfulness of indulgences. He followed up the theses with a sermon denouncing them. Tetzel replied, and a controversy raged fiercely.

In June 1518 Luther was summoned to Rome, but was allowed to appear before the Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg instead. He was urged to retract, but refused and appealed to the Pope, who replied by reaffirming the current doctrine of indulgences. Luther in reply appealed to a General Council.

His Condemnation.—Luther's opinions were condemned in a Bull issued on June 15, 1520, and he himself threatened with the punishment of heretics if he did not recant within sixty days. Instead of recanting he burnt the Bull at Wittenberg on December 10, together with the Decretals and other official papal documents, and on the next morning warned his hearers to separate themselves from the Pope. The Pope retaliated by demanding that he should be placed under the ban of the empire and sent to Rome for trial. He was accordingly summoned to appear at Worms before the Diet or Supreme Council of the empire. Thither he went under a safe-conduct, saying in answer to a warning 'Though there were as many devils in Worms as tiles on the roofs I will go there.' When he appeared before the Diet the Emperor, Charles V, is reported to have said; 'This man will never make a heretic of me.'

His Opinions.—In 1520 he published three treatises, which are of the first importance as expressing his views.[2]

(i) *To the Christian nobility of the German Nation respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate, an appeal to the laity, chiefly directed against abuses.*

(ii) An appeal to theologians in Latin, *De captivitate Babylonica.*

(iii) *Concerning Christian Liberty.*—This was meant for an

[1] Kidd, *Documents.*

[2] Trans. by Wade and Buchheim.

eirenicon and sent to the Pope. But as in the covering letter he described the Court of Rome as worse than Sodom, or Babylon, and the sink of all impiety, he was perhaps unduly optimistic in regarding it as conciliatory.

Luther was no clear-headed thinker with a carefully thought-out system, foreseeing the logical and practical consequence of each step. His theology was opportunist and hand-to-mouth, and he seemed to arrive at each new doctrine when required by the theological necessities of the moment. He had begun by denouncing indulgences, partly on account of their abuse as a scandal, and partly as being inconsistent with his doctrine of justification. When they were upheld by the Pope he was forced to question the authority of the papacy, as well as to examine further into their theological foundations. The authority of the Pope he denied on the ground that it was not found in the Scriptures. 'I struggle for two points. First, I will not endure that men shall establish new articles of faith and judge all Christians in the world as heretics, schismatics, and unbelievers, only because they are not under the Pope. It is enough that we leave the Pope to be Pope; it is not necessary that for his sake God and His saints be abused. Secondly, all that the Pope establishes and does I will accept, provided I first judge it according to the Scriptures; he shall be to me under Christ and shall submit himself to be judged by Holy Scripture.'

The difficulty at once suggests itself: Who was to interpret Scripture? This difficulty did not seem to trouble Luther. To him the meaning of Scripture seemed plain and unmistakable. In case of difficulty every man must judge for himself. When asked if he would submit his incriminated doctrines to the judgment of a council he refused and went on to give his reason: 'In what concerns the Word of God and the faith, every Christian is as good a judge for himself as the Pope can be for him, for each man must live and die according to that faith. The Word of God is the common heritage of the whole Christian world, each member of which is competent to explain it.' Scripture, then, was the final court of appeal, and Scripture as interpreted by the individual. He did not make this court more likely to command general assent by discriminating between the different parts of Scripture, those in which the doctrine of justification was not very apparent being assessed at less value, the Epistle of St. James in particular coming in for contumelious treatment as 'a right strawy epistle.' He considered the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter to be of higher authority than

the synoptic Gospels, and that St. John's Gospel, with the Epistles to Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter, contained all the Scripture it was necessary or even useful to know. The Apocalypse he rejected.

The Church, he held, consisted of an invisible body of believers bound together by the tie of a common faith. He made no distinction between priest and layman save of office. The layman might become a priest or the priest a layman if necessity or convenience required. The 'indelible character' of the priesthood was a myth. He spoke of the mummery of episcopal ordination. All Christians are priests; all may teach the word of God, may administer baptism, may consecrate the bread and wine.

Of the sacraments he retained Baptism, Holy Communion, and Penance on account of their scriptural authority, but rejected Matrimony, Orders, Unction, and Confirmation.

Politics.—Luther, like Wycliffe, believed that temporal princes would prove more enlightened and less selfish rulers of the Church than bishops. He was therefore in favour of secularising Church property in a great measure. He was also ready to allow the secular prince considerable power in spiritual things. This is in part explained by his necessities. Germany was divided into a number of states, each ruled by a prince, or a prince-bishop, nominally owing some allegiance to the Emperor, but practically independent except so far as an individual emperor was strong enough to enforce his will. There were also a number of free towns. As the Emperor was his enemy his hope lay in gaining the support of the princes. When the Emperor and the Catholic princes declared war against him and he was placed under the ban of the empire, it would have gone hard with him if he had not found a protector in the Elector of Saxony, afterwards reinforced by Philip of Hesse, the Elector of Brandenburg, and other princes. He is generally considered to have carried his complaisance too far, when with Melanchthon, Bucer, and other leading Lutheran divines, he signed a paper authorising Philip of Hesse to marry a second wife without even going through the form of divorcing his first, stipulating only that it should be done secretly. Later on when this proved difficult Luther advised 'a good strong lie' as an aid to concealment.[1]

The Confession of Augsburg.—In 1530 the Emperor made an attempt at a reconciliation and summoned the princes of the empire to a Diet at Augsburg for the purpose of taking measures

[1] Kidd, *Documents*.

against the Turks and composing the religious differences of the empire. The importance of the Diet is due to the Confession of Augsburg, which was its result. Melanchthon drew up an Apology or statement of Lutheran opinions, which was accepted by Luther and others as their confession of faith and became famous as the Confession of Augsburg. Its signatories include the Elector of Saxony, the ruling princes of Brandenburg, Luneburg, Hesse, and Anhalt, and the chief magistrates of Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

The Anabaptists.—The name signifies *Rebaptists*, as they denied the validity of infant baptism and went through the form of baptism a second time. As early as 1526 the Zurich government, when the Reformers were in power, had some of them drowned, chiefly on account of their anarchical opinions. Their real significance, however, did not consist in their rejection of infant baptism but in the fact that they were the first to reject the authority both of the Church and Scripture—the dead letter, they called it—professing to be guided by the Inner Light of the Spirit.

In North Germany they held Munster for three years against Catholics and Lutherans alike. Their leader at Munster was a tailor, John of Leyden, who had himself proclaimed 'King on the throne of David,' allowed a plurality of wives and preserved discipline among his own by having one of them publicly executed for criticising his government. When Musculus arrived in Cologne (1531) he found that two leading Anabaptists had been in prison for four years and that others had been flogged and banished.

The Colloquy of Ratisbon.—The Emperor made a last attempt at reunion with the Lutherans at the Colloquy of Ratisbon (1541), at which three Catholic and three Lutheran divines were present—Luther himself was absent and was represented by Melanchthon, Bucer, and another. The Catholics were advised by Cardinal Contarini, who led the moderate party on the Roman side. An agreement was reached on Justification, but none on the authority of the Church, or the Mass, or confession or the power of bishops. Whatever chance there might have been of an understanding between the negotiators would have been destroyed by their backers and superiors outside the conference who could have been depended on to wreck any settlement. Luther denounced it as a 'patched-up thing,'[1] while Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV, one of the lights of the counter-Reformation, opposed it at Rome. Francis I of France also opposed it, for a settlement would have made the

[1] Kidd, *Documents*.

Emperor too strong. Its failure was one of the greatest tragedies in history.

The Peace of Augsburg.—Disputes continued in Germany. A League of Protestant princes had been formed in 1531 called the Schmalkaldic League. Hostilities broke out eventually (1546–1552). At length a compromise was reached by the Peace of Augsburg (1555). The principle of the agreement was that the State, which meant the reigning prince, or in the case of a free town the predominant party, could choose the religion of his state and was not to be molested for his choice. Calvinists and Anabaptists were, however, excluded from this partial toleration. The principle afterwards became famous under the motto *Cujus regio ejus religio.*

However admirable Luther's original protest against the abuse of papal authority and the scandals in the Church may have been, his victories were won at a heavy price; partly because it broke up the Church, which was still the greatest power for good in Europe. 'It had formed a link between man and man, between class and class, between nation and nation. With all its shortcomings it had given a spiritual touch to social, national, and international life.' Instead of reforming the Church from within he revived and intensified its reliance on the secular arm and opened the way for the Jesuits and the excesses of the counter-reformation and the reactionary spirit shown in the Council of Trent. Hurrell Froude, alluding to this spirit, wrote after an interview with a learned Romanist, 'So much for the Council of Trent, for which Christendom has to thank Luther and the Reformers.'[1]

III

IN SWITZERLAND

Zwingli, 1484–1531

Zwingli, the father of the Swiss Reformation, was distinguished as a musician and a classical scholar. He is said to have been able to play on every known musical instrument. He acquired his classical knowledge from Lupulus, who was the first to introduce the classics into Switzerland, and was a son of the Renaissance. He studied the New Testament in the original, and claimed that religion

[1] *Remains*, 307.

was to be found in heathen writers. 'Religion has not been confined within the boundaries of Palestine since God did not alone create Palestine.' He was, in fact, a humanist. He became a priest and first gained notoriety by preaching against the enlistment of the Swiss as mercenaries. 'If a wolf,' he protested, 'comes into the country, everyone is up to kill the beast, or drive it away, but against wolves that devour the people no man will fight.' When a cardinal came to recruit for the papal army he said: 'They (the cardinals) are very properly drest in red—if they be wrung, out flows the blood of thy son, brother, father, friend.' [1]

In 1519 he became 'people's priest' at Zurich and began a course of sermons on the New Testament, in which he broke away from the accepted teaching. In 1521, largely at his instigation, a seller of indulgences was expelled from Swiss territory. By 1523 he had attracted the attention of the Pope, who sent a nuncio authorised to offer him 'anything except the papal chair' in return for his submission. He now began his reforms with the assistance of the civil authorities. In his theocratic ideas he anticipated Calvin. Authority in Church and State was to be wielded by the Church authorities, their actions being based on the Bible. Accordingly, 'he made the senate depute some to judge cases of conjugal difficulties and persuaded them that the worship of images must be abolished, the Mass utterly done away, and the Lord's Supper restored.' Adultery was punished with imprisonment, loss of civil rights and, in obdurate cases, by drowning. A board of moral discipline was formed, which 'summoned delinquents before them, warned and exhorted them, and excommunicated the impenitent, and designated them to the civil magistrate for punishment.'

He maintained that in religion nothing should be tolerated for which scriptural authority could not be found. Though he claimed that Scripture was the sole touchstone of what was permissible, he allowed himself some freedom in its interpretation, declaring marriage to be dissoluble on the ground that 'let no man put asunder' means 'let no man *lightly* put asunder.'

He was much troubled with Anabaptists, with whom he reasoned in private and disputed in public. He said the fight with Anabaptists 'cost him more sweat than the fight with Papacy.' Two of the more violent were drowned and another beheaded. He claimed to owe nothing to Luther. 'I began, before a single individual in our part of the country even heard of the name of Luther, to preach

[1] *Life*, by Christoffel.

the Gospel. This was in 1516.'[1] Though he told his congregation to read Luther's books, he denied having read them himself.

Conference at Marburg.—In 1529 he had a conference with Luther on the Holy Communion, at Marburg. Luther insisted that the words 'This is my body' were to be taken literally. 'We are not to examine whether *is* may be taken for signifies, for so we fall into interpretising; but we are to take the words in their simple sense. "This is my body." From thence the devil cannot pull me.' It could therefore be received by a man without faith. Zwingli said, 'We believe that Christ's body and blood are present in the supper to the believing soul, but not in the bread and wine.' No agreement could be reached on the Sacrament, but Luther drew up a document called the Marburg Articles, comprising points on which they did agree, which was signed by both parties.

Zwingli became the moving spirit of a Protestant alliance, which, beginning with the Swiss Protestant cantons, was to have embraced the free towns of South Germany and the Rhine, the North German ports, and even France and Venice. France sent an ambassador to Zurich and Zurich despatched one to Venice. It was not, however, destined to amount to much. The Lutheran Schmalkaldic League would not accept the Swiss cantons as members. The real object of Zwingli's League was to compel the five Catholic cantons to cease persecuting the Protestants within their borders. One canton, Schwyz, had kidnapped and burnt a Zurich preacher. Zwingli clamoured for war, 'breathing the spirit of an Old Testament prophet.' 'Be steadfast,' he wrote, 'and be not afraid of war . . . our object is to tame these upstart tyrants who rise against God and suppress His word.' The Berne canton, however, objected. 'Faith,' it retorted, 'is not to be implanted by spears and halberds.' After a preliminary success the Protestants were defeated at Kappel in 1531 and Zwingli, who had accompanied the host, armed with sword and halberd, was slain together with twenty-two Protestant pastors. As a result, the Swiss cantons were left to manage their own religious affairs and have remained, Protestant or Catholic, as they were before the war.

Calvin (1509–64)

John Calvin was a Frenchman, a native of Noyon, bred to the law, though originally intended for the priesthood. From early

[1] *Life*, by Christoffel.

youth we are told 'he was remarkably religious and a strict censor of everything vicious in his companions,' and was given the nickname of *The Accusative Case*. After a distinguished career at the University of Paris he forsook law for theology and became prominent among the French Protestants. In 1536 he came to Geneva, which had repudiated Catholicism. After being banished (1538), he was recalled and returned to be supreme in Church and State until his death.

His Doctrine.—Luther had left the Church because when tortured by sin he found an assurance of salvation in the Bible through the doctrine of justification by faith. Henceforward his one imperative need was to proclaim the good tidings of God's forgiving love. Ritual and ceremonial, which Calvin called the trappings of popery, things not essential, were not wrong and might be edifying.

Calvin seems never to have been troubled with an uneasy conscience and the sense of unforgiven sin. He says that God 'brought his mind to teachableness by a sudden conversion,' so that henceforward he devoted himself to the pursuit of true knowledge. But for him conversion meant not so much the acceptance of forgiveness as enlightenment, taking the turning that led from darkness to light, from ignorance to the true knowledge of God. In *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, his great compendium of theology, he begins by describing the knowledge of God as the true end of man's existence. The first question in his catechism is: 'What is the chief end of human life?' and the answer, 'To know God, by whom we are created.' Sin was tremendously important and forgiveness essential, because sin shut man out from the knowledge of God.

Luther, like the Antiochenes, starts with man and his needs and works up to God and His glory. Calvin begins with God and His glory and works down to man and his needs. 'If the central thought of the Lutheran service is the consolation and peace brought by the forgiveness of sins, the ultimate ideal of the Calvinistic service is the *Gloria Dei*: to proclaim God's praise and magnify it, to bow before the awful majesty of God, and to make petition to the King of the eternal Glory, that is the end and aim which the Calvinistic service sets before it. *Soli Deo Gloria!* the individual man with his sin and misery and his longing for salvation becomes as nothing in the splendour of God's majesty.' [1]

Calvin allowed only two sacraments, but held that those are *vera signa*. 'The bread and the wine are visible signs, which represent

[1] Heiler, *The Spirit of Worship*, p. 96.

to us the body and blood, but this name and that of body and blood is given to them because they are, as it were, instruments, by which the Lord distributes them to us.'[1] He thus went further than Zwingli.

Bullinger, Zwingli's successor and son-in-law, and the chosen confidant of the divines who drew up the Elizabethan Prayer-book, came over to Calvin's views, and in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, 1549, an agreement was reached. We learn from that document that in the Holy Communion any kind of local presence is repudiated. Nevertheless Christ is spiritually present to the faith of the recipient and feeds them with the Holy Spirit.[2]

Discipline.—After a long struggle Calvin succeeded in establishing a model church in Geneva, where discipline was administered by a *Consistoire* consisting of ministers and lay elders. This body met every Thursday morning and summoned before it those accused of abstention from church, heresy, or disorderly conduct. Those who refused to appear, or after appearing showed themselves contumacious, were denounced to the civil government, which was expected to carry the matter further. Nor was this an idle threat. We find a man put in prison for treating Calvin with contumely, and a lady for dancing. A manufacturer of playing-cards, for 'speaking against God and Mr. Calvin,' had to do penance in his shirt. Two men were put on bread and water for three days for criticising a sermon. For more obstinate offenders severer measures were taken. A doctor of medicine for disputing Calvin's doctrine that God of His own will and pleasure predestinated some to election and others to reprobation was sentenced to perpetual banishment. A free-thinker was beheaded for blaspheming God and slandering His ministers. Servetus, for maintaining anti-Trinitarian views, was burnt *tout vif* with the advice of the churches of Berne, Basle, Zurich, and Schaffhausen and the approval even of the moderate and conciliatory Melanchthon (1553).[3] The execution of Servetus is said to have been the indirect means of converting Lelio Suzzini (Socinus, 1526–62) to anti-Trinitarian opinions. Lelio and his nephew Fausto were the originators of *Socinianism*, the name commonly given in the seventeenth century to those who denied the Deity of Jesus.

Calvin, like Luther and Zwingli, had trouble with the Anabaptists. He wrote in 1544 a *Brief Instruction against Anabaptists*, in which he alluded to them as 'this vermin.' 'If one replies,'

[1] Calvin's *Catechism*. [2] Kidd, *Documents*. [3] *Ibid*.

he complained, 'alleging a passage (of Scripture) they reply that they ought not to be subject to the letter that kills, but to the Spirit that giveth life.' Some carried on the German tradition of Pantheism, holding, if we can believe Calvin, that 'there is only one sole Spirit of God which is and exists in all creatures.'

He was a thorough-going advocate of persecution. 'He who maintains that it is wrong to inflict the punishment of death on heretics blasphemes, deliberately involves himself in the same guilt.' 'Not in vain,' he continues, 'does He annul the tender bond between husband and wife, and deprive men almost of their nature that no obstacle may delay their holy zeal.'

Calvin's Influence.—For many years, until his death in 1564, he was the prophet of the non-Lutheran Protestants. The Church in Geneva was a model to other Reformed Churches. His *Institutes* and commentaries were acknowledged as standard authorities. The Genevan University which he founded in 1557 became the greatest centre of education in the reformed communions, and five years after its foundation had 1200 junior and 300 senior students on its books.[1] Protestant leaders came to consult him from all quarters, and those who could not come themselves sought his opinion by letters. His position in some respects was more papal than the Pope's. English and Scottish reformers in particular looked to him for advice, inspiration, and encouragement. Like the Pope, he was international. Geneva indeed has been the only rival of Rome as an international centre. In Germany only the Protestants of the Palatinate looked for inspiration to Geneva rather than Wittenberg, but outside Germany and Scandinavia the dominant influence was Calvin, not Luther. Politically Calvinists tended for their self-preservation to ally themselves with the nobles against the King. This was notably the case in France and Scotland. In Scotland they were completely successful and drove out Mary their queen, who was a Catholic.

It should be noted that while Lutherans were called *Protestants*, from the *Protest* made by six princes and fourteen cities against the condemnation of Luther reaffirmed at the Diet of Spires, the followers of Calvin and Zwingli were called *The Reformed*.

Scandinavia

Lutheranism was established in Denmark in 1537, and a little later in its dependent kingdoms of Norway and Iceland.

[1] Kidd, *Documents*.

Sweden established Lutheranism as early as 1528, and alone among the Protestant Churches of the Continent retained bishops, and by having them consecrated by a Catholic bishop preserved the apostolical succession. Denmark lost the succession though they reintroduced bishops later.

IV

THE NETHERLANDS

Lutheran, Calvinist and Anabaptist opinions found their way into the Netherlands and were alike repressed. In 1566 at the Synod of Antwerp, Calvinism won the day, and later the Genevan polity and the Heidelberg Confession, a Calvinist symbol, were adopted. In 1579 the seven northern provinces withdrew and eventually became independent as the United Provinces. They were Calvinist. In the remaining ten, now Belgium, all forms of Protestantism were ruthlessly suppressed.

France

French reformers followed Calvin. After a short period of toleration they were severely repressed. Francis I coquetted with the idea of patronising them, but eventually came down on the side of repression. In 1535 during a solemn procession of the Host, in expiation of an affront which had been offered to it, at each of six stations six heretics were burnt. More persecutions followed, but numbers grew. Calvin, writing in 1558, estimated their numbers at 300,000. They possessed two translations of the Bible and a celebrated book of hymns. In 1559 they held their first synod in Paris, attended by representatives of over forty churches, and adopted an ecclesiastical discipline and a Calvinist confession of faith.

Erastus

Thomas Erastus (1524–83) a Swiss physician, for many years a professor at Heidelberg, gave his name to Erastianism. He was a voluminous writer and published treatises on astrology, witches, the Lord's Supper, and comets during his lifetime, but the writings which made him famous were published after his death. These

were two treatises on excommunication, in which he denied the right of the Church to excommunicate, 'since some men were seized on by a certain excommunicatory fever, which they did adorn with the title of ecclesiastical discipline.' [1] He maintained that excommunication was never permissible, though in a Christian country the magistrates should punish offences against morals. Though his treatises are almost entirely taken up with the question of the unlawfulness of excommunication by any tribunal, he does in the seventy-fourth chapter of his first treatise assert the authority of the Christian ruler over the Church, comparing him with David and Hezekiah. 'The Christian magistrate possesses not only the authority to settle religion according to the directions given in Holy Scripture and to arrange the ministries and offices thereof. . . . I allow, indeed, the magistrate ought to consult, where doctrine is concerned, those who have particularly studied it.'

The Erastianism of Erastus must be distinguished from the Erastianism of current speech. As used to-day, the word means the control of the Church by an outside body, the State, which may not only be external, but hostile. To Erastus, as to nearly all mediaeval writers and to Hooker, the spiritual and secular societies were regarded as identical. The only question was, which set of people, the King and his officers, or the Pope and his officers (or the presbytery) was to have supreme control? Their spheres were supposed to be distinct, but there was overlapping in practice. Calvin, like the mediaeval popes, claimed for the spiritual officers control over secular affairs. Erastus retaliated, like Henry VIII, by claiming for State officials control over ecclesiastical affairs.

It is worth noticing that Thomas Cartwright, the English Nonconformist, was one of the first to maintain the distinctness of the two bodies, in which he was followed by the Jesuits with their teaching of the Church as the *societas perfecta*.

The modern Erastian, regarding Church and State as two separate entities, thinks that the spiritual society should be controlled by the State.

Arminius (1560–1609)

Arminius, the asserter of free-will against the rigid predestinarians, and the bugbear of English seventeenth-century Puritans, began his ministry in Amsterdam in 1588. He is said to have been

[1] Translation of 1659.

converted by reading a treatise attacking predestination and capital punishment for heresy, which he undertook to refute. He had a controversy on this subject with William Perkins of Christ's College, Cambridge, the most popular preacher in the University. His views were embodied in the Great Remonstrance (1610), in which it was maintained that God foresees, but does not ordain, the ruin of the sinner. This view was condemned by the Synod of Dort in 1618. He was also one of the early champions of toleration, maintaining that heretics should be won 'not by swords, halters, racks, gibbets, or by burning people alive . . . but by entreaties, by gentle and friendly instruction.'

The Synod of Dort.—After the death of Arminius disputes arose between his followers and the strict predestinarians. A synod was summoned to meet at Dordrecht (Dort) in 1618, which was attended by delegates from Germany and Switzerland. James I was also represented. In the end the Arminians, known as Remonstrants, were defeated and the strict Predestinarians or contra-remonstrants were victorious. The President declared in his closing address that 'their marvellous labours had made hell tremble,' while Bishop Hall compared the synod to heaven. The Arminians or Remonstrants, were condemned as innovators and disturbers of the Church, and the Heidelberg Catechism and the canons of the synod were adopted formally by the Dutch Church.

According to the canons, says a Dutch writer, 'Men are contemplated as sinners deserving of hell, condemned already and entirely dependent on God's interposition for deliverance from the impending doom. Out of this world of condemned sinners God of His sovereign mercy chooses to save some. This is election. The others He has decreed to leave to the common misery into which they have plunged themselves. This is reprobation.' [1]

V

HENRY VIII AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

The Reformation in England took a course peculiar to itself, and was typically English. The Englishman before coming to a decision likes to be assured on two points, one that the proposal before him is practicable, secondly that it has some historical foundation. It is true that in breaking with the papacy he broke the tradition of many

[1] Demarest, *Hist. Ref. Dutch Church.*

centuries, but those responsible took enormous pains to show that the papal domination was itself an innovation and that they were only returning to the primitive pattern. Hence it came about that the reformation in England was based on learning, because without learning it was impossible to tell what the primitive pattern was or in what respects the mediaeval papacy had departed from it. Continental reformers prided themselves on completely breaking with the old, and basing their reformation on the bible, ignoring all subsequent history and all precedent, as well as all interpretations of the bible which did not suit their views. Bishop Jewell, on the other hand, challenged his opponents to find anything in the teaching of the Church as settled under Queen Elizabeth for which precedent could not be found in the first six centuries of our era.

There was little popular feeling in England in favour of the new teaching. It is true that Lollardy survived, but on a small scale. Foxe can only cite four burnings for heresy in the diocese of London, which then included Essex, in the period 1510 to 1527. But if there was little popular enthusiasm for reformation doctrine there was a strong anti-papal and anti-clerical feeling, especially among the more influential classes. The comparatively poor were aggrieved by (1) tithes : England was then largely a nation of smallholders, and tithes were bound to be unpopular ; and (2) *mortuaries*. A mortuary was the best chattel of a deceased parishioner, which became the property of the parish priest.[1]

[1] The case of Richard Hunne is important as illustrating both the anti-clerical animus of the day, and in part what caused it. Hunne was a prosperous merchant tailor. Towards the end of 1514 he buried his infant son, whereupon the parish priest claimed the bearing sheet as a mortuary. Hunne refused the demand, but lost his case when he was sued in the ecclesiastical court. He then sued it for a writ of praemunire in the Court of King's Bench. Whereupon he was charged with heresy and kept in custody in the Bishop of London's prison. While there, awaiting trial on the charge of heresy, he was, on the morning of December 4, found hanged in his cell. Was it murder or suicide ? An inquest was held, but before the coroner's jury returned its verdict, Hunne's body had been produced in the bishop's court, and he himself condemned for heresy, his body ordered to be burnt and his goods confiscated. The coroner's jury eventually returned a verdict of murder against three persons of whom Chancellor Horsey, as being officially in charge of the deceased, was one. Before the trial for murder could take place, the Bishop of London appealed to Wolsey to take Hunne's case from the purview of a jury on the ground that the citizens of London were so bent in favour of heresy that any twelve men in the city would condemn any clerk though he were as innocent as Abel. His plea was successful, and Horsey was allowed to leave London. Whether Hunne was murdered or not, the proceedings brought out the strong anti-clerical feeling in London. The bishop's statement to Wolsey

The well-to-do who made wills were exasperated by the fees charged for proving them in the bishop's court, which had a monopoly of probate : the fees were considered exorbitant, and were the perquisite of the bishop. When Wolsey was legate they amounted to a shilling in the pound on estates of £50 or more in value. Another grievance widely felt, especially by lawyers, was the exemption of the clergy from trial in the secular courts, clergy including not only those in what were called *holy orders*, that is bishops, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, but also those in minor orders, who were laymen except in name. If charged with a crime, even murder, they were handed over to the bishop, who could only keep them in prison. At the end of a year, if they had not escaped before, they could claim the privilege of *compurgation*, which meant securing a jury to declare that they were unlikely to have committed the crime with which they were charged. After this formality they were set free.

Wolsey

There was in fact a strong and widespread anti-papal feeling, which Wolsey's advent to power had the effect, and so far as he himself was concerned, the wholly undesired effect, of fomenting. He was a man of pre-eminent abilities, unbounded ambition, and as little fettered by moral scruples as a man could be. The dearest wish of his heart was to be Pope, and short of that his aim was to bolster up the papacy and to become a predominating influence at the papal court. The one consistent thread that ran through the tangled web of his foreign policy was devotion to these aims. His rise was rapid. He became Almoner in 1509, Archbishop of York in 1514, and legate *a latere*[1] in 1518, at first for a number of years and then for life.

about the certain condemnation of any clerk by any jury is enough to show that. The House of Lords, in which the Bishops were usually in a majority over the lay peers, threw out a Bill sent up by the Commons for the restitution of Hunne's goods to his widow and children. [See A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey*, pp. 31–42.]

[1] The *legatus a latere* must be distinguished from the *legatus natus*. The title of *legatus natus* conferred no actual powers, and was chiefly important as an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy. It had been borne for centuries by the archbishops of Canterbury. But the *legatus a latere* was a special envoy sent by the Pope for a definite purpose, and had authority to exercise papal powers within limits during his mission. The peculiarity of Wolsey's position lay in the fact that he was appointed first for a number of years and then for life.

One reason why he helped to rouse hostility to the Pope was that though the ostensible object of his mission was to reform abuses he was in his own person an epitome of the worst abuses of the mediaeval church. Two of the most crying evils were pluralism and absenteeism. Wolsey was simultaneously Bishop of Tournai, Bishop of Bath and Wells, until he exchanged that diocese for the richer see of Durham, to be exchanged on the death of Foxe for Winchester, and Archbishop of York. He was also Abbot of St. Albans, the richest abbey in England, and farmed the dioceses of Salisbury, Worcester and Llandaff, while those sees were held by foreigners, Wolsey receiving the revenues and paying a yearly rent to the holders.[1] His son, Thomas Wynter, while still a boy, was Dean of Wells, Archdeacon of York, Richmond, Norfolk and Suffolk, besides holding several prebends.[2] In addition Wolsey reduced the Convocations to a nullity through the exercise of his legatine power, paralysed bishops in the exercise of their constitutional powers, and in great measure superseded the constitution of the mediaeval church. He made men see that reform was impossible until the stranglehold of Rome was removed.

Anti-papal measures were no novelty in England. The action of Henry VIII in repudiating papal authority was only the climax of a long series of resistances, protests, and legislative restrictions from William I onwards. According to the Hildebrandine theory of the papacy, which had been accepted on the continent, the Pope was the source of all authority, spiritual and secular ; the bishops were his delegates, and their jurisdiction was derived from him. This theory was never accepted in England and attempts to enforce it had led to a series of protests and acts of parliament. William I would allow no papal letters to be received without his permission. Henry II forbade appeals to the Pope, though after the murder of Becket this veto was abandoned. Grosseteste had protested vigorously against papal pretensions. Edward III passed the *Statute of Provisors* limiting papal presentations to benefices, and the *Statute of Praemunire* making it treason to appeal to the Pope without leave of the King. These two statutes were re-enacted again and again during subsequent reigns. Henry IV and Henry V passed laws making papal Bulls and licences void. The Parliament of Richard II protested against any limitation by papal authority of the English Crown " which hath been so free at all times that it hath been in no earthly

[1] See Pollard's *Wolsey*, p. 173. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 309 *seq.*

subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the Regalie of the said Crown," words which might have been used by Henry VIII. These statutes were constantly evaded, partly because it often suited the King to come to a working arrangement with the Pope. But that they were so often made shows that the matrimonial difficulties of Henry VIII and the political needs of his successors are a very inadequate explanation of the Reformation in England. Henry, however, was not content with making the Ecclesia Anglicana independent of the Pope. He was equally determined to make it subject to the royal power. In this second aim also he was only continuing the policy of his predecessors. William I had refused to allow Convocation to enact canons without his consent, and forbade the bishops to excommunicate his barons except by permission. Henry II by the Constitutions of Clarendon had made ecclesiastics amenable to the secular courts, and but for the murder of Becket might have succeeded in making his reform effective. According to Henry VIII, 'his subjects were only half his subjects' as the bishops took an oath of allegiance not only to the King but also to the Pope. All Henry's reforms were directed to these two ends: (1) The assertion of the independence of the English Church as against the Pope; (2) the assertion of the Royal Supremacy in Church as well as State.

The Divorce.—If his desire to take a new wife was not the cause, it was at least the occasion of the breach with Rome. As early as 1525 we read that Henry 'was in a great scruple of conscience because divers divines, well learned, secretly informed him that he lived in adultery with his brother's wife, to the great peril of his soul, and told him further that the court of Rome could not dispense with God's commandment.' It has been the fashion to scoff at his scruples, as if they were purely hypocritical. But strong religious feeling is sometimes found in men whose moral scruples are often in abeyance, and Henry was genuinely religious, if in matters of morality he was at the mercy of his passions. He attended mass every day, was no mean theologian, and wrote a book against Luther, which gained for him from the Pope the title *defensor fidei*, which our sovereigns still bear. Katharine had borne him seven children, all of which except one were stillborn or died in infancy, and that one was a girl. It was a superstitious age. Misfortunes were regarded as due to the direct interposition of the deity, and it would be strange if a man like Henry had not felt genuine scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage,

when it was so manifestly unblest. It must be remembered that a female heir was regarded as only one degree better than no heir at all. That the *regiment* or rule of a woman was monstrous was a view held by many others besides John Knox. It is difficult to believe that Henry's lustful desire for Ann Boleyn was the real motive for the divorce. The desire had already been gratified before the marriage, which was not solemnised until a child was expected. Then it was celebrated in private, and might have been repudiated. The public ceremony took place only when the birth of a child was reasonably certain.

Nor was Henry so unreasonable in his hope of getting a declaration of the nullity of his marriage with Katharine of Arragon as people are apt to assume. Papal dispensations were freely used at that time to mitigate the severity of canon law. By canon law holy orders were indelible. But Alexander VI released Cæsar Borgia, a cardinal, from his orders, in order that he might become a secular prince. Dispensations in matrimonial cases were especially common. For the marriage law was very strict and matrimony was indissoluble. The impediments to a lawful union were many, but could be removed by dispensation. If after marriage a couple wished to dissolve their union, they could apply for a declaration of nullity either on the ground that impediments existed at the time of marriage and no dispensation had been obtained, or that, if obtained, it did not cover all the impediments. There were cases in the family of Henry VIII. One of his sisters married Louis XII of France, as his third wife. Louis had married his first wife under a dispensation as the parties were related in the fourth degree. When he came to the throne it was politically desirable that he should marry Anne of Brittany, the widow of his wife's brother. A tribunal of bishops declared his former marriage null, and he married Anne, while his first wife was alive. After Anne's death he married Henry's sister, Mary. When Louis died, Mary married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, as his third wife. He had married his first wife under a dispensation. This marriage was declared null on the ground that the dispensation did not cover all impediments, and he married a second wife during the lifetime of the first.

With all these examples before him, it is not surprising that Henry had hopes of obtaining a divorce, shameless as his conduct may seem. What made his failure certain was, not the inherent shamelessness of his attempt, but the political situation. The

Emperor, Charles V, was also King of Spain, and was all-powerful in Italy when the divorce proceedings were going on. The Pope, Clement VII, had very much more reason to fear the consequences of angering Charles, whose prisoner he had been, than of disappointing Henry. The one design of the Pope was to escape responsibility, 'Clement confessed,' Lord Acton wrote, 'that he was not a scholar, and that, if it was true, as men averred, that all law was locked in the breast of the Pope, it was a lock to which, unfortunately, he had no key. When Gardiner declared that Henry would help himself, if Rome refused to help him, Clement replied that he heartily wished he had done it.'[1] In the opinion of the same scholar, himself a Roman Catholic, 'It was an issue charged with genuine doubt and not necessarily invidious in the sight of Rome.'

When Henry found he could not get a divorce from the Pope, he repudiated the Pope, and so far as concerned the repudiation, he carried the nation with him. He was careful to observe the forms of the constitution, and acted through Convocation and Parliament. Both were summoned in 1529, and between that year and 1534 separated the English Church from Roman authority, so far as laws could do it.

Convocation.—The Convocation of Canterbury was ordered to acknowledge the King as 'sole protector and supreme head of the Church and clergy of England.' This they would not do, but at length passed the clause with the addition of the words, 'so far as the law of Christ allows.'

The Convocation of York accepted the clause with the same proviso. This declaration was followed in 1532 by concessions embodied in a document known as *The Submission of the Clergy*. By it Convocation was to meet only by royal writ and promulgate only such canons as received the royal assent. Finally, the Convocations of both Provinces passed a resolution to the effect that 'the Roman Pontiff has no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture in this Kingdom than any other foreign bishop.'

Parliament

Meantime Parliament passed various anti-papal measures :—

The Act for Restraint of Appeals.—Appeals in the case of exempt jurisdiction were transferred from the Pope to the Crown,

[1] Acton, *Hist. Studies*, p. 38.

and a court, afterwards called the Court of Delegates, was created for the hearing of appeals from the Archbishops' Court. Though not expressly limited to quasi-spiritual cases—that is, testamentary and matrimonial and tithe cases—these cases were what it was meant to deal with, and down to the time of its abolition in 1832, it only dealt with seven cases which were even remotely connected with doctrine.[1]

An Act for Non-payment of Annates or First-fruits.—The first year's income of any benefice had been paid to the Pope. It was now to be paid to the King. The Act also prescribed the method of appointing bishops. Letters missive, *Congé d'élire*, were to be sent by the Crown to the chapter, empowering them to elect and 'containing the name of the person whom they shall elect or choose.' The Archbishop was to confirm and arrange for consecration. Though this Act ostensibly deprived the Church of an ancient right confirmed by Magna Carta, it only gave legal sanction to existing practice.

An Act Concerning Peter's Pence and Dispensations.—The power of granting dispensations, licences, faculties, etc., previously granted by the Pope, was transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury; the right of visiting all *exempt* monasteries was, however, transferred from the Pope, not to the Archbishop, but to the King.

An Act making the King Supreme Head of the Church.—Parliament passed an Act declaring the King 'the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England,' omitting the safeguarding clauses inserted by Convocation, 'so far as the law of Christ permits.' The King always had a supremacy by custom and not by statute, and this Act is miscalled the Act of Supremacy. Its object was to set up a supreme headship. When the headship disappeared the supremacy remained.

The title was meant: (1) To give the King supreme visitatorial powers—that is, the right to inspect and correct abuses, as had been claimed and exercised by Charlemagne, Alfred, and William the Conqueror.

(2) To assert the headship of the Crown in the sphere of jurisdiction. The King was to be supreme as regards all cases brought into the ecclesiastical courts. Instead of appeals going to the Pope, they were to be decided by the Crown through duly constituted spiritual channels.

[1] G. Crosse, *Authority in the Church of England*.

The title in itself is defensible and the powers conferred by it not incompatible with the divine nature of the Church. It was in fact accepted by Tunstall and Gardiner and the great majority of the bishops. That Henry exercised his power unconstitutionally by appointing Cromwell, a layman, as his Vicar-General, and in other ways is true, but this does not make the title itself essentially uncatholic.

In the work of reform Henry's principal agents were Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer. They were men of very different quality. Cromwell was an adventurer, ready to swim with any tide, principally concerned with feathering his own nest. If he had any moral or religious principles they do not appear. The only thing to be said for him is that he was not bloodthirsty, and would not shed blood unless there was something to be gained by so doing. The King felt for him neither affection nor respect but found him useful. Cranmer sought nothing for himself and in that greedy and self-seeking age was conspicuous for his disinterestedness. In spite of many opportunities of becoming rich he was content to remain poor. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, and remained the King's friend and principal ecclesiastical adviser until the death of Henry in 1547.

His first act as archbishop was to ask permission to take cognizance of the divorce case. Permission being granted he summoned Katharine to appear before his court at Dunstable. As she persistently refused, he pronounced her contumacious and the marriage invalid. Five days later, after a secret inquiry at Lambeth, he declared that Henry was lawfully married to Ann Boleyn.

He had been as early as 1525 a firm, almost a fanatical believer in the Royal Supremacy. If in that belief he erred, at least he erred in good company. Gardiner, who succeeded Wolsey as Bishop of Winchester, and became Queen Mary's most trusted ecclesiastical adviser, wrote a book, *De Vera Obedientia*, in its favour. All the bishops except Fisher accepted it, as did all the abbots except three, and both Houses of Parliament. Some no doubt accepted reluctantly, whereas Cranmer was a convinced and wholehearted believer, and had prayed for the abolition of the Pope's power in England since 1525. The King regarded him with real affection, and though three separate attempts were made to discredit him and procure his fall, they all failed owing to the King's personal intervention.

It was due to him that official support and countenance were

given to the English translation of the Bible. In 1534 he induced Convocation to petition the King for licence to produce one, and set the bishops, or some of them, to work on the task. In 1537 John Rogers, destined to be the first of Mary's martyrs, produced his translation, based on the versions of Tyndale and Coverdale, commonly known as *Matthew's Bible*. A later and somewhat expurgated edition appeared in 1540 with a preface by Cranmer, which became known as *Cranmer's Bible*. It was also known as the *Great Bible* from its size. This was the version ordered to be set up in churches. Cranmer also was in favour of a vernacular liturgy, and compiled the litany, 'the most exquisite of English compositions,' which was first ordered to be used in church in 1535, when the King was about to embark on a campaign in France.

The Ten Articles, published in 1536, represent the high-water mark of Henry's advance in a Protestant direction; they were mainly the work of Cranmer. Only three sacraments were mentioned, Baptism, penance, and the Eucharist, though the reality of the others was not denied. The Real Presence in the Eucharist was affirmed, but the mode of the Presence was not defined as in the doctrine of transubstantiation. The scriptures and the three creeds were to be regarded as the standards of orthodoxy. Masses were declared to have no power to deliver souls from purgatory, a declaration which cut at the root of the doctrine of Indulgences.

The *Ten Articles* were followed in 1537 by the publication of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, commonly known as the *Bishops' Book*, as a commentary upon them. There was, however, one significant addition. Seven sacraments were mentioned instead of three. The tide had begun to turn. *The Six Articles*, published in 1539, point to a definite reaction. Cranmer had little to do with them, except offer advice to the King which was not taken; the King a great deal. The Act enforcing them was known as 'the bloody whip with six strings,' on account of the severity with which its provisions were to be enforced. The denial of transubstantiation was to be punished with death by burning; teaching that communion in both kinds was necessary, or that vows of celibacy were not permanently binding, or that the clergy might marry were all made felonies for which the penalty was death.

Henry's divorce of his fourth wife Ann of Cleves and the fall of Cromwell in 1540 also showed that Henry intended to go no further on the path of reform. Jane Seymour, mother of Edward

VI, had died in 1537, nine days after the birth of her son. In 1539 Henry was induced by the description of Ann given to him by Cromwell, supplemented by a flattering portrait by Holbein, to enter into a marriage engagement with Ann of Cleves, whose father was believed to possess Lutheran connexions and sympathies. But the first sight of her when she landed completely disillusioned the King, and led to another royal divorce, and indirectly to Cromwell's execution. As a reforming influence he had been second only to Cranmer.

A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, commonly known as the *King's Book*, was published in 1543 with royal authority, unlike the *Bishops' Book*, and may be regarded as a summary of Henry's considered opinions on doctrine. It was the revision of the *Bishops' Book* in a conservative direction, including the definite affirmation of transubstantiation, and may be considered Henry's last word on doctrine.

Dissolution of the Monasteries

It is possible that the monasteries had in some measure outlived their usefulness when they were dissolved by Henry. It is significant that between William I and the death of Edward I, 1066 to 1307, in a period of 241 years, no less than 706 religious houses were founded, but from that date to the dissolution, 229 years, fewer than 80.[1] The need of the day was felt to be, not more monastic houses, but education, and charitable institutions for the aged poor. In the fifteenth century, only eight religious houses were founded, but sixty schools, colleges, and hospitals. Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII, who was a lady of extraordinary piety, and took upon herself monastic vows before her husband's death, devoted her great wealth, not to Monasticism, but to learning, being diverted from her purpose of extending the monastery of Westminster by Fisher, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, her confessor. With his advice she founded divinity professorships at Oxford and Cambridge, and became foundress in whole or in part of two Colleges, Christ's and St. John's at Cambridge, and of a school at Wimborne.[2]

Nor, in dissolving monasteries, did Henry act without precedent. Alien priories, that is priories which owned as their superior a

[1] Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation.* [2] *Ibid.*

mother-house on the Continent, had had their revenues seized by John, Edward I and Edward III, and were finally suppressed by Henry V. Archbishop Chichele got permission to transfer the revenues of five small monasteries to All Souls College. Wykeham suppressed priories to found Winchester and New Colleges, and Waynflete to found Magdalen College, Oxford. Finally, Wolsey had dissolved several of the smaller religious houses in order to found his Colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. Altogether of the 1200 to 1300 monastic houses which had been founded in England, not much more than half survived for Henry VIII to seize.[1]

Plunder was not Henry's sole motive. Monasteries were by their nature difficult to supervise, and were looked on as centres of papal interest, if not intrigue, and as such were objects of suspicion. Nor is it unreasonable to give Henry credit for thinking that some of their revenues and endowments might be put to better use. Strype says that a memorandum existed written in the King's own hand, containing a scheme for endowing thirteen new bishoprics with monastic property, which begins : ' Forasmuch as it is not unknown the slothful and ungodly life which hath been used among all those sort which have borne the name of religious folk and to the intent that many of them might be turned to better use . . . it is thought therefore unto the King's highness most expedient and necessary that more bishoprics, collegiate and cathedral churches, should be established instead of these aforesaid religious houses.' A list of the proposed new sees is appended : of these, Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chester, Bristol, and Westminster were actually founded. The others were to be for the counties of Essex, Lancashire, Suffolk, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Cornwall. However, whatever his intentions were, far the greater part of the confiscated property was squandered on royal favourites, greedy officials and courtiers, or the King's pleasures.

The work of suppression was carried out in two stages. First, an Act was passed in 1536, suppressing the smaller monasteries on the ground of immorality. Secondly, the rest were dealt with piecemeal by the method of individual surrenders.

It is not possible here to consider the evidence for the truth of the allegations of immorality. All one can say is that Parliament passed the Act without examining the evidence and that the evidence, such as it was, had been hurriedly collected by unscrupulous visitors,

[1] Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation.*

whose object was to discover scandals, and who were expected to find them. One Commissioner, who had ventured to report favourably on two houses, incurred the royal displeasure and was accused of having taken bribes. 'The king's highness was displeased, as he said to my servant Thomas Harper, saying that it was like that we had received rewards, which caused us to write as we did.' [1]

For the suppression of the large monasteries, no Act of Parliament was needed. Royal injunctions were issued which relaxed discipline, put the inmates on short commons or made their lives almost intolerable, while the visiting commissioners, by free use of threats and bribes, endeavoured to extort individual surrenders. The following extract from a letter written by one of the visitors to Thomas Cromwell, concerning the surrender of the Charterhouse in London, gives some idea of the methods used. He is writing of the prior. 'And now at the last, at mine instigation and exhortation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands, and goods, into the king's hands and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my Lord, that the said prior may be so entreated by your help that he be not sorry and repent that he hath feared and followed your sore words and my gentle exhortations made unto him to surrender his said house.' [2]

A letter survives from the Abbess of Godstowe in which she complains to Cromwell of her treatment by a certain Dr. London, who 'is suddenly come unto me with a great rout with him and here doth threaten me and my sisters . . . now he begins to entreat me and to inveigh my sisters one by one otherwise than ever I heard tell any of the king's subjects hath been handled . . . and continueth to my great cost and charge and will not take my answer that I will not surrender till I know the king's gracious commandment.' [3] The Abbot of St. Alban's told the commissioners he would rather choose to beg his bread all the days of his life than consent to any surrender. The commissioners wrote to Cromwell to inquire if they should deprive him and appoint a more amenable abbot in his place or postpone the deprivation in the hope that 'when it shall appear unto him that he shall be deprived he will perchance sue to have his surrender taken because he would be assured of some living.' The more compliant abbots were well rewarded, the last abbots of

[1] Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 136. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

Tewkesbury, Oseney, and Peterborough became respectively the first bishops of Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough. The recalcitrant received no mercy. In the end, only the abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and St. Alban's held out and were hanged, the last two outside their abbeys, and Richard Whiting of Glastonbury on Glastonbury Tor.

The Effect.—The effect of the suppression was immense, but to all appearance social rather than religious. The monasteries did not serve parishes, except by providing vicars, where they received the tithes, which they did in about two-thirds of the parishes of England. In such cases, the patronage of the living, together with the tithes, usually went to the new owner of the monastic property in the parish concerned. It is a mistake to suppose that but for their dissolution a Poor Law would have been unnecessary. The first English Poor Law was passed by Parliament in 1388, one hundred and fifty years *before* the dissolution, and was succeeded by many enactments, both by parliament, and the municipalities, dealing principally with the "sturdy beggar", but also with the impotent and the genuinely unemployed.[1] Hospitality was one of the main monastic duties, and in a sparsely populated country, where inns were few and far between, a monastic house where travellers could put up was a great boon. The Archbishop of York pleaded for the preservation of Hexham Abbey on the ground that it was situated in a bare country, and that there was not a house between it and Scotland.[2]

The monasteries are reported to have held one-fifth of the land of England at the time of the dissolution, so that one-fifth of the land was transferred to new owners. This had the effect of reducing the area under tillage and the numbers of labourers required to work the land. The new owners also were much given to making parks and inclosures. The change was already in progress, but the dissolution speeded it up. So many were the complaints that three Acts against inclosures were passed in this reign, one before and two after the dissolution. In the next reign it was found necessary to appoint a commission 'for the redress of Inclosures.' John Hales, one of the Commissioners, lamented that the many good laws, which had been made, had not been put into execution. 'Towns,' he complained, 'villages and parishes do daily decay in great numbers:

[1] Professor Savin, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, p. 225; E. M. Leonard, *Early History of English Poor Relief*, p. 4, ff.

[2] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

houses of husbandry and poor men's habitations be utterly destroyed everywhere, and in no small number, husbandry and tillage, which is the very paunch of the commonwealth, greatly abated.'

Though it does not appear that the service of the monasteries to learning was at this time considerable, their treasures in books and manuscripts must have been great. We hear of ship-loads of manuscripts being sent abroad to be sold for waste paper. Besides books and manuscripts, stained glass, carvings, paintings, furniture, and the buildings themselves, were devoted to secular uses or destroyed. Some of the buildings, like Tewkesbury Abbey, the naves of which had been used as parish churches, were ransomed by the parishioners, but most, including some of the noblest buildings in Europe, were stripped of their leaden roofs and allowed to fall into decay.

Mr. Geoffrey Baskerville has written an interesting paper on the subsequent careers of the expelled monks and nuns. All were pensioned. The great majority of the monks settled down as secular priests, in some cases holding a living in lieu of the pension, in others in addition to it. Mr. Baskerville quotes the Duke of Suffolk as complaining that 'he must pay out £430 a year in pensions for lands worth £400.' Some managed to hold several livings, though their opportunities in this direction were somewhat hampered by the Pluralites Act of 1529. There were about 1300 nuns and 400 canonesses extruded, all of whom were pensioned. Many of them married; marriage, apparently, did not involve loss of pension. Mr. Baskerville thinks that, judging by the evidence of wills, the nuns wore secular dress. 'At least a "best gown of silk camlet, a kirtle of satin, a scarlet petticoat and a velvet bonnet" have not anything distinctively religious about them.' The pensions were small but so were the amounts expected of paying guests, in one case *1s. 2d.* a week.

VI

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD VI

Under Edward VI the spoliation of the Church was continued, but his advisers struck out a new line by endeavouring to bring the English Church into line with the Reformed Churches of the Continent: to de-catholicise it, in fact. However, their first measure was dictated by greed more than religious policy. This was the Chantries Act, the calamitous importance of which is seldom realised.

It replaced an Act of Henry VIII—rendered nugatory by his death.

The Chantries Act.—The reasons alleged for the Act of Edward VI were (i) *Religious* : 'that the doctrine and vain opinion of purgatory and masses were upholden by the abuse of trentals and chantries,' and (ii) *Educational and charitable* : Grammar schools were to be erected and further provision made for the poor and needy.

The real motive, however, was plunder. It comes out in the Acts of the Privy Council, where we read that the measure was undertaken 'because of the king's debts, and because there was no other measure of getting money without great danger, difficulty, and grudge.' The Act gave to the Crown all colleges, free chapels, and chantries, all rents and annuities for the payment of stipendiary priests and all guilds and fraternities.

Chantries.—Besides singing masses for the souls of departed benefactors, the ostensible object of his existence, the chantry priest was usually bound to keep school, or act as assistant to the parish priest. For instance, in Darlington, Robert Marshall founded a chantry to endow a priest to pray for his soul and all Christian souls and to keep a free school of grammar for all manner of children thither resorting. The Lady Margaret had founded a chantry at Wimborne, 'to the intent that the incumbent shall say mass for the souls of the founders and to be a schoolmaster to teach freely all manner of children grammar.' The school was in abeyance in 1548, as the revenue was in the King's hands, and the loss of the school was much felt. 'Wimborne is a great market town and a thoroughfare and hath many children therein and there is no grammar school kept within twelve miles, and therefore it is very requisite that the said school may remain still for the bringing up of young children in learning freely, without anything paying, as it was in times past.' At Bosbury, the chantry supported a schoolmaster 'to bring up the youths in learning and to play at organs.'

The chantry priests were often what we should call assistant curates, sometimes giving their whole time, sometimes helping on Sundays and festivals. At King's Norton, there were three 'stipendiaries or services,' one of which was used for a priest to serve the chapel of a village called Moseley. We read of Horton Charity in the parish of Bradford, Wilts., that 'there was no priest to help the vicar there in the administration of the sacraments saving the said Chantry Priest.' The same entry occurs again and again in the Commissioners' reports.

Colleges.—Colleges were corporations of more than two priests living together and serving a particular church. The College of St. Edmund in Salisbury had a master and four chaplains, with a barber and a laundress. The College of St. Chad, Shrewsbury, a dean, two prebendaries, and two parish priests. Both these churches were also parish churches. Ottery St. Mary had a warden, eleven priests and two parish clerks, of whom two priests were parish priests and one a schoolmaster. The Colleges of Eton and Winchester were on the same footing, but had no parochial charge. They all maintained schools. The College of St. Thomas in Penryn not only supported a grammar school, but paid the bellringer 4*s.* 'as well for teaching of poor men's children their A B C as for ringing the bells,' and provided the fortifications and guns for the protection of the Fair Haven of Falmouth.

Guilds.—Guilds were associations of communicants for purposes of worship, charity and sociability. Besides keeping schools, guilds often performed works of public utility. The guild at Lynn, for instance, maintained a sea-wall. The Guild of the Holy Cross at Birmingham maintained three chaplains, who helped serve the parish church, an organist, a midwife, and a bellman, besides granting allowances of money to aged members of the guild, and 'succouring divers poor people with money, bread, drink and coals when alive, and burying them very honestly when dead with dirge and mass.' It also kept in repair 'two great stone bridges and divers foul and dangerous highways.'

Before the Chantries Act, there was a fairly complete system of secondary education with abundance of free places, and an educational ladder from the elementary school to the university. By the Act the educational system of the country was ruthlessly scrapped, and hardly anything put in its place. Provision of assistant clergy for scattered or populous parishes was taken away, paving the way for a scandalous shortage of clergy, which made itself felt as early as the reign of Elizabeth. Many activities having for their ends some useful, charitable, or artistic purpose were brought to an end.

The dissolution of the monasteries disorganised the whole social and economic order of the country, though it might be argued that it was not the dissolution itself, but the manner of it, that caused the harm. But the direct effect on the religious and cultural life of the nation was to all appearance very small. The Chantries Act was a direct blow, both at religion and education. Herefordshire,

with a population estimated at not more than 50,000, had not less than thirteen grammar schools in 1548, all of which were destroyed or sadly crippled, except perhaps the ancient cathedral school. The country was never so well off again for secondary schools until after 1902.[1]

Prayer-books

Doctrinally, the lay councillors of Edward VI tended to rely more and more on the foreign reformers, who swarmed into the country, and were given important posts, notably Peter Martyr at Oxford and Bucer at Cambridge. If the King had lived they might have founded a new church on the continental model, as was done in Scotland, instead of repairing and renovating the church of their fathers. The first effort in the form of a Prayer-book did not, however, go very far in this direction.

The Prayer-Book of 1549.—This Prayer-book, commonly called the first Prayer-book of Edward VI, has been well described as completing the changes made by Henry VIII rather than beginning those of the reign of Edward VI. In essentials, it was a Catholic book and as such, Gardiner, Bonner and Tunstall, the learned Bishop of Durham, consented to use it. The book professed to be not so much a new departure as a going back to primitive usage.

The Mass.—Prayers or devotions considered to imply superstitious or erroneous doctrine were jettisoned, such as words which had been identified with the current doctrine of transubstantiation, all direct invocations of the saints, and all mention of purgatory, though the commemoration of the departed was retained. The Mass was also to be made more congregational. It had been said in Latin, and much of it inaudibly. It was now directed that the whole of the canon, as the invariable part of the Mass was called, should be said audibly and the priest's preparation, with which the congregation had nothing to do, should be omitted.

Morning and Evening Prayer.—Besides making the Mass more congregational, the Book provided two other services, at which lay people were invited to be present. In the early days of the Church, besides the Eucharist, members of the Church, or some of them, were accustomed to be present at services when Scriptures were read and

[1] See A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, to whom I am indebted for the above quotations.

Psalms recited. The sixth-century canons of Hippolytus direct Christians to run to church when they hear the bell ring. But these services had long been mainly confined to clergy and 'religious.' They were contained in the breviary and were known as the Hours, namely, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds.

The new services were called Morning and Evening Prayer. One was mainly compounded of Matins, Lauds and Prime. The other of Vespers and Compline. The new services were simple with few variations, and places were easy to find. All antiphons to the Psalms were omitted. In fact, in avoiding the Scylla of complication, the Revisers had not altogether steered clear of the Charybdis of monotony. In their fear of superstition they had omitted ceremonies such as the use of the chrism in baptism, of oil in confirmation, the carrying of palms on Palm Sunday, kissing the Pax and the elevation of the Host in the Mass. The new services were to be said in church and the parish priest, before beginning them, was to ring the bell in order to invite his people to pray with him.

Much more was made of the Bible, the whole of which was to be read through in regular sequence, the lessons being far longer than in the services of the Hours. As to ceremonial, there were hardly any directions, the presumption being that in the absence of direction to the contrary the old would continue in force.

Its reception.—The new Prayer-book was to come into use at Whitsun 1549. On Whit-Monday the inhabitants of Sandford Courtenay insisted on the return to the old use and a general rising in Devon and Cornwall began, which was in the end put down, not without difficulty, with the help of German mercenaries. The rebels asserted their belief in transubstantiation and demanded the restoration of holy bread and holy water, the Six Articles of Henry VIII, and celibacy of the clergy; as to the new Prayer-book, they protested: 'We will not receive this new service because it is but like a Christmas game but we will have our old service of matins, mass, evensong, and procession in Latin, not in English. And so we Cornishmen whereof certain of us understand no English utterly refuse this new English.' According to Foxe, the rising was instigated by certain popish priests, 'grudging and disdaining the injunction and godly order of reformation, set forward by the king.' This is borne out by the execution of eight priests, 'as principal stirrers and governors of camps.'

The evidence, however, goes to show that social, even more than religious, unrest was responsible. Stow says that, in the month of May, before the new Prayer-book was used, 'by means of Proclamation for inclosures, the Commons of Somerset and Wiltshire made a commotion and broke up certain parks of Sir W. Herbert and Lord Stourton, but Sir W. Herbert slew and executed many of those rebels.' In July, after the order to use the Prayer-book, we read that 'the Commons of Essex and Kent, Suffolk and Norfolk rose against inclosures and pulled down many parks and houses.' Also 'the Commons of Cornwall and Devon rose against the nobles and gentlemen and required not only that the inclosures might be disparked but also to have their old religion and act of Six Articles restored.'

It was, in fact, a time of acute social distress. The Council had been busy 'managing' the currency, and inflation had resulted in high prices, which the Council in vain tried to keep down by proclamation. Most serious of all, the price of wheat had risen from 4*s*. a quarter in 1547 to 16*s*. in 1549, and oats and barley in proportion.[1] Strype quotes a letter written by the Duke of Somerset to an ambassador abroad, which enumerates a variety of causes. 'Some say pluck down inclosures and parks; some for their Commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct things as gentlemen have done. And indeed they have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen and take them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief doers, look for spoil. In Norfolk, gentlemen are as illy handled as may be.'[2]

Somerset himself sympathised with the peasants and his fall was due as much to this weakness as to his arrogance in the Council, and his dislike of being 'contraried.' Sir William Paget in a letter to the Protector ascribed the trouble to 'your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor.'

There must have been some popular feeling in favour of the changes. At least as early as November 1547 the King, 'by the advice of his most dear uncle' commanded 'that no serving men nor apprentice nor any other person, whatsoever he or they may be, shall use hereafter such insolencey and evil demeanour towards priests as revelling, tossing of them, taking violently their caps and tippets . . . nor otherwise to use them as becometh the king's most loving subjects to do toward another.'

[1] Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, iv. 282-92.

[2] Strype, *Memorials*, vi. 414.

The Ordinal of 1550.—There was no ordinal in the 1549 book, but an Act of Parliament was passed in the year 1550, ordering that one should be provided. Cranmer had the principal hand in drawing it up, but it was mainly based on an ordinal compiled by Bucer. There was, however, one striking difference. The words suggested by Bucer to be said during the laying-on of hands were as follows : 'The hand of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit be upon you, protect and govern you, that you may go and bring forth much fruit by your ministry, and may it remain unto life eternal.' These words were to be said over all three orders of ministers, whether bishops, priests, or deacons. Cranmer definitely rejected this formula, and adopted those, different for each order, which are substantially identical with those we have now.

The Prayer-book of 1552.—This book was a far more Protestant book than its predecessor and marks a definite advance in the direction of Geneva. The old vestments were forbidden. At the Communion Service, the bishop was to wear a rochet, the priest or deacon a surplice. The sentences, confession, and absolution were prefixed to Matins and Evensong. In the Communion Service, the changes were more considerable. The Gloria in Excelsis was moved from the beginning to the end. The Ten Commandments were introduced and the canon of the mass was broken up, its main portions reappearing as the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Consecration Prayer, and the Prayer of Oblation. Some of the rubrics were suppressed and the words of administration changed.

Spoliation of the Parish Churches

During 1552 and 1553 commissions were sent out to plunder the parish churches. Not only were all crosses, censers, copes, and vestments taken away, but all altar cloths or other hangings of value, and chalices, in fact, anything that could be turned into money. The plate was sent to the Jewel House in the Tower of London and melted down. All copes and vestments of cloth of gold, cloth of tissue and silver were given into the Master of the King's Wardrobe in London ; the other copes, vestments, and ornaments were to be delivered to the King's Treasurer, 'reserving to every church one Chalice or Cup and Table-cloth for the Communion Board at the discretion of the King's Commissioners.' [1]

[1] Acts of Privy Council.

The motive was frankly mercenary. In March 1551 the Privy Council ordered that 'forasmuch as the king's majestie had need of a mass of money therefore commissions should be sent into all shires of England to take into the king's hands such church plate as remains to be employed unto his Highness use.' Commissions accordingly were appointed to take inventories and in 1553 the goods were seized.

VII

THE MARIAN REACTION

Edward VI died in July 1553, and an abortive conspiracy under Northumberland showed that the country was ready to welcome Mary with open arms. The welcome was due as much to weariness with the corrupt and inefficient rule of Northumberland as to desire for the restoration of Catholicism. In London there was much Protestant feeling. The priest who said Mass at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in August was mobbed.[1] The preacher who on the next day at Paul's Cross declared that Bonner had been unjustly imprisoned was greeted with cries of 'liar,' 'papist.'[2] In the following January, Wyatt's rebellion might easily have been successful. The support came principally from those who objected to the Spanish marriage and 'over-running by strangers,' but was partly anti-Catholic. It was not until November 1554 that Cardinal Pole could be received as Papal Legate and the kingdom reconciled to Rome.

Mary's third Parliament, elected under the auspices of sheriffs told to choose representatives of the 'grave Catholic sort,' received papal absolution and in the next month revived the old heresy laws. Everything was now in order, and Mary must have felt that she could now get on with her cherished project of making England Catholic in fact as well as name. Unfortunately, her energies were almost entirely repressive. She tried to persuade its holders to restore Church property. She began to restore Monasticism. We find her sending three priests to preach in the diocese of Salisbury during the vacancy of the see. But on the whole she depended on repression.

The English have never been a persecuting people. Until the reign of Henry IV, there was no law against heresy. In that reign,

[1] Müller, *Life of Gardiner.* [2] *Ibid.*

in order to strengthen a somewhat insecure throne, an Act was passed by which suspects might be apprehended, sent to the bishop to be examined, and if found by him to be obdurate, handed over to the sheriff to be burned. It is to be noted that the whole persecuting machinery is lay. Parliament passes the law. The lay authorities apprehend the heretic and finally burn him. All the Church does is to provide the jury to say whether the accused is guilty or not. The executions under this Act were not numerous. Foxe, who is trying 'to make manifest the insatiable bloody cruelty of the Pope's Kingdom,' can only produce four executions in the diocese of London between 1510–27. In the same diocese in less than four years under Mary there were over 100, and Mary's wholesale executions produced a sense of horror and disgust which has never been obliterated.

The Persecution

A special commission for trying heretics was created in January 1555, and itinerant commissions 'were sent out to all parts of the realm.' The first victim was burnt in February. Afterwards, until the end of the reign not far short of 300 perished in the flames. Strype gives 282 'besides those who died in sundry prisons,' but his list is probably incomplete.

Who was responsible? Not the bishops. Bonner, Bishop of London, persecuted under protest. Confronted with a batch of heretics, he exclaimed in disgust: 'They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all. I would fain be rid of you but you have a delight in burning.'[1] Foxe calls Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, *Bloody*, but on his own admission Gardiner disliked persecution. Foxe says that he had supposed that 'by condemning bishops and leaders he would have quailed the rest.' But, 'seeing this his device disappointed and that cruelty in this case would not serve, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnation but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner.'[2] It is noteworthy that no heretics were condemned in the diocese of Winchester while Gardiner was alive.

The bishops took endless pains to produce recantations and only condemned at the last resort. Foxe lavishes the epithet *bloody* very

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1849, viii. 486. [2] *Ibid.* vi. 407.

freely, but they were with few exceptions reluctant instruments acting under higher authority. Storey, however, Chancellor of London, who was most barbarously executed by Elizabeth, and has since been beatified, seems to have been a whole-hearted persecutor and boasted 'there hath never been anyone burnt but I have spoken with him and been a cause of his despatch.' [1]

The responsibility rests with the Queen acting probably under Spanish influence. She took a personal interest in the fate of heretics. A letter from the council to Bonner survives concerning one Bartlett Green 'whom the king and queen's pleasure are you should cause to be ordered according to the laws.' [2] The letter contains the significant postscript, 'I, Sir John Bourne, will wait upon your lordship and signify further the king and queen's pleasure therein.' This Bourne, the Queen's secretary, is described by Foxe as the 'principal stirrer in such cases.' Foxe also prints a letter of complaint from Mary and Philip to Bonner dated May 24, 1554, in which allusion is made to the letters 'of late addressed to justices of the peace in every county' ordering them to apprehend heretics. 'Notwithstanding divers of the said disordered persons being brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid are either not received nor so travailed with as charity requires nor proceeded with according to order.' As late as July 1558, we find two members of the Queen's household present when the Bishop of London's Chancellor delivered judgment, and in August, the Queen conveyed a reproof to the Sheriff of Hampshire for staying the execution of one Bembridge, who called out 'I recant,' when the fire was lighted. He was ordered to be recommitted to the flames.

Unlike her sister, she was deeply conscientious, and when she wrote to the council, 'I set more by the salvation of one soul than by ten kingdoms,' she was undoubtedly sincere, and with the best intentions she became responsible for these horrors.

On the other side, it must in fairness be admitted that the accused were, for the most part, persons who had made themselves conspicuous by preaching, or interrupting services, or mocking at processions, or refusing to go to church. One apprehended in the diocese of Ely was reasoned with by the Chancellor, who lent him a book. When he came before him, he had only 'marred' the book and refused to recant anything. None the less, the Chancellor told him to 'depart and rule thy tongue,' but the prisoner refused.

[1] See also Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 115. [2] Foxe, *op. cit.*, vii. 733.

'I was brought hither by law and by law I will be delivered.' Rowland Taylor, the incumbent of Hadleigh, interrupted his successor as he was saying Mass, and when seized the interruption was continued by his wife. Both were finally removed, 'not without two or three threw great stones and missed by very little the popish masser.' It does not appear that any proceedings were taken against Mrs. Taylor. Such people were difficult to deal with. Once brought to trial, condemnation was inevitable.

The most notable victim of the persecution was Cranmer. After a rigorous imprisonment of over two years he was induced to make successive recantations before one was drawn up sufficiently complete and humiliating to satisfy his persecutors. This he was to have read as his speech from the scaffold. Instead he made, though not from the scaffold on account of the inclemency of the weather but in the church, a declaration of adherence to his former writings, and a repudiation of his recantations, ending with the promise that as his right hand had signed the recantation it should perish first in the flames, as indeed it did.

So died Cranmer. He was not altogether an heroic character. He had his weak points, among them an excessive desire to please. But he was no coward, either moral or physical. He alone interceded for Fisher and More and tried to save the monks of Sion. He told Henry that he had offended God. He stubbornly fought *The Six Articles* at the risk of his life. In the next reign he alone withstood Northumberland in his schemes of spoliation, again at the risk of his life. His signature to the document purporting to appoint Lady Jane Grey to succeed Edward VI, was not extorted by fear but the desire to gratify the last wish of the dying boy.

All Anglicans are in his debt for his translation of the Litany, and for his prayers and translations in the Prayer-book. We too often take them for granted, but good judges have said that no other manual of devotion can show anything approaching their quality. As a composer of collects Cranmer stands in a class by himself as Shakespeare does as a poet. It may be a small and restricted field, but in it he stands alone. The rhythm, the choice of words, the thought, are as near perfection as it is in human nature to achieve. The great proof is their wearing quality. They never pall.

As a testimony to his work it may be permitted to quote from the work of a distinguished layman. 'But the Book of Common Prayer is unique, . . . Amid the fierce contentions of the churches it gave

the Church of England unity, strength, and a way to the hearts of men, such as no other church could boast. That the English Church survived was due in no small measure to the exquisite charm of her liturgy and that was the work of Cranmer. He borrowed and learnt and adapted from various sources, but whatever he touched he adorned. Under his hand the rudest and simplest of prayers assumed a perfection of form and expression, and grew into one of the finest monuments of sacred literary art.' [1]

The effect of persecution was to fan the Protestant flame, and when Mary died on November 17, 1558, the way was paved for Protestant reaction.

VIII

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The Reformation had spread so rapidly that few could have guessed that Rome would not only stay its further progress, but even win back much of the lost ground. This counter-attack, or counter-reformation as it has been called, was distinguished by the rise of new religious orders, the reactionary decrees of the Council of Trent, the inauguration of a new line of reforming popes and bishops, and by the establishment of the Inquisition in Rome and the free use of force as a bulwark of the faith.

New Religious Orders

It was only according to the tradition of the Church that reform should begin with the foundation of new orders.

Theatines.—As early as 1524 a religious order for clergy was founded with the object of recalling 'the clergy to an edifying life—the laity to the practice of virtue.' [1] They were called Theatines from Caraffa, their first superior, who was Archbishop of Chiete (Theate). They claim to be the first papal missionary order, their missions dating from 1530. Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph (1555–58), was a Theatine.

Capuchins (1525).—By 1525 the Observants, or Recollects, as the strict Franciscans were called, had become less literal in their obedience and evaded the rule forbidding friars to possess money by the appointment of lay syndics to receive money on their behalf. The Capuchins attempted to return to the original intentions of

[1] A. F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer*, pp. 222, 223.

[1] *Catholic Encyclopaedia.*

Francis. The first chapter was held in 1529, when eighteen friars were present. In 1654 they numbered 17,000; in 1754, 32,000. Their principal work was preaching and nursing the sick. They were called Capuchins (Hooded) because they wore a pointed hood, believed to be a reproduction of the original Franciscan habit. Next to the Jesuits they were the most effective preachers of the counter-reformation.

Barnabites.—The Barnabites were a clerical order in Milan, founded 1535. They took a vow not to accept any preferment in the Church except by command of the Pope, and claimed the title of *episcoporum adjutores* (bishops' helpers), from which Ignatius may have borrowed his plan of putting the Jesuits at the disposal of the Pope.

The Jesuits.—Ignatius Loyola, their founder, a Basque noble, had distinguished himself as a soldier, a courtier, and a lover, when a bullet shattered his leg and changed the course of his life. After his conversion he spent ten months in retreat during which he composed the Spiritual Exercises. He then made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, travelling penniless and when possible on foot. Finding that his lack of education was a hindrance he spent seven years at the University of Paris, and gathered round him a small band of disciples of whom St. Francis Xavier was one. On August 15, 1534, they took together the vows of chastity and poverty at Montmartre and pledged themselves to missionary work in Palestine, or, if this was not possible, to place themselves in the hands of the Pope. They then separated and it was not until 1539 that a papal Bull was obtained and the order formally constituted.

The Jesuits were the latest development of Monasticism. The original monastic idea had been separation from the world. Then the friars tried to save the world by mixing with it, but, like the older orders, their first object had been to save themselves by living a particular kind of life, and good works had been a by-product. The Jesuits, like the Barnabites, put good works in the forefront and made the service of God and the Pope their first object. Ignatius envisaged his order as an army, or rather a *Corps d'élite*, raised and trained to go anywhere and do anything at the command of the Pope.

The name *Societas* is a military term signifying not so much a society as a company, the name given to the small mercenary armies that abounded in Italy in the Middle Ages. The Salvation Army is an unconscious plagiarism of the Order of Jesus, and Ignatius

Loyola the prototype of General Booth. The keynote is sounded in the preamble of the rule: 'Whosoever wishes to fight in our company for God under the banner of the Cross, and to serve the Lord and the Roman Pontiff.' Hence special stress was laid on the military virtue of obedience. As the Franciscans were distinguished by their poverty, Ignatius wished obedience to be the distinguishing mark of the Jesuit. The novice was told that he ought to be like the staff in the hands of its holder, or like a corpse. The society was to be a perfectly disciplined army obeying instantly the commands of its General, and at the absolute disposal of the Pope, 'whose commands they must execute without tergiversation or excuse, whether they were sent to the Turks or other infidels, or to heretics, or schismatics, or to the faithful.'[1] Care was taken in recruiting new members to select men of birth, breeding, and ability. If it were merely a matter of a life to be led, character and not intellect counted: if of work to be done, it was impossible to ignore the question of the suitability of the instrument. As a further consequence, great importance was attached to training. A novice, after two years' preliminary trial, had to pass five years in study and five years in teaching and study, before he could be ordained priest. As part of their subordination of means to ends, the Jesuits wore no special habit and said no choir offices in common.

Ignatius saw the importance of religious education for lay people as well as priests, and in course of time schools for the comparatively well-to-do were among the principal works of the Jesuits. The previous two centuries had been centuries of education, and Ignatius saw that the Church by its attitude to the New Learning, aloof if not actually obstructive, was losing a great opportunity of influence. Accordingly, the provision of schools, especially the kind of schools we now call *secondary*, was, and still is, one of the great works of the order. Ignatius himself founded at Rome the Collegium Romanum and the Collegium Germanicum for German youth. The Jesuits always founded schools in their missions, even among the Red Indians. They themselves considered that their principal innovation upon the established usage of religious orders was their fourth vow, namely, to go wherever the Pope sent them and to teach the faith to the young according to their opportunity.[2]

Another innovation was the use of the *spiritual exercises*, both as a means of testing and training men who wished to be admitted to the order, and also as a way of devotion for men and women whose

[1] Maffei, *Ignatii Loiolae Vita.* [2] *Ibid.*

hearts were touched. To use them under direction was, in fact, to make a retreat, which might be taken in a long or short period as opportunity served. Ignatius cannot be said to have invented the idea of a retreat, which is at least as old as Moses. But he was the first to make a retreat part of a recognised routine for laymen who had been aroused to think seriously of their spiritual state. To this must be ascribed in part the great influence the Jesuits subsequently acquired.

The order grew very rapidly and there are said to have been a thousand Jesuits in the order on the death of Ignatius in 1556. They were the greatest missionary force the Church has ever had since the days of the Apostles. In the words of Macaulay, 'The Jesuits invaded all the countries which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. They were to be found in the depths of Peruvian mines, at the marts of the African slave-caravans, on the shores of the Spice islands, in the observatories of China.'

It was this army of selected and disciplined enthusiasts that the Pope had at his beck and call. Yet in spite of their devotion and ability the society very early got a bad name and made enemies. Their founder had insisted on the importance of using human means for attaining a given end. When he prayed, we are told, he prayed as if everything depended on prayer, but when he planned, he made his plans as though everything depended on human means.[1] They made, therefore, a great point of procuring a favourable secular background for their plans and interfered continually with ruling princes, which they were able to do, as they were greatly in request as confessors in the royal families of Europe. As early as 1608 Paul Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, called them 'the subtlest masters of mischief.'[2] They were even accused by Richard Baxter of having had a hand in the execution of Charles I. They became more and more unpopular and were expelled from Savoy in 1728, from Portugal and its dependencies in 1754, from France in 1764, from Spain and its dependencies in 1767, and in 1773 were suppressed by Clement XIV. His object was, he alleged, 'to put an end to constant storms, quarrels, vexations and clamours,' to bring tranquillity to the Church and, it may be inferred from the Bull, incidentally to the Pope. The society was declared to be broken up for ever and entirely extinguished. It was forbidden to receive

[1] Maffei, *op. cit.*

[2] *The Letters of Fr. Paul of Venice*, trans. C. Brown.

novices, and all its houses and institutions were taken away. The order was reconstituted in 1814.

The Oratorians.—Philip Neri (1515–95), founder of the Oratorians, was a native of Florence, where he came under the influence of the Dominicans. 'All the good I have had from my youth up I owe to your fathers of St. Mark at Florence.' He came to Rome in 1533 and lived a life of great asceticism. For many years he had only one meal a day and that, bread and water. Ignatius Loyola wanted him to become a Jesuit, but though he persuaded many others to enter, he would not himself, so that Ignatius called him *The Bell*, 'because he summoned people to church while himself remaining outside.' In 1551 he was ordained and attached to the church of St. Girolamo. Cardinal Baronius, a disciple, has left the following account of his activities at this time : 'Every day those who were desirous of Christian perfection came to the Oratory of St. Girolamo, from which the congregation of the Oratory afterwards took its name, and there held a pious and devout meeting in the following manner. After some time spent in mental prayer, one of the brothers read a spiritual book and in the middle of the reading the father, who superintended, discoursed on what was read, explaining it with great accuracy, enlarging upon it and insinuating it into the hearts of the hearers. Sometimes, he desired one of the brothers to give his opinion on the subject and then the discourse proceeded in the form of a dialogue ; and this exercise lasted on hour to the great consolation of the audiences.'

Philip wanted to be a missionary, but a friend whom he consulted brought back a message purporting to come from St. John that 'his Indies were to be in Rome.'

The Oratory was formally constituted with rules in 1564. Its object was really that of the Augustinians and before them of *Chrodogang* of Metz, namely, to raise the standard of secular priests. Oratorians were, and are, secular priests living under rule.

The Council of Trent (1545–63).

The council met in December 1545. The Pope, Paul III, who summoned it, only did so under pressure from the Emperor, but succeeded in controlling its decisions. Voting was confined to bishops and heads of religious orders, and, as dioceses in Italy were small and numerous, the Pope could always command a large number of votes. It adjourned from 1552 to 1562, and completed its work

in 1563. Its decisions were a complete victory for the conservatives and the papal party. The Spanish bishops strove to secure some measure of independence for bishops, asserting that bishops derived their authority from Christ, and not from the Pope. The French bishops wished to allow communion in two kinds, and the Germans the marriage of priests. In the end, though a great deal was done in the way of moral reform and tightening up of discipline, no concession was made in the way of opinion. The council tightened up doctrine as well as morals. Until the Council of Trent there had always been a "Protestant" party inside the Church.

It has been stated that if its reforms had been made earlier, there would have been no Reformation. Certainly indignation at scandals provided a good deal of the dynamite, which produced the explosion which we call the Reformation. But though the moral reforms of the council might have averted the cataclysm, its doctrinal decisions have made reunion more difficult.

It laid down that in the Eucharist the Body and Blood of Christ, together with his Soul and divinity, were present *vere, realiter et substantialiter*, and that a change was made of the whole substance of bread into the substance of his Body and of the whole substance of wine into the substance of his Blood, 'which change the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation': that saints were to be invoked and their images venerated: that the power of granting indulgences had been left by Christ to his Church, and that their use was specially salutary to Christian people: that the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all Churches and that obedience is due to the Roman Pontiff, Vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, chief of the Apostles: that tradition is of equal authority with the Scriptures and that the Scriptures are authoritative in the Vulgate version only.

It was this reactionary effect of the council which made R. H. Froude retort, when a friend said that Romanists were schismatics in England not schismatics abroad: 'No, they are wretched Tridentines everywhere.'[1]

The Council of Trent also marks a change in the relations of the papacy to temporal sovereigns. Since the time of Hildebrand the Pope, largely through his Italian territorial ambitions, had generally been in open or concealed hostility to temporal sovereigns. With the rise in each nation of a Protestant party, which more often than not allied itself to an anti-monarchical faction in the State, the

[1] *Remains*, i. 11.

Pope found it more politic to ally himself with the rulers. Pius IV got his way at Trent, thanks to the diplomatic skill of Cardinal Morone, partly by the votes of the Italians, partly by coming to arrangements with the French, Spanish, and German rulers behind the backs of their bishops, when these bishops were in opposition to the papal policy.

Reforming Ecclesiastics

Paul IV (Pope 1555–59).—Cardinal Caraffa became pope at the age of eighty, and was the first reforming pope for many centuries. 'He worked hard,' we read, 'to reform morals, compelled ecclesiastics to wear clerical dress, condemned impious books, punished blasphemers, forbade houses of ill-fame, and even expelled his nephews from Rome. He increased the power of the Inquisition, compelled bishops to reside in their dioceses and the religious to return to their monasteries, and laboured zealously to re-establish the Catholic religion in England under Queen Mary.'[1] He was not, however, loved in Rome, and after his death the populace broke his statue and threw it into the Tiber.

St. Charles Borromeo (b. 1538), Archbishop of Milan (1560–84).—Charles Borromeo was the cadet of a noble family in North Italy, and the nephew of a cardinal. When sixteen he became an abbot, at the age of twenty-one protonotary to the Pope and cardinal, and a year later, though not yet in deacon's orders, Archbishop of Milan, the greatest see in North Italy. Charles, belonging to the old order, had come under new influences. Before celebrating his first Mass he performed the spiritual exercises under Jesuit guidance, and from the first showed the utmost zeal in the performance of his episcopal duties. His personal work as archbishop lasted from 1565 to his death in 1584. He was ascetic and devoted; he shortened his life by his austerities, and risked it again and again in ministering to those afflicted with the plague which was raging in Milan. He lived sparingly and gave all he could to the poor. When a cardinal showed him his palace and gardens he said: 'My lord, the money spent on your pleasures here should have erected and endowed a convent.' During a time of scarcity he is said to have sold or given away his furniture and household linen to provide for the needy.

In his reliance on the secular arm he was a true son of the counter-reformation. He made many visitations of the Alpine

[1] *Dictionnaire de Biographie Chrétienne.*

portions of his diocese which were infected with heresy and, like another Dominic, persuaded many by his preaching, but backed up persuasion with the Inquisition. No one was allowed to teach even the rudiments of grammar without first making a profession of faith and being examined in morals. Parish priests were to report suspected cases of heresy to the bishops or the Inquisition, being specially told ' to smell the words and deeds of each single one ' [1] of those who arrived from an heretical district. Secular rulers were exhorted ' by the bowels of the pity of Christ ' to stop as far as possible all trade and intercourse with heretical countries, to assist and enrich the Inquisition in every possible way and carry out its orders. Bishops were ordered to see that no printer, bookseller, layman or cleric sold, bought, or possessed any prohibited work. Physicians were forbidden to continue visiting sick persons who had not made their confessions by the third day after being taken ill.[2] In 1583 he made a visitation of the Alpine portions of his diocese as apostolic visitor, and burnt eleven old women and the rector of Rovedo for ' sorcery.' [3] He died prematurely, worn out by his labours, watchings, and fastings, a victim of his own zeal. We find in him the special notes of the counter-reformation, its whole-hearted fervour, its mortification, its distrust of secular knowledge and science, and its reliance on persecution.

St. Francis de Sales (1567–1622), Bishop of Geneva (1602–22). —This most witty and human of saints, the author of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*, the most popular work of devotion ever written, was in some respects a typical son of the counter-reformation. He was educated by Jesuits, he founded a religious order, and in the Bull announcing his canonisation the conversion of 72,000 heretics is alleged as his chief claim to sanctity. He became famous when Provost of Geneva by his labours among the Calvinists of the Chablais, a district which had recently been acquired by the Duke of Savoy from the Protestant canton of Geneva. Francis, we are told, never resorted to force until persuasion had failed, and began in 1594 preaching with boldness and zeal. After two years he was compelled ' on account of the invincible obstinacy of the Calvinists ' to appeal to the Duke to expel their ministers, deprive Calvinists of places of honour and dignity and return their churches to Catholics. This was done, and on Christmas Day 1596 Mass was sung once more in the church of Thonon, the chief town of the Chablais, but not

[1] Labbé, *Concilia*. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *La Vie de Saint Charles Borromée*, par A. Godeau, 1663.

before a riot had been with difficulty suppressed. Troops were quartered in the town, and for two more years Francis continued his missionary work.

In 1598 the Duke arrived in Thonon, lined the streets with troops and ordered the Protestants to assemble in front of the Town Hall. He said that having used gentle measures for many years, other methods would have to be employed. He ordered those who were prepared to become Catholics to stand on his right and the others on his left. He then addressed the Calvinists. 'You dare to declare yourselves God's enemies and mine. Get you gone, I banish you for ever from my dominions.' [1] Coercive measures were followed up by energetic propaganda and heresy was banished from the Chablais. It is to the credit of Francis that no blood was shed and that he did not call in the Inquisition.

He became Coadjutor Bishop of Geneva in 1599 and Bishop in 1602. Though titular Bishop of Geneva, his cathedral city was in the hands of the Calvinists, and he had his seat at Annecy, a town not far from his home, the Château de Sales.

The note of his episcopate was diligence. He was indefatigable. 'A bishop,' he said, 'could not know his diocese too well. That his poor sheep whom Providence had relegated to these dreadful mountains were as much his as the inhabitants of the towns and had as much need of his care.' He took great trouble about his ordinations, saying that the Church needed not so much *priests*, as *good priests*, a remark which was justified by the state of his diocese. On the eve of his visitation in 1618 he settled that priests who had been once pardoned for a crime should be imprisoned for a second offence. As a result 'before the visitation was over there was a considerable number in the episcopal prison.' But Francis used to pass the prison windows on his way to mass. Greeted by the prayers and entreaties of the prisoners, he would let them out on his way back. This went on until his coadjutor persuaded him to hand over the keys and go to mass another way. His biographer tells the story to illustrate his hero's kindness of heart. We are surprised, rather, by the number of criminal clergy in a diocese administered for nearly twenty years by so holy a man.

In 1610 he founded the Order of the Visitation. He had intended to found for women an uninclosed order for the visitation of the sick, the relief of the poor and works of charity. But a cardinal whom he consulted, fearing that non-inclosure 'would lead

[1] Marsollier, *Vie de Francis de Sales.*

in time to license and disorder' persuaded Francis to give up his cherished plan and found an inclosed order on conventional lines. Even so it had a wonderfully rapid growth. By 1622 there were thirteen houses, by 1640 twenty-seven, and when Marsollier wrote, more than one hundred and fifty with over six thousand inmates.

He had many encounters with leading Calvinists, including one with the redoubtable Beza, whom he visited at Geneva. On one such occasion he made the point that Calvinists had no ministry or sacraments, maintaining that their ministers had no authority, 'having received their power from men who had not got it themselves.'

He was an indiscriminate giver of alms and objected on principle to making inquiries before giving assistance. Once a beggar came and asked for money. The bishop had none. He asked for clothes; the bishop went to his wardrobe and found it bare, whereupon he undressed, gave the beggar the clothes he had been wearing except his cassock in which, his only garment, he spent the rest of the day.

He would have been remarkable in any age for his disinterestedness and unworldliness. When he went to Paris in 1610 to ask for the help of Henry IV in suppressing heresy in the De Gex district, he became the fashion. Two duchesses called on him to ask him to preach the Lent sermon to the Court and all Paris flocked to hear him. Everywhere he was in request. 'There was no pious assembly in Paris to which he was not invited—no devotional project which was not communicated to him—no affair for the glory of God on which he was not consulted.' But he was untempted and unspoilt. He refused a pension and bishopric from Henry IV. When Cardinal de Retz, Archbishop of Paris, asked him to be his coadjutor he refused, saying that God had married him to a poor bride and he must not forsake her for a richer one. He died in 1622 worn out by labours and austerities and was canonised in 1665. His day is January 29.

The Inquisition

During the century before the Reformation the Inquisition, except in Spain, had become moribund, though not dead. The Reformation galvanised it into new life. Adrian VI in 1523 wrote to the inquisitor of Lombardy about heretics who broke images and abused the Sacraments. Clement VII in 1530 confirmed the privileges of inquisitors and ordered them to proceed against heretics in Ferrara and Mantua.

In 1542 Cardinal Caraffa obtained a Bull authorising the establishment of the Inquisition in Rome, and in Milan inquisitors were ordered to proceed against all suspected persons, secular clergy, religious and even mendicants. 'It now became part of the Roman machinery and an element of centralisation. A supreme body of cardinals governed it with the Pope at their head . . . the delinquent was tried by the Pope as ruler of the Church and burned by the Pope as ruler of the State. . . . Roman experts regarded it as a distinctive mark of the new tribunal that it allowed culprits who could not be caught and punished in the proper way, to be killed without ceremony by anybody who met them.'[1] A Bull of Pius IV in 1562 made special arrangements for inquisitors to deal with bishops suspected of heresy. Protestant churches, which had sprung up in Venice, Lucca, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, Naples, Siena and elsewhere, were suppressed. Their pastors fled or submitted and their flocks conformed.

More far-reaching in its effects than fire and torture was the control of the press. All books, old and new, had to be submitted to the inspection of the Holy Office. From 1543 it became illegal to print, or possess, any literature unsanctioned by the Inquisition. A list of prohibited books was published with papal sanction in 1557. Subsequently a congregation of the Index was appointed to keep the list of prohibited works up to date, and so thoroughly did it do its work that Paul IV put on the Index Expurgatorius all the books of sixty-one printing firms, which were mentioned by name; he also prohibited all books issued by a printer, who had at any time printed the works of a heretic. Instructions were issued to custom-house officers to hold up unlicensed books. Julius III in 1550 withdrew permission to read heretical books from all except inquisitors. Pius IV expressly forbade bishops or cardinals to read unlicensed works. The effect was as blighting on learning as on the spread of heresy.

Sarpi, the Venetian scholar, complained bitterly that there was not a book left to read. No book could be published without licence from the congregation at Rome. The book had first to be read by a censor, by whom it was passed, passed with corrections, or rejected. The work of the censorship was done by the Inquisition and complaints were made that the censors were often unlearned and overworked, so that they censored works they did not understand; even writers of unimpeachable orthodoxy complained of the in-

[1] Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 112.

tolerable delays that ensued and the vexations and emendations they were called upon to make.[1] Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Reformation made little headway in Italy.

Wars of Religion

The renunciation of war as a means of attaining religious ends was far from the minds of the chiefs of the counter-reformation. The rebellion of 1569 in England was called by Cardinal Allen 'that holy war.'[2] Nicholas Sanders wrote in 1577 to Allen, 'The King of Spain is as fearful of war as a child of fire and all his endeavour is to avoid all such occasions. The Pope will give 2000. If they do not serve to go into England, at least they will serve to go into Ireland. The state of Christendom dependeth on the stout assailing of England.'[3] The writer of the Introduction to the *Letters of Cardinal Allen* says that Gregory XIII 'left nothing undone to impel Philip to overthrow England by force of arms.'

Philip II determined to suppress heresy in the Netherlands and wrote (1565): 'As to the Inquisition my wish is that it be enforced by the inquisitors as often as is required by all law, human and divine. This lies very near my heart and I require you to carry out my orders. Let all prisoners be put to death and suffer them no longer to escape through the neglect, weakness, and bad faith of the judges.' This policy of *Thorough* resulted in a war of independence. In the end the United Provinces (Holland) won their independence and became a Calvinist State. The rest remained Catholic as before.

In France there was a whole series of wars, which will always be remembered on account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572). Though the reason for the attempted annihilation of the Huguenots as a party was no doubt mainly political, the result was hailed with rejoicing at Rome as a Catholic triumph, when the letter containing the news was read; and on September 6 the Pope and cardinals went in solemn procession to the Church of San Marco to return thanks, a solemn Mass was appointed for the ensuing Monday and a medal struck to commemorate the auspicious event. The Huguenots, however, obtained a limited toleration by the Edict of Nantes (1598), which they lost by its revocation by Louis XIV (1685).

[1] J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*.
[2] *Letters and Memorials of William Allen*, II. 118.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

In Germany Protestantism had reached its high-water mark at the Peace of Augsburg (1555). Henceforward it declined, partly owing to internal divisions and partly to the Catholic revival. Differences among the Lutherans began to show themselves, Melanchthon, in particular, caused ill-feeling by insisting on the necessity of good works as evidence of salvation, whereas extreme Lutherans asserted that good works were a hindrance to the Christian life. There was also a standing feud between Lutherans and Calvinists. The Peace of Augsburg had not recognised Calvinists at all, and Lutherans were not backward in demanding their repression, regarding them as dangerous and aggressive rivals. Calvinism was, in fact, advancing at the expense of Lutheranism. Frederick III (1559–76), the Elector Palatine, became a Calvinist and adopted the Heidelberg Confession, a Calvinist symbol, in 1563. Before the end of the century, Nassau, Bremen, Anhalt, and part of Hesse followed. More important still, the ruling Hohenzollern, hereditary Elector of Brandenburg, became a Calvinist in 1613.

Meantime, the Jesuits were active and aggressive. Protestants were suppressed in Bavaria and Catholics began to win back lost ground in the electoral archbishoprics of Mainz and Triers. In 1608 Catholics demanded the restitution of all ecclesiastical property confiscated since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Protestant princes formed themselves into a union under the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV, and were opposed by a Catholic League headed by Maximilian of Bavaria. Disputes came to a head in the celebrated window-throwing incident at Prague, when a party of disaffected Protestants threw two Catholic regents out of the castle window. The Calvinist Protestants of Bohemia elected as their king the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, and the *Thirty Years' War* began.

Into the details of that sordid struggle it is not necessary to enter. At first, the Catholic forces under Tilly and Wallenstein carried all before them. The unfortunate Frederick not only lost Bohemia, but was driven out of the Palatinate. North Germany was invaded, and the Edict of Restitution in 1629 shows how high Catholic hopes had risen. By it all ecclesiastical property seized since 1552 was to be restored, no Protestants were to be tolerated in Catholic states—only Lutherans were to be tolerated in any state. But in 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, constituted himself the champion of the Protestant interests, though credited not altogether unjustly with the ulterior dream of making the Baltic a Swedish

lake. The Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony now joined the Protestant side, France also took a hand, and the Catholic armies were driven out of Northern Germany. Gustavus after a brief but glorious career was killed and an equilibrium was established, Catholics retaining supremacy in the south and Protestants in the north, neither side being able to subdue the other. Nevertheless, the war dragged on until 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia was signed, though its terms were denounced by the Pope. Where two religions had been tolerated in 1624, the arrangement was allowed to continue. Calvinism was recognised for the first time, but no privileges were accorded to Protestants in Austria or Bohemia.

Meantime the population of Germany had fallen from sixteen millions to six ; cultivation, commerce, and industry had been nearly destroyed, and morals, religion, and intellectual life had suffered correspondingly.

Nor is the spirit dead that prompted these wars of religion. The King of Spain during a recent visit to the Vatican recalled ' how the " sectarians of Mahomet " were thrust back into Africa ; the " hordes of the Crescent " destroyed at Lepanto ; and the " men of Luther " furiously assailed in Flanders and on the Elbe by the Spanish arms ; and promised that " should a new crusade become necessary against the enemies of our sacred religion, Spain and her King, ever faithful to the call, will never desert their post of honour." '

Summary.—By 1685 in Spain, Italy, Southern Germany and the part of the Netherlands now Belgium, Protestantism was extinguished. In France it was proscribed. In South America, in a large part of North America, in China and the Indies, Roman Catholicism seemed in a fair way to become supreme.

IX

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, she would herself apparently have been contented with her father's ' Gallicanism,' that is, Catholicism without the Pope. But the situation had altered considerably since Convocation had first accepted his theory of royal supremacy, and a reversion to the state of things as left by him was no longer possible. Catholics had seen that the headship of the King might be used as unconstitutionally to oppress the Church as ever

had the headship of the Pope, while the menace of an extreme and anti-Catholic Protestantism was real and present. It must have seemed therefore an immeasurably harder task to maintain Catholicism apart from the Pope than it had appeared to the advisers of Henry VIII. None of the bishops or mitred abbots, except Fisher, had refused to accept the royal supremacy as imposed by Henry VIII. None were willing to accept the milder version of it imposed by Elizabeth. Men like Gardiner and Tunstal, who had been willing to try the experiment of non-papal Catholicism, had been discouraged by the tyranny exercised by Henry VIII and the anti-Catholic Protestantism, which prevailed under Edward VI.

On the other hand, Protestants were more numerous, and more decided than they had been in Henry's reign. Many of their leaders had been burnt, but many more had fled to the continent and there come under the influence of continental teachers, especially those of Zurich and Geneva, to whose opinions they deferred. The foreign reformers wished to make a complete severance with the pre-Reformation Church and Christian tradition, to get back to the New Testament, and make a fresh start on a purely scriptural basis. As soon as Mary was dead, these exiles began to return, 'wolves coming out of Geneva,' as they were described by Bishop White; it was out of their number that Elizabeth had for the most part to choose her bishops. The fires of Smithfield had also roused a strong anti-Catholic feeling in the country with which she had to reckon. As things were, it is surprising that Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical advisers should have held on their course so steadfastly. In all her ecclesiastical acts, we find the same determination to preserve the Catholic character of the Church in spite of the strong Protestant drag towards Geneva.

The Prayer-book of 1559.—One of her first acts was to appoint a commission of divines to draw up a Book of Common Prayer, the idea that there could be more than one kind of common prayer or worship allowed being to her unthinkable. Even when she was treating for a marriage with the Duke of Anjou, she refused to allow him permission to have Mass celebrated according to the Roman rite.

A committee of divines drew up a Prayer-book, which was enforced by Parliament in the Act of Uniformity of 1559. It was a revision of the second book of Edward VI, the changes being of a Conservative nature. The Ornaments Rubric was inserted by which the dress of the ministers was to be that in use in the first book of Edward VI, thus authorising the use of cope and chasuble

which had been expressly forbidden by the book of 1552. On the whole, the book was a definite return towards the ancient ways. Even the Pope was reported to have been willing to accept the book as Catholic, if the Queen would acknowledge it as received from him. The Pope's alleged offer was continuously spoken of from 1571 onwards; and the Queen herself openly talked of it.[1] On the opposite side, John Knox asserted that 'The whole order of their book appeareth rather to be devised for the upholding of massing priests than for any good instruction which the simple people can receive thereof,' and dissuaded a correspondent 'from countenancing of such superstitious priests in their corrupt, lifeless, liturgical services.'

The Thirty-nine Articles.—The Thirty-nine Articles in their present form were revised by Parker from The Forty-two Articles of 1552, and presented to Convocation in 1563, and with slight alteration passed by the synod. The Articles do not profess to be a *Summa Theologiae*, but an authoritative decision on certain points then in controversy. As the Prayer-book in *worship*, so the Articles in *doctrine*, presuppose that the English Church was already in existence and already provided with a working system of belief and ritual, so that new Articles or Rubrics were only inserted when some innovation makes them necessary.

The Supremacy.—Besides the Act of Uniformity, a Supremacy Bill was passed declaring Elizabeth not *Supreme Head*, but *Supreme Governor*. In the House of Lords the Supremacy Bill had a very much easier passage than the Bill for Uniformity. Evidently, some lay peers who were ready to throw over the Pope, were not so ready to receive the new book.

The Consecration of Archbishop Parker.[2]—All the Marian bishops, except Stanley of Sodor and Man, and Kitchin of Llandaff, had died or were deprived, most of the deprived living as the prisoners or rather guests, in the houses of various bishops, on whom they were billeted. If the authorities had wished to break with the past, as had been done in Scotland, they could have set up a non-episcopal *régime* on the model of Geneva. Instead of which, Matthew Parker was consecrated (December 17, 1559) in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace by four bishops, William Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, John Scory of Chichester, Miles Coverdale of Exeter,

[1] W. H. Frere, *A History of the English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*

[2] Strype, *Parker*, i. 113-15.

and John Hodgkin, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford. After Morning Prayer, said by the Archbishop's chaplain, Scory preached the sermon. The bishops then retired to vest for the Communion. When they returned, Parker had on a linen surplice, as had Scory and Hodgkin. Barlow the celebrant and his assistants, Bullingham and Guest, Archdeacons of Lincoln and Canterbury, wore copes, Coverdale only a cassock.

Of the consecrating bishops his three colleagues were Edwardian bishops, but Barlow's consecration dated from the reign of Henry VIII. According to Strype, the first attempt to throw doubt on the validity of Parker's consecration was made by Thomas Champneys more than fifty years later, when the famous Nag's Head Fable appeared. The story was that Scory met the bishops elect at an inn, the Nag's Head in Fleet Street, where 'having the Bible in his hand, and they all kneeling before him he laid it upon every one of their heads and shoulders, saying: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely," and so they rose up bishops of the New Church of England.' This fable is, however, no longer maintained. The validity of Parker's claim to be Archbishop is contested on the ground of *intention*, on the ground, that is, that his consecrators had no *intention* of making a Catholic Bishop.

Until his death in 1575 Parker was the Queen's principal adviser in church affairs. She could have chosen no wiser counsellor. A native of Norwich, he went up to Cambridge in 1522, becoming a Fellow of Corpus Christi College in 1528. He associated with Latimer and other converts to Lutheran doctrine, but being a diligent student of the fathers as well as of the bible, and being by nature of a cautious and judicial temperament, he never became a whole-hearted convert to their opinions. He was appointed chaplain to Ann Boleyn in 1535, and President of his college in 1544, besides other preferments. In the next reign he did not take any active part in ecclesiastical politics, but was made Dean of Lincoln. Under Mary he was deprived as a married priest of all his offices. He managed to evade arrest, though he is said to have suffered all his life from an injury which he suffered through a fall from his horse when escaping from his pursuers. With the strong recommendation of Bacon and Cecil, Elizabeth chose him to succeed Pole, and, in spite of his protests, as strong as they were sincere, was almost compelled to accept the office. As primate he endeavoured to steer the Church along the *via media* between Rome and puritanism. The Puritans were his most troublesome opponents, first by refusing to wear the prescribed

vestments, and then by their attempt to compel the Church to adopt a presbyterian system of teaching and discipline. But Parker held his ground manfully, with very little support except from the Queen. Among much else we owe to him the new Calendar of 1561, which recovered many of the Black Letter Saints Days, and the canons of 1571. He was also largely responsible for the Bishops' Bible, published in 1568. As an administrator he was diligent, and if he erred, it was not on the side of severity. The conditions were heart-breaking. The clergy who had survived the changes were not conspicuous for zeal, while those who were ready to fill their places were for the most part Puritans. In addition the Church had been plundered, a process which was still going on, and many of the livings were too poor to support a single man, let alone a married man with a family. Here also Parker did his best to protect the property of the Church from Elizabeth and her greedy courtiers as well as the lesser sharks that abounded, but his best was not enough. He was himself disinterested so far as money went, but was an ardent collector of valuable books and manuscripts, which he bequeathed to his college where they are still treasured.

Religious Parties

Besides those who accepted the Anglican position, there were two main parties, each sub-divided into two more.

Roman Catholics, divided into (1) those who conformed, at least to the extent of attending church, even if they did not go to communion. The practice was expressly condemned by Pius V, yet Mary Queen of Scots wrote as late as 1582 to the Pope for permission for fifty of her Catholic adherents to attend the English service.[1] As according to Strype not more than 200 clergy were deprived during the first six years of the reign, it is likely that some of these unwilling conformists were clergy. Condemned by Rome and admonished by the recalcitrants, their position was difficult, and after 1570, when Elizabeth was excommunicated, impossible.

(2) *The Irreconcilables or Recusants.*—Left to the sole care of the old Marian priests, for the most part untouched by the new spirit in the Roman Church, the Romanists in England must have come in time to an end as in Scandinavia. But the ardent zeal of

[1] *Records of English Catholics.*

the counter-reformation which sent missionaries to India and Japan sent missionary priests to England. William Allen (1532–94) was the father of this movement. He was Principal of St. Mary Hall and Canon of York when Elizabeth came to the throne. Whereupon he retired to Louvain, was ordained and came back on a three years' mission in 1562. Seeing the need of a regular supply of priests, he founded a seminary college at Douai, afterwards removed to Rheims. 'It was a beautiful sight,' wrote a visitor in 1575, 'which I beheld when I was lately there. In that refectory where in our time we set down about six at one table, nearly sixty men and youths of the greatest promise were seated at three tables eating so pleasantly a little broth.' [1]

These men were carefully trained for the English mission. The standard was high. Most were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. Only picked men over thirty years old were sent. By 1580, Douai had sent 100 priests to England. It was specially sought to rouse the martyr spirit and to give careful training in controversy. 'At suitable times they take down from dictation with reference to the controversies of the present day all those passages of Scripture which either make for Catholics or are distorted by heretics, together with short notes concerning the arguments . . .' [2] An offshoot was founded in Rome (1576) and entrusted to the Jesuits (1579) who themselves came to England in 1580—Campion and Parsons leading the way. But their numbers were not large during this reign, judging by the number of martyrs, of whom seven were Jesuits, 116 secular priests.

In 1567 the Recorder of Chester reported an oath taken by numbers of the gentlemen of Lancashire, 'not to come at the communion nor receive the sacrament during the Queen's Majesty's reign.' But this must be attributed to Allen's personal influence, as he was a Lancastrian, not to the Douai seminarists. In 1575, Henry Shaw sent over two converts to Douai for instruction and said that 'so great a concourse of people sought him out that he had no leisure for thought and that the Catholics increased by large numbers daily.' [3]

Persecution.—The more successful they were, the more severe were the penal measures. Fine, imprisonment, deprivation and disqualification from office were inflicted freely. But it was not until after the rising of 1569, the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, and the release of her subjects from their allegiance, that the

[1] *Letters and Memorials, etc.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

first priest was executed. After the Armada (1588) and the increasing success of the seminarists, severity increased. By the end of the reign, 123 priests and 63 laity had been executed.

If we compare the reigns, between February 24, 1555, when John Rogers was burned at Smithfield amidst the sympathy and applause of the crowd, and the death of Mary in November 1558, 282 victims perished in the flames. Elizabeth executed 187 in forty-five years. Elizabeth maintained that her executions were for treason and not heresy; and that the victims died as traitors, not as martyrs. Bishop Frere says they were martyrs to the deposing power of the Pope, as anyone might have saved his life by denying that the Pope had the right to depose a sovereign. She certainly claimed that the executions were not for religion. 'They have been impeached by direct execution of laws against such traitours for meere treasons and not for any pointes of religion, as these *Fautours* would colour falsely their actions, which we have most manifestly seen and heard at their arraignments, howe they are neither executed nor condemned nor endited, but for high Treasons, affirming, that amongst other things, they will take part with any army sent by the Pope against us and our realme. And of this that none do suffer death for matter of religion there is manifest proof, in that a number of men of wealthe in our realm professing contrary religion are known not to be impeached for the same, either in their lives, lands or goods or in their liberties, but only by payment of a pecuniary summe . . .'[1]

Puritans.—These were also divided into two main classes.

1. *Puritans in the Church, subsequently called Nonconformists.*—They soon came into prominence in the controversy over vestments. The Prayer-book had ordered that 'such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof' as had been in use in the second year of Edward VI 'shall be retained and be in use.' This would have included the old eucharistic vestments. In the hope of procuring uniformity, Parker drew up regulations ordering among other things the use of the cope in cathedrals at celebrations of the Holy Communion and the surplice at other times; 'a comely surplice with sleeves' in parish churches for all services; out of doors the clergy were to wear a long gown with a square cap and, if dignitaries, a doctor's silk tippet in addition. He tried in vain to get the Queen's authority for these directions, even threatening, in a letter to Cecil, to make no further effort failing such backing. 'I will no more strive

[1] Proclamation, dated 1591, in St. Deiniol's Library.

against the stream fume or threat who will.'[1] In the end he published his ordinances in 1565 under the title of 'Advertisements,' the exact authority of which has been hotly disputed.

The more extreme Protestants scrupled at wearing the surplice, the tippet, and square cap, and over them controversy raged fiercely. The Vestiarian controversy, if in itself unimportant, was a symbol of deeper differences. The Puritans objected to the surplice because it was not ordered in the Bible, and because it had been used by the pre-Reformation Church.

The objections came out clearly in a letter of Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, on behalf of the refusers. 'Consider how all the countries which have reformed religion have cast away the Popish apparel with the Pope, yet we that would be taken for the best contend to keep it for a holy relic.' 'How,' asked Whittingham, Dean of Durham, indignantly, 'can God's glory be advanced by these garments which superstitious men and Antichrist have invented for the maintaining and beautifying of idolatry?' Dr. Turner, Dean of Wells, went further than the Dean of Durham—calling the bishops 'white coats and tippet gentlemen and other words of reproach,' and asking 'Who gave them authority over them either to forbid men preaching or to deprive men unless they have it from their Holy Father, the Pope?'[2] He even went so far as to make an adulterer do penance in a priest's square cap. The Zurich Reformers, when appealed to, advised compliance. Bullinger regarding the surplice as a thing indifferent, though not the mass vestments, about which he understands 'there is now no contention,' and thought it a pity 'for the sake of garments to forsake the Church and to leave it to be seized upon by wolves, or at least very unfit ministers.' The ministers and elders of the Scottish Reformed Church, on the other hand, thought themselves called upon to protest and wrote to 'the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist,' commending those who refused 'the Roman rags,' stigmatising the surplice, corner-cap, and tippet as badges of idolatry, and asking indignantly what the Christian preacher had to do with 'the dregs of the Roman beast.'[3] (1566).

The Vestiarian controversy soon involved more serious matters. Thomas Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, asserted that the offices of bishop and deacon, as they then were in the Church, were not allowable; that there ought to be an equality for all ministers, and

[1] Strype, *Life of Parker*, i. 318. [2] Strype, *Annals*. [3] *Ibid.*

that the ordinal as used in the Church must be altered. He aimed, in fact, at replacing episcopacy by presbyterianism. In an anonymous pamphlet, 'An answer to certain pieces of a sermon made at Paul's Cross, etc., by Dr. Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln,' written in 1572, some of the principal Puritan objections are brought out very plainly. In the conduct of the service, there was a great objection to reading the Bible unless the reading was followed by a sermon or exposition. The writer objected, not only to clergy, whom he described as dumb dogs, idle shepherds, and blind guides, but also to 'bare readers,' even if they read distinctly and were not 'galloping Sir Johns.' He extolled the order of service used in the foreign Reformed Churches as superior to the English. 'You may view those forms that both the Church of Geneva itself and the Reformed Churches in France and Germany now use. If those like you not, look into Scotland and consider that order. There is among them no private communion, no private baptism, no kneeling at the Lord's Supper, no hindering of preaching, no expounding of Scripture by bare reading of psalms, lessons, suffrages, collects, patches and pieces of epistles and gospels; no prescript order of service for saints' days, etc.' He objected to the titles archbishop, lord bishop, honour, grace, metropolitan, primate, dean, as repugnant to Holy Scripture, and asserted that no one would defend them except 'atheists, libertines, Lutherans and Papists, or some scullion out of Antichrist's kitchen.' [1]

The history of the Church during the next hundred years is largely a history of the attempts of the Presbyterian party to get their views adopted as the official religion of the Church of England. They did not intend to leave the Church but to alter it. Their influence seems to have been out of proportion to their numbers. They early enlisted the support of the Earl of Leicester and were always able to count on a majority in the House of Commons through which they hoped to gain their ends. As early as 1572 a Bill for rites and ceremonies was brought in and referred to a Committee, which gave great offence to the Queen and was only one out of many attempts to alter the settlement in a Protestant direction by Act of Parliament.

Two *Admonitions to Parliament*, the first appearing in 1572, were Presbyterian attacks on the bishops and on the Church Settlement and exhortations to Parliament to substitute a more godly order.

A petition presented to Parliament in 1584 gives the Presbyterian

[1] Strype, *Annals*.

platform, as it was called, of which the chief points were the following :

(1) There was to be a resident preaching minister in each parish.

(2) Every bishop was to be assisted by a council of eight, ten, or twelve ministers, together with a number of godly laymen, who were to determine all ecclesiastical cases and decide all controversies concerning religion.

(3) Every resident pastor was to have 'a sufficient seignorie,' consisting of four to eight godly laymen, 'to govern the said parish with him' and 'to join with the pastor, not in teaching but to have a care with him that the doctrine may have the course which it ought to have.'

(4) A provincial synod to be called every year, and to consist of bishops, deans, clergy, and laymen, meeting in one House. The synod was to review the Prayer-book and cut out offending parts, especially the Ordinal.

(5) Severe punishments were to be inflicted on blasphemers, swearers, perjurers, and drunkards. Adultery was to be punished by death 'without redemption,' and 'some more sharp law for fornicators than standing in a white sheet' was demanded. The Sabbath day, 'which we do barbarously call Sunday,' was to be kept holy.

(6) A Commission was to be appointed to inquire into the conduct and office of bishops and to review the laws of foreign Reformed Churches, in order to produce a code of discipline for the Church of England.

Exercises or Prophesyings.—These were in effect *study circles*, to use a modern term, to promote Bible study among the clergy, which laymen attended as hearers and sometimes as speakers. They were held in church and were popular with the Puritans. They can be paralleled from the accounts of the early Oratorians in Rome and the Pietist Philobiblica in Germany. One writer described them as 'a notable spur unto all the ministers, which otherwise in times past would give themselves to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tippling at the ale-house, shooting of matches and other such like vanities.'[1] They were, however, disliked and feared by the government in Church and State, both as giving the disaffected opportunities of airing their views, and also as breaches in the idol of uniformity. They were forbidden, and Edmund Grindal, Archbishop (1575–83), got into serious trouble with the Queen for trying regulations instead

[1] Prothero, *Select Statutes*.

of suppression. Grindal represented to the Queen that 'nothing beat down Popery like it,'[1] but in vain, and he was suspended in 1577.

Grindal was himself a Puritan. When Bishop of London (1559–70) he showed much sympathy with the Nonconformists, with whom he agreed in everything except the duty of complying with the law, and 'went about the business (of suppression) tenderly.' When he was nominated for the Archbishopric of York (1570), Parker was consulted 'and signified that he liked well of his removal, for he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of London.' York suited him much better, as the Nonconformists there were chiefly Roman, and he set about the suppression of 'Roman superstitions' with a good heart. Such customs as the veneration of crosses, month's minds, the ceremonial beating of the bounds in surplices and with hand-bells, chanting, crossing and breathing on the elements in the communion, 'oil tapers and spittle in the sacrament of baptism—praying Ave-Maries and Pater-nosters upon beads; setting up candles in the churches to the Virgin Mary on Candlemas Day,' were rife. He was also a great destroyer of rood-lofts.

His attitude to *prophesyings* when Archbishop of Canterbury was consistent and does him credit.

John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (1583–1604), was a more whole-hearted opponent of the Puritans. He was essentially a disciplinarian. Like Laud he thought that the clergy should be compelled to obey the laws of the Church. He drew up Articles (1583) and followed them up with interrogatories, which drew upon him the wrath of the Puritan majority in the House of Commons. In 1586 he procured a rigorous muzzling order for the press, by which all printing presses had to be registered, and all printed matter to be 'first perused by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London or one of them.'

He was assailed violently in the Marprelate tracts, being called Beelzebub of Canterbury, the Pope of Lambeth, Clothbag Jhno, His gracelessness of Cant., Jhon Canter, and other such names.[2]

A whole-hearted believer in predestination, he drew up in 1595 the Lambeth Articles, enunciating predestinarian doctrine of the most rigid kind. He was only saved by Queen Elizabeth from inflicting them on the University of Cambridge, if not on the Church of England. A patron of learning, as shown by his patronage of

[1] Strype, *Life of E. Grindal.* [2] Strype, *Life and Acts of J. Whitgift.*

Hooker, and a diligent administrator, he was also a champion of the Church against the spoliation of Queen and court, and was a believer in Anglicanism as something distinct from Romanism and continental Protestantism. In spite of his drastic methods, which were more in accordance with the public opinion of his own day than ours, he deserved well of the Church.

Hampton Court Conference, 1604.—The first phase of the Nonconformist attempt to force Puritan views on the Church ended with their defeat at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. This Conference was summoned by James I soon after his accession, in the hope of promoting uniformity. This was the occasion when he uttered the well-known words 'No Bishop; no King.' The Puritans present, among other things, made it a great point that the Cross in baptism should be utterly forborne, and also kneeling at the Communion. They were unsuccessful, and all that came of the Conference was the authorised translation of the Bible.

2. *Separatists, afterwards Dissenters.*—Besides the Puritans who remained in the Church under protest, there were others who, after the issue of the Advertisements in 1566, began to set up separate conventicles. The following extract from a controversial tract by Whitgift, written about 1570, must be read with caution as coming from an opponent, but is interesting as showing that the process of separation had already begun. 'When they walked in the streets they hung down their heads, looking austerely; and in company sighed much and seldom or never laughed; their temper was that they sought the commendation of the people: they thought it a heinous offence to wear a cap or surplice; but they slandered or backbit their brethren, railed on them by libels, contemned superiors, discredited such as were in authority; in short disquieted the Church and State. And as for their religion they separated themselves from the congregation and would not communicate with those that went to church, neither in prayer, hearing the word or sacraments; they despised all those that were not of their own sect, as polluted and not worthy to be saluted nor kept company with, and therefore some of them meeting their old acquaintance being godly preachers, had not only refused to salute them but spit in their faces; wishing the plague of God to light upon them: and saying they were damned and that God had taken His Spirit from them.'[1]

The mark of division between them and the Puritans who remained in the Church was that the Separatist felt it immoral to

[1] Strype, *Annals*, ii. 1, 7.

have anything to do in spiritual things with the ungodly. A certain Dr. Some maintained against them that 'the child of God is not polluted though he be present at and partaker of the public prayers, sacraments, etc., at such times as wicked men are present at and partakers of them,' also that 'the godly are not polluted which receive the sacrament at the hands of an unpreaching minister.' They were charged with Donatism even by contemporary Puritans.

They were very soon divided. Besides the seceding Presbyterians there sprang up (1) various bodies of extravagants of Anabaptist origin, such as the *Family of Love*, the followers of a Dutchman named Nichola, who wrote a book called *Evangelicum Regni*, claiming to be 'An Epistle written from the Holy Ghost'; the *Libertines*, who held that 'Whosoever had God's Spirit could not sin,' and eccentric individuals like Hacket, whose followers gave out that he was the Messiah. Of the last we read that 'their great pretence was the Spirit and to be moved only by the Spirit and refused to doff their hats to the magistrates,' thus anticipating George Fox by nearly a century.

The point of likeness between them was their faith in an extraordinary personal inspiration by the Holy Ghost which made the individual independent of any corporate faith or dogma and opened the way to extravagance. They were thus precursors of Quakers. Some opinions seemed more extravagant then than they would now. Antony Randall, for instance, Minister of Lydford, was deprived for holding, among other unorthodox views, 'That the first three chapters of Genesis were not so true literally as allegorically.'

3. *The Brownists or Barrowists.*—These were originally followers of one Robert Browne, a gentleman of Rutland, and a relation of the Cecils, who held that ordination, whether episcopal or presbyterian, was an abomination, and that the whole church system was a mistake, as 'the kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes but rather by the worthiest, were they never so few.' After preaching in Islington and Cambridge, he migrated to Norfolk and founded a church in Norwich, separating from all other professing Christians, 'who were held in bondage by anti-Christian power, as were those parishes in Cambridge by the bishops.' After a brief period of activity, and migration, first to Holland, which he left in disgust, and then to Scotland from which he was expelled, he conformed about the year 1586, and became Rector of Achurch, 'a church wherein,' according to Fuller, 'he never preached though he took the profits thereof.' Fuller also relates that he died eventually about 1630 in

Northampton jail, where he had been committed for striking the parish constable, who had come to demand a rate.

When Browne gave up preaching his mantle fell on one Henry Barrow, once a lawyer of dissolute life, said to have been converted by a sermon in a church which he had entered in order to scoff. After a short career as a preacher, he was arrested in 1593, under a law of libel, which had made it a felony to publish anything with malicious intent, and executed the next year.

The Barrowists are usually considered to be the forerunners of the Independents or Congregationalists, though the legitimacy of their descent has been contested. Their views were expressed with moderation in a petition presented to the Privy Council in 1592, in which they declared that on examination of the Scriptures, they found : ' the whole public ministry, ministration, worship, government, ordinances and proceedings ecclesiastical of this land, by authority established, to be strange and quite dissenting from the rule of Christ's Testament ; not to belong to or to have any place or use or so much as mention in his Church, but rather to belong to and to be derived from the malignant synagogue of Antichrist, being the self-same that the Pope used and left in this land ; when we dare not by any means defile or subject members in any outward subjection or inward consent thereunto.' Any such compliance they compared to the worship of the beast in the Apocalypse. They therefore claimed the right of choosing for themselves ' such a ministry of pastor, teacher, elders, deacons, as Christ hath given to his Church.' They also made distinction between the spiritual and temporal authority, claiming their right to worship as they thought fit, ' but always leaving the reformation of the state to those that God hath set to govern that state.' [1]

Besides such moderately worded petitions, they carried on a violent propaganda by means of tracts and pamphlets, including the famous Martin Marprelate tracts, so called because the anonymous authors wrote under the pseudonym of Martin Marprelate.

Unlike the Puritans who remained in the Church and were treated with conspicuous forbearance, the Separatists were severely repressed by the State. Five Brownists were executed altogether, two in 1583 at Bury St. Edmunds for publishing Robert Browne's works, and Barrow himself with two implicated in the Marprelate libels eleven years later. They were all executed under the Libel Act of 1581.

[1] Strype, *Annals*, iv. LXII.

Besides these executions, many were imprisoned. Browne boasted that he had been 'committed to thirty-two prisons and that in some of them he could not see his hand at noon-day.' Fifty-nine Brownists who were in various prisons in London in 1592 petitioned for release, and stated that twenty had died in prison. But in a list of 'prisoners for religion' in 1595, given by Strype, we find only three Brownists and one sectary out of a total of eighty-nine—the rest being Roman recusants.

Of the Anabaptists, two Dutchmen 'who died in great horror with roaring and crying,' were burned in Smithfield in 1575, in spite of a spirited protest by Foxe the martyrologist, for denying the Virgin Birth and asserting that it was unlawful to baptise infants, or for a Christian man to take an oath or serve as a magistrate, their views being regarded as dangerous to Church and State alike. One, Francis Ket, was condemned in 1585 for blasphemous opinions concerning Christ, and burnt at Norwich. Hacket, who was given out to be the Messiah, was, however, executed on political grounds for saying that Elizabeth was not Queen of England and for defacing the royal arms. Hacket was of so fierce a temper that he is said by Fuller 'to have bit off and eaten down the nose of his schoolmaster.'

X

THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND

The Reformation in Ireland was almost entirely political. Those who promoted it were influenced mainly, those who opposed, in part, by political motives.

The Normans had established a powerful English colony, known as the Pale, but by the end of the fifteenth century the native Irish had recovered the greater part of the territories the Normans had won, and under Henry VII first became politically dangerous. The two Pretenders, who threatened Henry VII, both received a welcome there; Lambert Simnel was crowned king in Dublin, and Perkin Warbeck received royal honours at Cork. Later on, the Earl of Desmond and others, taking advantage of the situation created by the divorce proceedings, intrigued with the Emperor. Another rebellious earl offered to hold his lands of Pope and Emperor if they would help him in his rebellion. Henry retaliated by having himself declared Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland by the Irish Parliament in 1536, and by sending a certain George Browne,

formerly head of the Austin Friars in England, to Ireland as Archbishop of Dublin to commend this novel dogma.

The Irish may have loved the Pope less, but they hated the English more. Browne complained that 'he went in hazard of his temporal life,' and that George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, had refused obedience with most of his suffragans and clergy, and went so far as to lay a curse on whomsoever should own the King's supremacy, saying that 'this isle' (as it is in their Irish chronicle *Insula sacra*) 'belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome who gave it to the King's ancestors.' [1] Browne also complained that none of the clergy would preach the royal supremacy. He issued a doctrinal statement under the form of a bidding prayer, called the *Form of the Beads*, beginning 'Ye shall pray for the Universal Catholic Church' and going on to justify the title of Supreme Head and to cast aspersions on the Pope. Otherwise, he did little to commend the alterations in religion to the minds and consciences of the Irish. Some of the bishops took the oath. Others were replaced by Henry's nominees, though at every vacancy, as the Pope also appointed to the vacant see, there were two claimants in each diocese. It does not appear, however, that the Act provoked much active opposition.

The next stage was purely destructive. Monasteries were dissolved, which was felt as a grievance by all classes, for, in a thinly populated and half-savage country, monasteries provided the only education that could be got, the only substitutes for inns, and the only means of relief for the poor. Relics and 'monuments of superstition' were also ordered to be destroyed, which caused anger and horror. 'They afterwards burned the images, shrines and relics of the Saints of Ireland and England. They likewise burned the celebrated image of Mary at Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and persons affected with all kinds of diseases : and (they also burned) the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, performing miracles, from the time of St. Patrick down to that time, and had been in the hands of Christ while He was among men.' [2]

Accordingly Mary's accession was received with general rejoicing. At Kilkenny, according to Bale, Bishop of Ossory, 'They rung all the bells in the cathedral, minster, and parish churches ; they flung up their caps to the battlement of the great Temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely . . . they banqueted all the day after.' [3]

[1] Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources*. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

After the death of Mary, the Irish Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity, which enforced the use of the English Prayer-book on clergy and laity. Though the doctrine was novel and its language strange, no effective measures were taken to commend the book. Bishops and clergy were shameless pluralists. Sir John Davies, writing in 1604, says that the Archbishop of Cashel held four bishoprics and seventy-seven livings. Absenteeism was rampant; churches and parsonages became ruins. There were not enough Irish clergy to go round, and the English clergy who came over were miserably paid, and, according to Spencer, either 'unlearned' of else 'men of some bad note for which they have forsaken England.'[1] Language was a real difficulty. As in Cornwall, English was no more the vulgar tongue than Latin.

The result was to leave the way clear to emissaries from Rome. Jesuits first appeared in 1542 but were not numerous until 1560; after this date they entered in ever-increasing numbers, in spite of penal laws, which were not, however, strictly enforced. A league was formed rather on the lines of the Scottish Covenant, the signatories binding themselves not to attend church, and successful efforts were made to provide education; Sir John Dowdell wrote in 1595: 'Every port town and upland town, and also gentlemen's houses for the most part are furnished with superstitious seducing priests. The townsmen and merchants do transport them from Spain to Ireland, and so from Ireland to Spain again, and likewise to France, which swarm up and down the whole country, seducing the people and the best sorts, to draw them from God and their allegiance to the Prince. Every town is established with sundry schools where the noblemen and gentlemen's sons do repair; these schools have a superstitious or an idolatrous schoolmaster, and each school overseen by a Jesuit.'[2]

Their success is seen in a letter from the Bishop of Cork, one of the few prelates who did his best to commend Anglicanism to Ireland. In 1596 he wrote: 'Where I had a thousand or more in a church at sermon, I now have not five; and whereas I have seen five hundred communicants or more, now are there not three. . . . I have caused churches to be re-edified, and provided books for every church through my diocese, as Bibles, New Testaments, and Communion books, both English and Latin . . . but none will come to church at all, not so much as the country churls; they follow their seducers and priests and their superiors. . . . And I,

[1] Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources.* [2] *Ibid.*

questioning with one of the last year's bailiffs . . . for whom I sent to know the cause why he would not come to church, nor obey any of his Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, he made me answer, that he was sworn to the league that he should never come to church nor obey any of his Majesty's ecclesiastical laws concerning the same.' [1]

XI

THE ANGLICAN POSITION

The Reformation in England was essentially English and has never been understood on the Continent. In nothing was it more so than in the absence of a logical and coherent system. The Roman Church had such a system—so had the Genevan. As compared with Romans and Calvinists, the Anglican Reformers have the air of persons aiming at a goal they cannot quite see and guided by principles they do not fully understand. They seem to grope and feel their way, instead of moving forward with the magnificent assurance of Rome or Geneva. It was not so much, perhaps, that they did not know what they wanted or see what they were after, as that they were timid about expressing themselves and self-distrustful when in conflict with the best reformed opinion on the Continent. Their public and avowed purpose was (1) to make no breach with the church of St. Augustine, of Becket, of Wolsey and Pole, and (2) to assert its rights, relieve it of usurpation and reform it in respect of abuses, accepting the Bible as the primitive Church had accepted it, and trying to test everything by the touchstone of Scripture and history. But all this is at first implicit rather than explicit. It was only by being hammered out on the anvil of controversy both with Romanists and Presbyterians that the characteristic faith of the English Church was expressed and formulated.

Against the Romanists, Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, issued his famous challenge in a sermon at Paul's Cross, when, after rehearsing various rejected Articles [2] of belief, he said that ' If any one of all

[1] Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources.*

[2] The articles excepted to were: private masses, communion in one kind, common prayers in a strange tongue, the Bishop of Rome called *universalis episcopus* or *caput universalis ecclesiae*, ' that in the sacrament after the consecration the substance of bread and wine departed away and only the accidents remained, or that it was thought lawful to say, ten, twenty or thirty masses in one church in one day ; or that people were forbidden to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue.'

these things he had then rehearsed could be proved on the popish side by any sufficient authority, either of the Scripture or of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, or by any one allowed example of the primitive Church, he would be contented to yield to them and to subscribe.'[1] Here is put in the rough one side of the position of the English Church against Rome. It is the rejection of certain doctrines and practices, as binding, for which no warrant could be got out of Scripture or the early Church. Later on, we find in other writers the additions, 'pending an appeal to a General Council.' This is what Bishop Creighton meant by asserting that the Reformation in England was built up on a foundation of sound learning.

The Vestiarian controversy brought out the determination of the English Church to hold fast, so far as possible, to its continuity with the pre-Reformation Church in externals, to its refusal to be bound in ceremonial by the letter of the New Testament, and its claim to possess authority as a living body 'to decree rites and ceremonies.'

Episcopacy

In the sphere of Church government episcopacy had been the object of Puritan attacks, among others, by Tindal in his *Practice of Prelates*, by Beza, Cartwright, and the authors of the Martin Marprelate tracts. These last called forth a rejoinder by Bancroft, the Archbishop's chaplain who, in 1589, was accused of having maintained, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, that episcopacy existed *jure divino*, as part of the divine constitution of the Church and not as a human arrangement. Whether he used the words or not,[2] the sermon not only evoked a Puritan protest, but also a remonstrance from a prominent layman, Sir Francis Knollys, who thought that this superiority 'smelt of treason against Her Majesty's supreme government.' Her Majesty was not, however, grateful for his support and rebuked him for meddling.

Saravia was another champion of the divine right of episcopacy. He was a Spanish Protestant, ordained according to the Genevan use, who had ministered in the Netherlands and fled to Guernsey to escape persecution. Later on, he held a living in Staffordshire and wrote two tracts in controversy with Beza to justify episcopacy. His views have a special interest, because, being a foreigner, he

[1] Strype, *Annals*, 1. i. 300. [2] See art. by Prof. Usher, *Theology*, July 1920.

considered episcopacy in its relation not only to the English Church, but to the Church on the Continent. He took the line of regarding the method of government by bishops as primitive and divine, and the government by elders as new and human, only to be tolerated until better could be got. That it was 'part of the happiness of the Kingdom of England that it retained this order and that its retention concerned not England alone but also the Churches of Christ.' That 'the offence given to the Churches by the abrogating of Bishops had deterred many from the true doctrine of Christ.' Beza, pained by this defence, protested to Archbishop Whitgift, who stated in his reply: 'We make no doubt that the Episcopal degree is an institution apostolical and divine. . . . You may remember the beginnings of that episcopacy which you make to be of only human institution is referred by the Fathers with one mouth to the Apostles as the authors thereof, and that the Bishops were appointed as successors of the Apostles.'[1] Or as Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, quoting from Epiphanius, put it a little later on, 'The Presbyter begetteth children to the Church by preaching and baptising. The Bishop begetteth Fathers to the Church by giving of orders.'

Richard Hooker.—But the great statement of the Anglican position came from the pen of Richard Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, that 'standing defence of this Church of England, so baited and condemned in these times by a faction.' Before writing the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Hooker had been Master of the Temple, where he had been forced into controversy with the Reader, Walter Travers, a Calvinist, so that it was said that 'the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury and the afternoon Geneva.' Travers had been admitted to the ministry abroad by a congregation of foreign Protestants and might have been made Master of the Temple in 1583, if he would have submitted to ordination according to the English use. Weary of controversy, Hooker asked the Archbishop to transfer him to the country, where he 'might see God's blessings grow out of the earth.' During the rest of his life, first at Boscombe, near Salisbury, and then at Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, he toiled at his great work, of which the first four books were published in 1593, the fifth in 1597, and the last three posthumously, in a mutilated form, his widow being accused of having allowed Puritan divines to destroy part of the manuscript.

Hooker regarded the Church as a supernatural society, and held

[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, ii. 170.

that many things were left by the Scriptures to its discretion, and that, having 'full dominion over itself,' it has authority to decree rites and ceremonies. He asserted the continuity of the English Church with the historic Catholic Church. 'To reform ourselves is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before; in the Church we were and we are so still'—and describes the 'rites, customs and orders of ecclesiastical government,' derided as 'popish dregs,' as 'those whereby for so many ages together we have been guided in the service of the true God.' But such customs 'have the nature of things changeable.'

With regard to the ministry, he held at first the view, 'which I myself did sometimes judge a great deal more probable than now I do,' that 'after the Apostles were deceased, Churches did agree among themselves, for preservation of peace and order, to make one presbyter in each city chief over the rest.' Even so, he thought episcopacy too 'warrantable' to be set aside and abrogated. But later he inclined to the 'general received persuasion, held from the first beginning, that the Apostles themselves left bishops invested with power above other pastors.'[1] He denied that the scriptural form was Presbyterian. 'Strange, if it were so, that no part of the Church had ever found it out.' He considered that the episcopal form was the best, but held that 'neither God's being author of laws of government for His Church nor His committing them into Scripture is any reason sufficient why all Churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change.'

His theory of authority is important. Roman Catholics based it on the Church as interpreted by the Pope, or even a General Council: Puritans on Scripture as interpreted by the individual conscience: Anabaptists on the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Hooker maintained that the Scriptures contained all things necessary for salvation, but that we receive the Scriptures on the authority of the Church, and that authority we test by reason. In other words, we depend on a threefold rope—Scripture, the Church, and reason. To these three grounds of authority Laud added a fourth—the inner light of the Holy Ghost within us: 'the resolution that is rightly grounded may not endure to pitch and rest itself upon the helps, but upon that divine light.'[2]

To quote from an unpublished work, 'The Roman Catholic found infallibility in the visible Church; the Puritan delighted in literal obedience to the word of Scripture, the Quaker listened to

[1] Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* vii., xi. 6. [2] Laud, Conf. with Fisher.

the voice of God speaking in his conscience ; and the rationalist found the truth in his intellectual apprehension of it. This is not to say that no Quaker read his Bible, or that no Roman Catholic used his reason. But the ultimate court of appeal for each lay in the direction which he had elected to follow and the conclusion thence received was cogent and for him unanswerable. The High Church Anglican on the other hand clung to his four-fold strand of belief, and made up for his want of logic by the undoubted advantage of not being dependent on a single means of support.' [1]

Anglicanism in Practice

So far, Anglicanism had existed principally as a theory. It was left to Charles I and the Caroline divines to convert the theory into a working system.

Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626).—Styled by Laud 'the great light of the Christian World,' successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely and Winchester, he was one of the most remarkable men in an age which produced Francis Bacon, William Shakespeare, and other prodigies. Besides being one of the greatest scholars in Europe—he was master of fifteen languages and his knowledge of patristic theology was unrivalled—he was a celebrated preacher, a courtier, and a wit, though he is best known to-day by his *Preces Privatae*, or a collection of his private prayers made after his death, which have been an inexhaustible quarry for compilers of books of devotion ever since they were translated by John Henry Newman in 1850. Conspicuous by his talents, his position, and his reputation for piety, his example attracted great attention. He was in request as a confessor. At least, we are told that 'He was deeply seen in all cases of conscience and in that respect was much sought after by many.' He was known to retain in his chapel much of the old Catholic ceremonial, but he made no attempt to force it on others. 'He was content to enjoy, without enjoining.'

However unpopular his views were with the Puritans, he was never attacked on the ground that they were inconsistent with the Prayer-book.

William Laud (1573–1645).—Bishop successively of St. David's (1621), of Bath and Wells (1626), London (1628) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1633), he was chief ecclesiastical adviser to Charles I from his accession until the outbreak of the Civil War. He was

[1] E. Vincent, *The Scientific Idea in Religious Thought*.

the last Archbishop of Canterbury to make a serious attempt to enforce conformity to the Prayer-book throughout his province. Though a man of learning and a patron of scholars, he was also an administrator of extraordinary diligence and energy. His Visitation Articles give some idea of his aims, and the annual report which he furnished to the King of the state of the Church in his province give some idea of the measure of his success.

His ceremonial demands are surprisingly modest: 'Whether have you in your church or chapel all things requisite for the Common Prayer and due administration of the sacraments, namely a fair Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, the Book of Homilies, a font of stone set up in the ancient usual place, a decent communion table standing upon a frame with a carpet of silk or some other seemly stuff, to be always there in the time of divine service, and a fair linen cloth to lay thereon at the time of communion, a fair communion cup with a cover of silver, a flagon or stoup of silver or pewter to contain the wine upon the communion table, a decent pulpit, with a cloth or cushion for the same, a convenient seat to read service in, a comely large surplice. . . .

'Whether is the communion table placed in such sort within the chancel or church, as that the greatest number of parishioners may most conveniently receive? And whether in time of divine service, or at any other time, it be conveniently used, as by sitting, leaning, throwing hats or writing thereon, and whether the parishioners make any assembly thereat, which is not agreeable to the holy end for which it was ordained or is it abused to any other profane end?

'Doth any keep school in the chancel or church by which means that holy place and the communion table are many ways profaned and the windows broken?

'Whether your church, chapel, chancel or churchyard be kept in good reparations, as well within as without, whether any profanation be or have been used in them by fighting, brawling, gaming and playing by men and boys, or by any other means, or whether any man encroached upon them?

'Is the whole consecrated ground kept free from swine and all other nastiness?'

Concerning the Minister.—The churchwardens and sidesmen are asked 'whether divine service be said in your church by your minister, distinctly and reverently upon Sundays, and such holy days as are appointed to be observed by the book of common prayer and upon Wednesdays and Fridays, at usual and convenient times. . . .

'Whether doth your minister solemnly give warning to his parishioners for the holy communion, and for all holy days and fasting days; and whether he doth minister the communion so often . . . that every parishioner may receive three times a year; whether on Sundays or holy days he catechises the youth and ignorant persons.'

In the Archbishop's reports, many of the irregularities reported were not 'ritual' cases at all. In the Bristol diocese in 1635, the bishop complained that 'Monuments even of obscure and mean persons are grown very common in those parts and prejudicial both to the walls and pillars, which the bishop opposes as much as fairly as he can, but all is too little.' There were complaints that 'the churchyards are annoyed and profaned.' At St. Edmundsbury, a common ale-house stood in the middle of the churchyard; 'the like abuses by ale-houses, back-doors and throwing out of filth, with something else not fit to be related here, are found at Bungay.' In the churchyard of Ashford in Kent, 'a butcher's slaughter-house was set up, to the great annoyance of the place, which was ordered to be closed.'

In London, in 1637, twenty-five ministers had been convented for some nonconformities and five for excess in drinking. In Lincoln (1636), there were 'a great number of very poor and miserable vicarages and curateships in many parts of this large diocese, which are almost past all cure and hope of help.' This was an evil Laud found prevalent in all dioceses. 'It is the general grievance of the poor vicars, that their stipends are scarce able to feed and clothe them.' The worst diocese for nonconformity was Norwich. Yet the Bishop reported that 'though there are about 1500 clergymen in that diocese and many disorders, and yet there are not thirty excommunicated or suspended; whereof some are for contumacy and will not yet submit; some for obstinate denial to publish your majesty's declaration; and some for contemning all the orders and rites of the Church and intruding themselves without license from the ordinary for many years together' (1636). But in 1634, in the huge diocese of Lincoln, the Bishop said he only knew of one 'unconformable' man, while the Bishop of Bath and Wells said he did not know of any.

Nor was Laud such a martinet as is sometimes thought. In the diocese of Lincoln there were several instances of people refusing to come up to the communion rails to receive, and the Bishop asked for directions. Laud gave it as his opinion that 'in this particular the people will best be won by the decency of the thing itself.'

The impression given is of a diligent administrator doing his best to redress abuses and irregularities, but proceeding by fatherly admonition and advice, and only using coercion when persuasion proved useless. The majority seem to have conformed. The most obstinate were convented to the High Commission Court and if still obdurate deprived. Many left the country for Holland or America. Of one such voluntary exile there is written in the margin of Laud's report, ' Let him go, we are well rid of him. C.R.' The Separatists were treated more harshly. In the report for 1637, Laud complained that ' about Ashford in Kent, the Separatists continue to hold their conventicles, notwithstanding the excommunication of so many of them as have been discovered. They are all of the poorer sort and very simple, so that I am utterly to seek what to do with them. Two or three of their principal ring-leaders have long been in prison.' The others do not, however, appear to have been molested.

His own use was not extravagant, even if we accept the account of it given by his opponents.

One of the witnesses at the trial said that he had seen in the royal chapel at Whitehall ' not only tapers and candlesticks standing, but likewise burning in the daytime on the altar.' . . . ' He likewise,' according to Prynne, ' introduced gaudy Romish copes into his chapel (never used in any of his Protestant predecessors' times) wherein his chaplains usually consecrated and celebrated the sacrament there.' He ' brought in standing up at every recital of Glory be to the Father, etc., after every Psalm.' This is interesting as showing that it was customary to sit during the Psalms. It was also objected that ' he constantly used bowing to the altar at his ingress and egress and approaches to the altar.' A dossal with a crucifix embroidered on it which was hung in the chapel at Whitehall in Passion Week also gave the Puritans great offence. Prynne called it ' This most scandalous idol.'

In his own chapel the Puritan Prynne says, ' He altered the ancient communion-table, standing with the ends east and west, some distance from the wall table-wise . . . without any rail about it, into a new altar placed altar-wise against the wall, with the ends north and south, edged in with a new costly rail. . . . Upon this altar he had much superstitious Roman furniture, never used in his predecessors' days, as namely, two great silver candlesticks, with tapers in them, besides basins, and other silver vessels (with a costly Common Prayer-book standing on the altar which some say had a crucifix on the bosses) with the picture of Jesus Christ receiving

his last supper with his disciples on a piece of Arras hanging just behind the midst of the altar, and a crucifix in the window directly over it.' [1]

Laud was accused by his enemies of Romanism. Yet his controversy with Fisher, the Jesuit, remains as one of the standing defences of the Church of England against Rome. It is true that he was twice offered a cardinal's hat, but his answer was, 'that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.' [2]

The Puritans objected as much to Laud's Arminianism as to his alleged Romanism, and were ready, as always, to invoke Parliament to order the Church to their liking. In an address to Parliament Prynne stated: 'Parliament hath an ancient genuine just and lawful prerogative to establish true religion in our church. . . . Go therefore,' he apostrophised, 'ye Christian heroes and valiant worthies of the Lord to vindicate the Cause and establish the doctrines of our Church.' Descending to details, he wished Parliament, among other things, 'to lop off those putrid, gangrened, festered and contagious members' . . . 'to inhibit the publishing of Popish and Arminian books . . . to take special care that the Universities, the very nurseries and seed-plots of our Church, be defecated and purged from Popish and Arminian doctrines.' [3]

Break-down of Anglicanism.—When the famous Long Parliament met in November 1640, it was plain that the King's attempt to rule without Parliament had broken down and that Charles I could no longer protect the Church and bishops from the Presbyterians in the House of Commons. Laud and eleven other bishops were imprisoned and impeached, though Laud alone was brought to the scaffold. The Bill of Attainder by which he was condemned was not passed until January 4, 1645, and on the same day was enacted a Bill for setting up a Directory of Public Worship instead of the Prayer-book. 'And so the Service Book and the Archbishop died both together.' It is significant that the six peers who alone voted for his condemnation were all Presbyterians.

There were personal and political reasons, as well as religious, to account for Laud's death. He was a disciplinarian and had 'a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself and saw to it that the discipline of the Church should be felt by the mightiest as well as the meanest.' Not only were 'unconformable' clergy summoned

[1] Prynne, *Canterburie's Doom.* [2] *Autobiography.*
[3] *A brief survay and censure of Cozens, his couzening devotions.*

to the High Commission Court but the immoral laity. He was a member of the unpopular Star Chamber Court and was rightly regarded as an aider and abettor of Charles I's political theories. Nevertheless, what brought him to the block was that he was too formidable a champion of the Church and Prayer-book and too formidable an opponent of Presbyterianism to be suffered to live. He was accused of introducing innovations in religion as he was also accused of endeavouring to bring in Popery. Both charges were groundless. His real crime was 'labouring to keep a uniformity in the external service of God according to the doctrine and discipline of this Church.'[1] Charles also gave his life for the Church and, whatever his failings were, this should be remembered in his favour. Bishop Creighton said of him, 'Had Charles been willing to abandon the Church and give up episcopacy, he might have saved his throne and his life. But on this point Charles stood firm; for this he died and by dying saved it for the future.'

XII

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

As early as 1525, the Scottish Parliament had passed a law forbidding the importation of Lutheran books. Three years later Patrick Hamilton was burnt at St. Andrew's for professing Lutheran opinions, the first article in his accusation being the denial of the freedom of the will. But 'the reek of Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon,'[2] and his opinions did not die with him. George Wishart, after visiting England and the Continent, preached in Scotland for two years before being burnt at St. Andrew's in 1546. His death made a stir and attracted attention to the new opinions, which had not yet become popular. Wishart himself, after preaching at Haddington just before his arrest, complained bitterly that less than a hundred people had come to hear him, whereas 'at a vain clerk-play there would have been two or three thousand.' But though Wishart may have been the Stephen of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox was to be its Paul.

Knox was born at Haddington in 1505, and educated at Glasgow University. He was ordained priest and for some years gained a livelihood as a tutor. At the age of forty he became a disciple of Wishart and carried a sword before him when he preached, an

[1] *The Private Devotions of Dr. William Laud*, p. 320.

[2] Knox, *History of Reformation*, i. 15.

appropriate symbol of his own militancy. He might have shared the fate of his master, but Wishart dismissed him the day before he was arrested. 'Nay,' said Wishart, when Knox wished to go with him, 'return to thy bairns (pupils) and God bless you; one is sufficient for a sacrifice.'

Knox after an interval came to England (1549), became a royal chaplain, a propagandist preacher in high favour with the Government, and was offered a bishopric. He refused, objecting to the Prayer-book of 1552, as being full of 'diabolical inventions and dregs of papistry.'[1] On the death of Edward VI he went to the Continent, quarrelled with the party of exiles at Frankfort, who wished to use the English Prayer-book, and being worsted in the contest retired to Geneva, where he ministered to the English congregation, and wrote 'The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment (rule) of Women,' a tract directed against Queen Mary of England, but as bitterly resented by Elizabeth. In it he asserted that 'to promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm is repugnant to nature, contrary to God, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.' Returning to Scotland in 1559 he found Mary of Guise, the Queen Mother, with difficulty maintaining her authority and the Catholic religion with the help of a French army. His arrival supplied the reforming movement with a leader. One of Elizabeth's agents who was watching events wrote: 'Since the arrival of Knox a great number of the nobility with a multitude of others repaired to the said Knox to Dundee where he and others doth continually preach.' The preaching was inflammatory and attended with the natural results. Monasteries were pulled down, churches desecrated and 'idols' burnt. It was in allusion to these excesses that John Wesley exclaimed at Aberbrothock: 'God deliver us from reforming mobs.'

Knox was equally busy in the political field, and was the chief agent and spokesman of the Protestant nobles in their negotiations with Elizabeth, with a view to getting English help in order to cope with the French army. These negotiations were successful and resulted in the Treaty of Edinburgh, by which both French and English troops were to leave Scotland, thus leaving the Lords of the Congregation, as the chief men among the Reformers were called, as the dominant party in the country.

As a result the Scottish Parliament, which met in August 1560, accepted a Calvinistic Confession of Faith, drawn up by Knox and

[1] Knox, *History of Reformation*, vi. 12.

some others, as the doctrinal standard of the Church, repudiated the jurisdiction of the Pope, abolished 'idolatry,' and made it a penal offence to hear or say mass. In 1564 it sanctioned 'The Book of Common Order,' a directory rather than a service book, which remained the official guide in public worship until superseded by the Westminster 'Directory' in 1646. During prayer and communion the people were to sit. No festivals were to be observed. *Ex tempore* prayer was allowed. 'Or in such like words,' was appended to many of the prayers.

A 'Book of Discipline' was also drawn up by Knox and a small committee in 1560, but rejected by the Privy Council as 'a devout imagination.' Many leading lay reformers, however, formally accepted it and it was largely adopted in practice. Even the Lord Treasurer of Scotland did open penance for adultery.

Offences were divided into civil and ecclesiastical. Civil offences were blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury and other capital crimes, the perpetrators of which 'ought to be taken away by the civil sword.' Ecclesiastical offences were drunkenness, excess in eating or drinking or apparel, fornication, oppressing of the poor by exactions, deceit in buying or selling by wrong measures, wanton words, and licentious living. All such were amenable to ecclesiastical censure. The guilty person had to do penance. Those who refused to submit to penance were excommunicated, so that no one out of his own family was allowed to have any communication with him, in eating or drinking, buying or selling, or bare salutation. They were, in fact, outlawed. All were to be subject to the discipline, 'as well the rulers as they that are ruled.'

The laying on of hands in ordination was omitted. 'Other ceremony than the public approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister that the person there presented is appointed to serve the Church we cannot approve; for albeit the Apostles used imposition of hands yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary.'

Early in 1561 an Act was passed ordering the demolition of such monasteries as survived. According to Spottiswoode (1565–1639), Archbishop of St. Andrews: 'Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all the parts of the realm. . . . No difference was made, but all the churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels and whatsoever else men could make fain of, as timber, lead and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared.

The registers of the church and the bibliotheques were cast into the fire.'

Causes of Success.—Apart from any question of intrinsic superiority or national predilection, there were three causes which helped to bring about this speedy triumph.

Moral.—There was no considerable body in the country that loved the old religion or cared to defend it. The morality of the bishops and high ecclesiastics was modelled on that of Pope Alexander VI. Cardinal Beaton, very much in the manner of that Pope, made a journey to Angus, shortly before his murder, in order to attend the marriage of his eldest daughter with the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford. A natural son of James IV, who fell at Flodden at the age of twenty, had already been Archbishop of St. Andrews for seven years. The result was that in its hour of need the Church was very ill provided with defenders. If they believed in their own case they could not defend it. When Knox blew his ram's horn, the walls of Jericho fell because none of its defenders could blow a counter-blast. When it was put to the vote in Parliament, whether the Protestant Confession should be adopted, it was read over article by article, but none of its doctrinal statements were called in question. The Earl Marischall declared : 'Seeing that my Lords the Bishops, who for their learning, care, and for their zeal that they should bear to the verity, would as I suppose gainsay anything that directly impugns the verity of God ; seeing I say that my Lords the Bishops here speak nothing contrary of the doctrine professed I cannot but hold it to be the very truth of God.' [1]

Political and Social.—The second cause was the rapacity of the Scottish nobles, of whom a Scots historian has lately written : 'Their prime foes were the King and the Church, and they cast longing eyes at the fat abbeys and the rich glebes of their clerical rivals. The Reformation gave them their chance. Two-thirds of the Church plunder fell into their hands, and their Protestantism grew with their self-interest. Knox complained, not without reason, that in all the Lords of the Congregation there was not one righteous man. A few, no doubt, were dogmatic enthusiasts, but the majority cared as little for the difference between priest and minister as for the Ten Commandments.' [2]

When James V died in 1542 his only child was a daughter five days old, known to history as Mary Queen of Scots. During the

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii. 86.
[2] Buchan, *The Marquis of Montrose*.

minority her mother was Regent, and being a Guise, looked to the Scottish bishops and to France for help against the turbulent nobles. They in their turn looked to the Protestant leaders and to England, besides casting covetous eyes on the lands of the Church. When they had reduced crown and bishops to impotence and had secured their plunder, they showed a sad falling off in zeal and were repeatedly denounced by Knox. The year before his death, when too sick to attend the General Assembly, he wrote to implore the members 'to gainstand the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Kirk.' Again, a few weeks before he died, he wrote that the Reforming nobles were 'as little repenting the troubling and oppressing of the poor Kirk of God as ever they did. For if they can have the Kirklands to be annexed to their houses they appear to take no more care of the instruction of the ignorant and of the feeding of the flock of Christ than ever did the Papists whom we have condemned and yet are worse ourselves in that behalf.' [1]

The Personality of John Knox.—The third cause was John Knox himself. If ever the hour and the man struck together it was when he returned to Scotland in 1559. He possessed a sublime confidence in himself, as a messenger sent by God and in his message. He was not to be turned aside by fear or favour, and in a corrupt and greedy age he showed himself disinterested and sincere. His energy and labours were apostolic. He was able to inspire worldly nobles with respect for his sagacity in practical affairs, as well as sway the mob with his eloquence. His countrymen have taken him to their hearts as a quasi-patron saint, possibly because he typifies for them the Lowland quality of dourness.

For dour he certainly was. When in 1561, after an absence of twelve years from her native country, Mary Queen of Scots, a girl of nineteen but already a widow, landed at Leith, the Scots people gave her a warm welcome and her charm won over many of the nobles, but Knox was obdurate. Though by no means unsusceptible to female charms,[2] he steeled himself against her, feeling himself called to play the part of Elijah to her Jezebel. 'There is not one,' wrote Randolph, the English agent, 'that doth absent himself or that is not well taken with for the first face, saving John Knox that thundereth out of the pulpit and I fear nothing so much that one day he will mar all. He ruleth the roost and of him all men stand in fear.'[3]

[1] Knox, *Letters*, vi. 605, 617.

[2] At least he married (1) at the age of 48, Marjory Bowes, aged not much over 20, and (2) when in his 60th year, Margaret Stewart, aged 16.

[3] Knox, *Letters*, vi. 129.

A year later he wrote : ' He is so full of mistrust in all her doings, words, and sayings, as though he were either of God's privy council, that he knew how He had determined of her from the beginning, or that he did know the secrets of her heart so well that neither she did or could have for ever one good thought of God or of his true religion.' [1] From the pulpit he denounced her idolatry, her dancing and her husband, ' the government of wicked princes and tyrants who were sent to plague people for their sins and that for the same reason God set boys and women over them ; and that God had justly punished Ahab, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel,' words which everyone took to be pointed at Mary and her consort. The murder of Beaton was to him ' the godly act of James Melvine.' His complicity in the murder of Rizzio is unproven, but he has himself recorded his approval of the deed : ' That great disgrace of the commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave, Davie, was justly punished.' It was a ' just act and worthy of all praise.' He clamoured for the blood of Mary before and after her flight, and when she was a prisoner in England was ready to be a party to Cecil's plan of having her returned to Scotland to be executed or quietly put out of the way. He considered that the troubles of Scotland after her flight were because her life had not been taken when the preachers clamoured for her blood ; ' that blood was not punished when He by his servants publicly craved justice according to his law.'

He recorded as his deliberate opinion that idolatry, that is, the mass, ' ought not only to be suppressed, but that the idolator ought to die the death, unless we will accuse God ' [2] He publicly lamented as a sin that he had not compassed the death of those who assisted at the Holyrood Mass at the beginning of Mary's reign,[3] instead of which ' I travailed rather to mitigate, even to slacken that fervency that God had kindled in others than to animate and encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's will ; whereunto I unfeignedly acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly and from the bottom of my heart do ask of my God grace and pardon, for that I did not what in me lay to have suppressed that idol from the beginning.'

The Final Establishment of Presbyterianism.—Knox died in 1572. His mantle fell on Andrew Melville, a disciple of Beza, who returned from Geneva in 1575. He put the roof on the Presbyterian system of which Knox had laid the foundation and built the walls. It was through him that the second ' Book of

[1] Knox, *Letters*, vi. 147. [2] *History of Reformation*, p. 311. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

Discipline' was accepted by the General Assembly in 1578 and by Parliament in 1592.

In this book two points must be noted: (1) The clear distinction between Church and State. The Church has power granted by Christ to be exercised by the office-bearers. This power is the Power of the Keys and is to be distinguished carefully from the power of the sword. It was to be exercised by the word of the preacher and by the discipline of excommunication, which sentence, when given, it was the duty of the civil sword to follow with civil penalties. These penalties had followed even before 1582. The Kirk Session of Perth had sentenced offenders to fines, 'to stand in irons two hours,' to be shaved and undergo imprisonment, to be banished the town. Further, the town magistrates of Perth had been threatened (1585) with excommunication for not carrying out the sentence of the Kirk Session on one Thomas Smith. The magistrates submitted and Thomas Smith was sentenced to be 'warded, shaved, and ducked.' (2) The complete Presbyterian framework of government was set up. The Kirk Session of the parish, consisting of the minister, assisted by elected elders and deacons, was the unit. Then came the Presbytery, consisting of the minister and one elder from each parish for an aggregate of parishes. Over the Presbytery was the Synod for a number of presbyteries; finally the General Assembly, consisting of elected ministers and elders.

This Act of 1592 represents the climax of the first establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. But it may be doubted if the reforms had gone very deep. James Melville, nephew of Andrew, wrote in 1584: 'By the insatiable sacrilegious avarice of earls, lords and gentlemen, the Kirk, Schools and Poor are spoiled of that which should sustain them. The material Kirks lie like sheep and neat-folds rather than places of Christian congregations to assemble into. The parishioners will have a couple of score of herds for their cattle, but scarce a pastor to feed three thousand of their souls. Whereof comes fearful darkness of ignorance, superstition and idolatry, with innumerable filthy and execrable sins which procure God's just vengeance upon the whole land. . . . The poor, partly for want of their own patrimony, and partly for yearly increasing of their number, by wrong and oppression goes through the country in swarms, worse nor Turks or Infidels, godless and lawless, without marriage, baptism or knowledge of duty to God or men.'[1]

The First Episcopacy.—James VI (James I of England)

[1] James Melville, *Autobiography and Diary*, i. 189.

(1566–1625) was by conviction, predilection and policy an Episcopalian. He believed Episcopacy to be primitive and scriptural, he found the Presbyterian ministers and the nobles the two chief obstacles to the establishment of a strong government, and he thought their criticism of his own and his ministers' conduct both offensive and seditious. It cost him pains and time, but at last, in 1610 at Glasgow the General Assembly agreed to receive bishops. Accordingly three ministers went to London and were there consecrated *per saltum*. But though bishops were restored, much of the Presbyterian organisation was retained. The Kirk Session and the Presbytery met as before, though the bishop presided, if present, and its consent was required for all sentences of excommunication. The Diocesan Synod was to meet twice a year. 'The bishops shall be subject in all things concerning their life, conversation, office and benefice to the censure of the General Assembly.' There is, however, some uncertainty about this last provision as the official records have not survived.

The change was accepted peacefully. 'James had the bulk of sensible people with him. Presbyterianism had shown itself unable to make any adequate stand on behalf of the Church's interests as against the predatory nobles, or to cope with the moral obliquity of the population. Episcopacy meant to all the hope of order and peace.'[1] It was also supported by the massive learning of 'the Aberdeen doctors,' as the professors of Aberdeen were called in compliment to their learning, and by the personalities of bishops like Spottiswoode and Patrick Forbes who 'tower in stature above all the Melvilles or Calderwoods of the Scottish Reformation.'[2]

Thus James I, the favourite butt of historians, effected the most significant achievement in the way of reunion since the Reformation, in fact the only successful reunion to this day between an episcopal and a non-episcopal body.

The Perth Articles.—In the Perth Articles (1618) the General Assembly agreed to kneeling at the communion, confirmation by a bishop, the observance of the great festivals and the lawfulness of private baptism and communion. These Articles were not universally popular, and the protesting minority carried on a good deal of propaganda, not without success, especially in Fife and in the western counties. Still, on the whole, they were accepted peacefully. The Perth Kirk Session resolved unanimously (1619) that 'the ministers give the bread and wine with their own hands to the communicants

[1] E. G. Selwyn, *The First Book of the Irenicum*. [2] *Ibid.*

and that they be humbled on their knees and reverently receive it.' It had anticipated the Article ordering the observance of feasts by ordering that the communion 'be celebrated on the ninth and sixteenth of April next to come,' the ninth being Easter Day, the minister alone dissenting. But for the folly of Charles I and Laud, the Church of Scotland might have remained to give an example to the world of a constitutional episcopal church.

Laud's Liturgy.—When Charles I, accompanied by Laud, paid his first visit to Scotland in 1633, he was distressed by the services 'and did tax the nakedness thereof in divers respects, but chiefly for our want of a Liturgy, whereby he thought all might be helped.'[1] The older Scottish bishops advised him not to embark on a Liturgy, as feeling was still high on account of the Perth Articles. Others who were consulted pressed hard for it, assuring him there would be no danger. This forward policy, warmly seconded by Laud, agreeing with his own inclinations the King determined to follow. The Scottish bishops were ordered to prepare a Liturgy, which they did. It received the nickname of *Laud's Liturgy*, but it was the work, not of Laud but of the Scottish bishops, and one of which they had no cause to be ashamed.

Nevertheless, the attempt was foredoomed to failure. The real power in Scotland lay with the nobles, not the Crown. The organ for stirring public opinion was the pulpit, and the masses were ready to respond to a cry of either *No Popery*, or *Hands off Scotland*. The nobles, never a very sure prop for the throne, were both injured and apprehensive: injured because they had recently been deprived of the tithes, which they had seized at the Reformation and which Charles I had regained for the parish clergy: apprehensive because he was credited with contemplating the restoration of grants of church land made during his father's minority. The Presbyterian ministers were angry and alarmed. Robert Baillie wrote: 'Our main fear to have our religion lost, our throats cutted, our poor country made an English province to be disposed upon forever hereafter at the will of a Bishop of Canterbury.'[2] Even churchmen well-disposed to the bishops were affronted because the Liturgy was to be imposed by the authority of the King and Council. Guthrie, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, 'thought it a very sad matter that a Liturgy should be imposed on the Church without the knowledge and consent of the Church.'[3]

Charles, therefore, with the most conscientious motives, had

[1] Guthrie, *Memoirs*, p. 16. [2] Baillie's *Letters*, i. 66. [3] Guthrie, p. 19.

succeeded in touching one of the proudest nations of Europe in its four most sensitive spots—its national pride, its sense of independence, its religious predilections and its pocket. However excellent the book, its introduction at this moment was disastrous. A *No Popery* agitation at once began. 'There arose a clamour against them—that religion was undermined by a conspiracy betwixt the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops and that they, being suborned by him, were bringing in the mass-book.' The first reading of the service at Edinburgh led to riots by women, who were prominent throughout these troubles as rioters. 'No sooner was the service begun but a multitude of wives and serving-women in the several churches, rose in a tumultuous way and having prefaced awaile with despiteful exclamations threw the stools they sat on at the preachers and thereafter invaded them more nearly and strove to pull them from their pulpits.'[1] These disturbances were not, however, impromptu, but had been carefully organised. A National Covenant was drawn up by which the subscribers bound themselves, among other things, to abhor all innovations in religion and to stand by one another in defence of the reformed religion. This was signed willingly or by compulsion by most people in the south. The clergy who refused were deprived and laymen were excommunicated.

The proceedings of the General Assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638 aroused intense interest and excitement. An unsuccessful attempt was made to exclude non-members from its meetings. The Presbyterian noblemen came 'backed with great numbers of friends and vassals.' Charles, through his High Commissioner, in vain offered concessions. The Presbyterian majority was in no mood for compromise. Episcopacy was abolished, the Perth Articles abrogated, and the National Covenant enforced on pain of excommunication. The bishops who had declined to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Assembly were deposed and conditionally excommunicated. These spiritual censures were followed by an appeal to arms. An army was raised and the great Montrose inflicted a defeat on the royal forces, whereby, according to one writer, he 'did more prejudice to the King's cause than all his activity and many wonderful victories afterwards could or did retrieve.'[2]

When during the Civil War in 1643 the King's forces had the best of it, the English Parliament sent commissioners to Scotland to treat for help. The outcome was the Solemn League and Covenant, drawn up by commissioners of the National Assembly and intended

[1] Guthrie, *op. cit.* [2] Skinner, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii. 340.

to be entered into by both nations. The signatories bound themselves, among other things, to preserve the reformed religion in Scotland, to reform religion in England and Ireland, to bring the Churches of the three kingdoms to agreement, to extirpate popery and prelacy. In Scotland those who refused to swear were to be excommunicated and to be 'punished as enemies to religion, his Majesty's honour, and the peace of these kingdoms, and to have their goods and rents confiscated,' besides being cited to the next Parliament to receive further punishment. The Episcopal Party suffered severely. Most of the bishops and many others went abroad to avoid persecution. Thomas Burnet, father of Bishop Burnet of Salisbury, wrote to his brother-in-law Johnstone of Warristone, one of the leading Covenanters, 'God forgive your bloody and cruel practices, who have not known and will not know the way of peace.' [1]

The Solemn League and Covenant was, in fact, an undertaking to establish Presbyterianism in both countries by force of arms. Montrose seceded from the Covenanters in consequence, and won a series of brilliant but ultimately barren victories and ended his life on the gallows in Edinburgh. His followers were treated with scant mercy. At the execution of Alexander Ogilvie, a boy of eighteen, David Dick, a Presbyterian minister, remarked, 'The wark goes bonnily on.' [2]

When Charles I was beheaded, his son was brought over to Scotland and crowned king at the price of signing the Covenant. Scotland was invaded by Oliver Cromwell in 1651, and remained, like the sister kingdom, under the heel of his army until the Restoration. Even the General Assembly was broken up by an English soldier and not allowed to meet again. When it met at Edinburgh in 1653, a Colonel Cotterel 'broke in upon them and mounting upon a bench, made a proclamation, "That no judicature ought to sit, which had not authority from the Parliament of England." This done, he ordered them to retire and guarded them off until they were past the west port.' [3]

XIII

PURITAN SUPREMACY

The Long Parliament

From the meeting of the famous Long Parliament in November 1640 until the Restoration in 1660, Puritanism was supreme in England. This supremacy was due to a combination of religious

[1] Hailes, *Memorials and Letters relating to the Reign of Charles I.*
[2] Guthrie, *op. cit.*
[3] Skinner, *op. cit.*, ii. 431.

and political causes. 'One party,' wrote Baxter, 'made no great matter of the alteration in the Church, but said "That if Parliaments are once down and property gone and arbitrary governments set up and law subjected to the prince's will then all were slaves, and this they reckoned intolerable. . . . The other sort were the more religious men who were also sensible of these things but were much more affected with the interest of religion. These most inveighed against Innovations in the Church, the bowing to altars, the Book for Sports on Sundays, the Casting out Ministers, the High-Commission Court, the Putting down Lectures and afternoon sermons and expositions on the Lord's Days; with other such things, which they thought of greater weight than ship-money."'[1]

The majority, though disliking Laud and what they called his innovations, had no desire to destroy the Church and substitute Presbyterianism. They were driven into this corner by the force of circumstances.

(1) They had to enlist popular support against the King. The *No Popery* cry was the most effective cry and the non-conforming clergy the most efficient propagandists. Besides which, the Presbyterians had a much clearer view of the theological importance of bishops than had their supporters. Clarendon complained that many of these would not wait for the divisions in January 1641, when the question of bishops was being debated in committee, and quotes Lord Falkland as saying, 'They who hated bishops hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them did not love them so well as their dinner.'

(2) The Scottish influence. A Scots army was in England when the Long Parliament met, and the commissioners who were in London to treat for its withdrawal 'discovered in all companies that it was impossible for a firm peace to be preserved between the nations if bishops were not taken away.'[2] Nevertheless, it was not until after the war had begun and in face of Royalist successes, that Pym persuaded Parliament to accept Presbyterianism as the price of Scottish aid. He said that the Church was like a sick man with a bottle of medicine and an enemy approaching with a sword. It must cast away its medicine (a modified Episcopacy) and attack its enemy with the sword, or would infallibly be destroyed.[3]

The early activities of the Puritans were mainly destructive. This constituted part of their strength, as on acts of destruction nearly all could agree. Laud and eleven other bishops were arrested;

[1] Calamy, *Abridgement of Baxter's History of his Life, etc.*
[2] Clarendon, *History of Great Rebellion.* [3] *D.N.B.*

churches were ordered to be defaced. Several orders were made to this effect, indicating a reluctance on the part of parishioners to carry out the order. As early as January 1641 all images, altars, tables turned altar-ways, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and relics of idolatry were ordered to be demolished, taken away and defaced. A later order added to the list 'copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, fonts and organs.' [1]

In order to replace the Prayer-book, an Assembly of Divines, known to history as the Westminster Assembly, was appointed, to give advice and counsel on ecclesiastical matters. The Assembly produced a form of prayer, called *The Directory for Public Worship*, and to please the Scots Commissioners, drew up a Solemn League and Covenant, which was ordered by Parliament to be taken by all men of eighteen and upwards under heavy penalties.

On January 10, 1645, the use of the Prayer-book was prohibited, whether in a church or private house, by a cleric or lay person, the third offence incurring a penalty 'of one whole year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize.' The observance of holy days was forbidden, Christmas Day coming in for a special share of dislike; in 1644 it was observed as a fast, whereupon Mr. Edmund Calamy, preaching to the House of Commons, remarked: 'This day God by a Providence hath buried this Festival in a fast, and I hope it never will rise again.'

The ejection of the clergy from their livings began as early as December 1640, when a Committee for Scandalous Ministers was appointed, whose duty it was to examine and eject clergy guilty of laxity, Royalist views in politics, or superstitious views in religion. Other committees of the same kind were appointed, with the result that all the bishops and many clergy were ejected. The numbers of the clergy thus dispossessed it is impossible to calculate exactly. John Walker, Rector of St. Mary the More, Exeter, published a book in 1707 on 'The Sufferings of the Clergy,' and gave the names of two thousand, but his list does not profess to be complete. Mr. Tatham puts the number at about 3000.[2]

Parties among Puritans

Presbyterians.—Though all could join in measures of destruction, the only religious body of any weight to bring forward constructive proposals was the Presbyterian. The majority of non-conforming

[1] Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 25. [2] *Puritans in Power.*

clergy and laity of the Church, besides many of those who conformed, were Presbyterian, if not Presbyterians. They looked on the Elizabethan settlement as a barely tolerable halting-place between Rome and Geneva, and encouraged by the active assistance of their Scottish brethren, spared no effort to substitute Presbyterianism for Episcopacy.

They were at first successful. *The Directory* was a service book drawn up on Presbyterian lines. The Solemn League and Covenant pledged the signatories to secure the reformation of religion in England on the model of the 'best reformed churches,' meaning Scotland and Geneva. The conference at Uxbridge between the King and Parliament in 1644 broke down, because Charles would not agree to the establishment of Presbyterianism. In 1653, after his death, Presbyterianism was legally established and remained so until 1660. Nevertheless, it does not appear that this system was ever set up except in Lancashire and London. It was a foreign plant, an exotic on English soil. It was disliked not only by the Church, but also by the growing body of Independents and other Separatists on theological grounds, while its discipline was hateful to nearly all. In this, the English differed from the Scots, who exchanged one clerical dominion for another, the dominion of the Pope and bishops for that of the Presbytery. The point was freely debated in the Westminster Assembly. In the Scottish Church ecclesiastical censures were followed by temporal penalties. The majority of the English Presbyterian ministers in the Assembly, urged on by the Scotch commissioners, wished for a similar constitution and for 'binding the magistrate to confiscate or imprison men merely because they were excommunicate,' but Parliament, even though Presbyterian, would have none of it, and kept the coercive power in its hands, 'not suffering them to carry the keys at their girdle,' and entrusted the power of excommunication to a committee 'of eminent persons of Parliament.' [1]

Separatists or Protestant Dissenters.—Sharply distinguished from the Presbyterians were the various groups of Separatists or Sectaries, as they were called, of whom the Independents were the most important. Differing widely among one another, they had one tenet in common, that of *separation*, or the duty of separating from the Church, if cause of offence were given. They have their spiritual descendants in the Nonconformists of a later date. The Nonconformists of that day were churchmen who would not

[1] Fuller, iii. 469.

conform to the Prayer-book. Richard Baxter, a member of the Westminster Assembly, one of the leading Presbyterians of the day, said that all Separatists were imbued with the common spirit of 'unwarrantable separations, too much aggravating the faults of the Churches and Common People and Common Prayer and Ministry. They thought that whatever needed amendment required their obstinate *separation*.'

The Separatists had another principle in common. They followed the Anabaptists in exalting personal inspiration by the Spirit at the expense of rules, tradition, Scriptures and ordinances, as compared with Anglicans and Presbyterians alike. This tended to make their services more emotional, warmer, and more appealing to simple folk. Baxter, who served as a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, seems to have been well supported by the officers, but complains that Separatism spread like wild-fire among the comparatively unlearned rank and file. On one occasion he forestalled the Separatists by taking the place of a Separatist divine and by preaching to one of their congregations. He describes them as 'poor, well-meaning people who came in the simplicity of their hearts to be deceived.'

Presbyterianism never made this popular appeal. The Parliamentary army soon became permeated with Separatist doctrines. Cromwell himself was an Independent, and when after Naseby power passed from Parliament to the army, Presbyterianism ceased to be the ruling force in religion. If the Presbyterians must be held responsible for the death of Laud, the glory or infamy of the execution of Charles I belongs to the Separatists. Baxter says 'that the Protestants, particularly the Presbyterians, abhorred it and suffered greatly for opposing it, and that it was the act of Cromwell's army and the Sectaries.'

Though the Separatists, or most of them, professed toleration in religion as a principle, they did not extend it to the Church, and the march of the army was marked by the desecration of churches and the mockery of religious services. Cathedrals and churches were pillaged and profaned. In Lichfield Cathedral monuments were demolished, windows broken, records destroyed, horses stabled in the nave, a calf carried to the font and sprinkled with water in mockery of baptism, and a cat daily hunted through the building with dogs.

Of these Sectaries, as they were called, the most important were the *Independents* or *Congregationalists*. Fuller says they came between Presbyterianism and Brownism. Their main tenet was

that churches should not be subordinate, parochial to provincial and so on, but co-ordinate, without superiority, except the seniority of sisters. 'Thus the Church, formerly like a chain with links of dependency on one another, should hereafter become like a heap of rings, each entire in itself.' They also upheld the principle that the State ought not to interfere with spiritual concerns, and were therefore officially for toleration.

The Anabaptists of the Commonwealth differed little from the Independents, except by rejecting infant baptism.

The *Ranters*, Baxter says, 'made it their business to set up the Light of Nature under the name of Christ in man, and to dishonour and cry down the Church, Scriptures, ministry, worship and ordinances.' They were accused of *libertinism*, that is, of holding 'that God regardeth not the actions of the outward man, but of the heart.' [1]

The Quakers, like the Anabaptists and Ranters, were Inner Light men. 'They make the light that every man hath within him a sufficient rule.' They had at first a reputation for extravagance. Baxter says that 'One while several of them went naked through many chief towns and cities of the land as a prophetical act. Some of them having famished and drowned themselves in melancholy, others have undertaken by the power of the Spirit to raise them.' But he adds that William Penn had 'undertaken the reforming of the sect.'

The Behmenists were followers of Jacob Behmen. Their opinions were, according to the same authority, much like the Quakers', 'they being for the sufficiency of the Light of Nature and a dependence on revelations, etc., but they were fewer in number and of much greater meekness than the rest.'

Baxter declared the set-back that Puritanism received at the Restoration to be a judgment on the sins of the Separatists, and compares the Presbyterians to Christ crucified between two malefactors. 'The profane and formal persecutors on one hand, and the fanatic dividing Sectaries on the other.' [2]

Toleration.—The Commonwealth marked some advance in the theory of religious toleration, because for the first time it was professed as a distinctive doctrine by a religious body when in power. Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian had all agreed that a Christian State could tolerate only one religion, though they varied considerably in the degree to which they were prepared to carry

[1] Calamy, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*, i. 87.

coercion. In this last respect there had been a great advance in mildness. Elizabeth was mild compared to Mary. James I was no persecutor and, in spite of the Gunpowder Plot, incurred odium for not carrying out the penal laws more strictly, while, had Charles I been willing to persecute Roman Catholics as ferociously as the Puritans desired, he might have saved his life and his throne. The Independent representatives at the Westminster Assembly advocated toleration and provoked a storm of protest from the Presbyterians. Walker says that 'their divines made such loud outcries against toleration as filled the whole kingdom.' One of them published a book entitled *Toleration of soul-murder, for state establishing whereof damned souls in hell will curse men upon earth.* Baxter, when serving as a chaplain in the army, writes of the Independents with evident disapproval that 'Their most frequent and vehement disputes were for Liberty of Conscience as they called it; that is, that the civil magistrate had nothing to do in matters of religion by constraint or restraint, but every man might not only hold and believe, but preach and do in matters of religion what pleased him.'[1] Holding the view that each congregation was an independent entity, the Independents could not logically deny toleration.

Nevertheless, though the Independents demanded toleration as a principle, when it came to putting their doctrines into practice, they were little more tolerant than their predecessors. Cromwell's soldiers might argue for liberty of conscience, but when confronted with a form of religion they disliked were brutally intolerant.

The use of the Prayer-book was made penal and an Act of 1655, forbidding the clergy to teach, reduced many of them to great privations. 'This day,' wrote John Evelyn the Diarist (November 27, 1655), 'came forth the Protector's Edict, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any schools, in which he imitated the apostate Julian.' Nor was the edict a dead letter. On Christmas Day, Exeter Chapel was raided by soldiers during the celebration. 'As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar; but yet suffering us to finish the office of communion.' Many of the clergy were reduced to beggary. On December 23, 1658, Evelyn wrote: 'There was now a collection for persecuted and sequestered ministers of the Church of England, whereof divers are in prison. A sad day! The Church now in dens and caves of the earth.'

[1] Calamy, *op. cit.*

Quakers were treated with barbarity, and 3170 are said to have suffered during the Commonwealth. Reputed witches also suffered. About 1640 the Eastern Counties formed an association for the persecution of witches and appointed Matthew Hopkins as witch-finder. Cobbett says that during the next twenty years this man's activity led to the premature death of thousands by drowning and burning,'[1] but Cobbett is given to exaggeration.

In New England

The greatest achievement of the Puritans was the settlement of New England, where in a new world they redressed the theological balance of the old. Ever since 1606 Separatists had been leaving England and had taken refuge in Holland. But 'not wishing that their posterity should lose their interest in the English nation'[2] and for other reasons, a party of them decided to emigrate to America, and, after many adventures, 101 arrived at Cape Cod in the *Mayflower* in November 1620. Though nearly half died within six months, the survivors held on and left a noble record of persistence, self-control, and honourable dealing with one another and even with the Indians, of which any nation may be proud. Some were non-conforming members of the Church of England. Francis Higginson, when taking leave of England, said, 'We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions of it.'[3] Winthrop, the Governor of Massachusetts, said, 'We esteem it our honour to call the Church of England from whom we rise, our dear mother.' Those men were churchmen. So was John Harvard, the founder of Harvard College. But the majority were Separatists, men who wished on principle to separate not only from corruptions in the Church, but from a Church which tolerated corruptions, and Separatist—that is Independent or Congregational—principles prevailed, of which the essence is that each congregation is an independent brotherhood, bound together by a mutual covenant.

Further, the Church or congregation was the source of whatever external authority there was. Accordingly Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson, who arrived in Salem in 1629, were elected as pastor and teacher, respectively, after which, 'Mr. Higginson with three or four of the gravest members of the Church laid their hands

[1] *Celebrated Trials*, iii.
[2] *New England's Memorial.*
[3] Platner, *Religious History of New England.*

on Mr. Skelton, using prayer therewith. This being done there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson also.'[1] Both were ordained clergymen of the Church of England.

The community was organised on a theocratic basis. No distinction was made between sin and crime. The observance of Christmas Day was made penal. An ordinance of 1659 laid down that 'whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing of labour, feasting or any other way,'[2] should be fined. Among the crimes committed by a certain Morton not the least was that he and his friends set up a maypole, 'drinking and dancing about it like so many fairies.'

Toleration.—Though 'they had come into the wilderness to worship God in their own way,' they had no intention of extending this privilege to those who disagreed with them. No quarter was given to users of the Prayer-book, which is not altogether surprising, but it is strange to find that all deviations from the established Congregationalism, which rests on the principle of the lawfulness of dissent, were treated as rigorously. In 1637 Ann Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts after a formal trial on the change of *Antinomianism.* She held by the Inner Light and claimed to have received extraordinary revelations of the Holy Ghost, which she thought should supersede either the written word or the law of man. She is described as 'a woman of a haughty and fierce courage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue.'[3] She eventually settled in the Dutch colony and was killed by Indians.

Trouble next rose over the Anabaptists, or Baptists, who differed little from the Congregationalists, except by rejecting infant baptism. Unfortunately for them, their pioneer, Roger Williams, a Londoner and a born fighter, held unpopular political opinions, teaching that as America belonged to the Indians and not to the King of England, he had no right to grant the land nor the colonists the right to take an oath of allegiance. He carried Separatist principles to an extreme, as 'he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies.'[4] Banished from Massachusetts (1635), he founded the first Baptist Church at Providence, in what was afterwards Rhode Island. He is also famous as an early advocate of toleration. The first charge brought against him at Salem was for maintaining 'that there should

[1] Platner, *op. cit.*
[2] *Records of Massachusetts Bay.*
[3] Chandler, *American State Trials.*
[4] Morton, *New England's Memorial.*

be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience was persecution.'[1] Returning to England, he published in 1643 a tract in favour of toleration, called *The Bloudy tenent of Persecution*, which was answered by the Puritan Prynne, and by order of the Long Parliament burnt by the hangman. Williams, however, obtained a charter and founded the colony of Rhode Island in 1644, with the object of securing toleration. In Massachusetts severe laws were passed against Baptists, the punishments including imprisonment and whipping. In 1649 its government wrote to Plymouth to complain that at Seakunke in its jurisdiction 'thirteen or fourteen persons were rebaptised (a swift progress in one town), yet we hear not if any effectual restriction is intended.'[2] In 1651 Obadiah Holmes was publicly flogged, 'the man striking with all his strength with a three-corded whip, yea spitting on his hands three times.'[3] In 1666 Thomas Gold and Thomas Osborn, who had been in gaol over a year 'for their schismatical and irregular practises, were released on payment of fines.'[4] Charles II, however, interfered, and in 1681 the Court of Massachusetts informed him that 'the Anabaptists are now subject to no other penal statutes than those of the Congregational Way.'[5]

The Quakers were the most hardly dealt with, being accused of rejecting all civil authority. In 1656 every master of a ship landing a Quaker was to be fined £100, and every Quaker so landed to be severely whipped and sent to prison. A year later, everyone entertaining a Quaker was to be fined £2 for every hour's entertainment, while every Quaker 'that hath suffered the law here that shall presume to come into the jurisdiction' if a man, was to lose an ear, and if a woman, be severely whipped.[6] Nor were these Acts a dead letter. Three Quakers, one a woman, were sentenced to be hanged in October 1659. The woman, Mary Dyer, was reprieved and sentenced 'to be carried to the place of execution and then to stand upon the gallows with a rope about her neck till the rest be executed' and afterwards to be deported. However, she insisted on returning to Massachusetts and was duly hanged. A letter from Charles II (September 9, 1661), asking that corporal punishment of Quakers should cease, gave them a temporary respite, though the Government in acceding to his request

[1] Morton, *New England's Memorial.*
[2] *Records, etc.*, vol. iii.
[3] Platner, *op. cit.*
[4] *Records, etc.*, vol. iv.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. v.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. iii.

wrote, 'we hope and doubt not but that if His Majesty were rightly informed he would be far from giving them such favour.' The respite was only temporary, and in October 1662 the laws were re-enacted 'provided that their whipping be but through three towns.'

The Quakers were partly to blame for the treatment they received as they were provocative and abusive. They called the regular ministers priests of Baal, the sacraments idolatrous observances, denounced the government of New England, reviled all orders of magistrates, and interrupted worship. In 1665 one Lydia Wardell 'entered stark naked into the church at Newbury . . . and was highly extolled for her submission to the inward light that had revealed to her the duty of illustrating the spiritual nakedness of her neighbours by this indecent exhibition of her own person.' [1]

New England was no more exempt than Old England from the disease of witch-hunting. Torture was used to extract confessions, and twenty were executed 1692–3, including George Burroughs, a minister who denied the existence of witchcraft. Cotton Mather, one of the leading Congregationalist ministers, defended persecution in *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), in which he asserted that many 'who had laid in a most sad condition for years' recovered after the execution of the witches.

[1] Chandler, *op. cit.*

PERIOD VI

THE CHURCH IN THE MODERN WORLD

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If we compare the religious tone and atmosphere of 1550 with that of 1650, we see that a century made little change. Everyone believed, or pretended to believe, the main tenets of the Christian faith with vehemence if not ferocity. Most looked on the toleration of error in religious belief as at best a bowing down in the House of Rimmon. But this violence inevitably produced a reaction. Bigotry gave place to tolerance, and faith to reason. As early as 1681, long before Bishop Butler composed his famous preface, Samuel Parker wrote: 'Atheism and Irreligion are at length become as common as vice and debauchery. Plebeans and Mechanicks have philosophied themselves into Principles of Impiety, and read their lectures of Atheism in the streets and highways. And they are able to demonstrate out of the *Leviathan* that there is no God nor Providence.' [1]

There were two principal causes of the new attitude towards religion. (1) *A growing sense of the futility of persecution*—Three centuries of persecution under the Inquisition, followed by a century of religious wars, had discredited force as a means of religious propaganda.

(2) *The study of natural science.*—Roger Bacon had in the thirteenth century asserted that in the pursuit of knowledge it was necessary to proceed from the known to the unknown, but his generation was not ready to profit by his teaching. Francis Bacon, three centuries later, first recommended with authority the inductive method, the method, that is, of discovering general laws by the observation of particular phenomena, which has made possible a great advance in scientific knowledge, the distinguishing feature of our age. Such advance in knowledge was bound to raise difficulties in the minds of readers of the Bible, which had been written by men scientifically unenlightened.

One discovery in particular had a subversive effect on many

[1] *Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature*, Preface.

minds. This was the discovery of the Copernican system. *Nicolaus Copernicus* (1473–1543) of Thorn in Poland had discovered what came to be known as the Copernican as distinguished from the prevalent Ptolemaic system. Its chief point was that the earth went round the sun, instead of the sun going round the earth, as in the story of Joshua. *Galileo* of Pisa (1564–1642), though he was silenced and compelled to recant by the Inquisition, brought the Copernican theory into prominence, and Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) procured its general acceptance. In philosophy Descartes (1596–1650) was the founder of what came to be known as the Cartesian philosophy. He laid down that all conceptions must be doubted until proved, and that any adequate proof must have the certainty of mathematics.

Sooner or later it was inevitable that the demand should be made that scientific methods should be applied to religion.

The age was also distinguished by what came to be known as Pietism, which was a reaction against Rationalism, against a too hard and dry, a too impersonal and undevotional approach to religion. The Pietist and Rationalist alike tended to be impatient of authority. The one preferred the inner monitions of his conscience, the other the results arrived at by his reason.

I

RELIGION IN ENGLAND FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION

The Restoration of Charles II may be taken as the starting-point of the new age. The tide had begun to turn. The King himself belonged to the modern world. He was a patron of science and the first President of the Royal Society. He hated persecution. 'Bloody laws,' he said, 'did no good.'[1] He resented having, as he said, 'to do the bishops' work for them' by repressive measures. In the Declaration of Breda he had declared himself in favour of 'a liberty to tender consciences' and his readiness 'to consent to such an Act of Parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.' Parliament, however, contained a majority of hot Cavaliers burning for revenge on the Puritans, and especially the Puritan ministers, to whom they attributed their sufferings, so that the King did not have a free hand.

[1] Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, ed. 1724, i. 292.

One of his first acts was to endeavour to reunite the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians in the Church of England, as James I had done in Scotland in 1610.

There were roughly 400 Independent and 2000 Presbyterian ministers in possession of benefices, the majority of whom had not received episcopal ordination. Where the original holders of these livings were alive, they were at once restored, but there still remained a very large number whose right to possession was challenged by no prior occupant, but who were not prepared to accept the Prayer-book as it stood. The Savoy Conference was held to draw up, if possible, articles of agreement. The protagonist of the Puritans was Richard Baxter, whose account of the matter still survives.[1]

Savoy Conference.—Among other things, the Puritans asked 'That the Repetitions and Responsals of Clerk and People might be omitted. That the Petitions of the Litany might be cast into one solemn prayer, to be offered up by the minister and not so as that the precatory part should be uttered only by the People. That there be nothing in the Liturgy countenancing the observation of Lent as a Religious Fast. That the religious observation of saints' days and Vigils be omitted. . . . That forms of Prayer should be of more competent length.' Coming to particulars, 'they excepted against that rubric, which speaking of ornaments to be used in the Church left room to bring back the cope, alb and other vestments.' They objected to kneeling at the reception of the elements in the Communion, to the Cross in baptism, mentioning 'two sacraments only as generally necessary to salvation, when there are two only,' to the rubric asserting the undoubted salvation of baptised infants, 'to founding Confirmation upon Apostolical practice,' and against making the 'Receipt of Confirmation absolutely necessary to the Holy Communion': to the form of absolution in the visitation of the sick. They also objected to the compulsory use of the surplice, to the assertion in the ordinal that there were three distinct orders of ministers in the Church, to baptismal regeneration, and to the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian creed.

A Prayer-book drawn up by Baxter was presented, embodying these suggestions, 'not to justle out the old one,'[2] but to be used as 'an alternative book,' an interesting proposal, in view of recent developments. Underlying all the differences, there was a fundamental cleavage on the question of predestination, as the Puritans were predestinarians of the most rigid kind.

[1] Calamy, *Abridgement of Baxter's History, etc.* [2] *Ibid.*, i. 158.

No agreement was reached, and the Conference broke up, to be followed in 1662 by the Act of Uniformity, which, among other things, laid down that all incumbents without episcopal orders must be ordained by a bishop, and that all must declare their unfeigned consent to the Book of Common Prayer and its contents. As a result over 1200 ministers, Calamy says 2000, seceded on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662—Black Bartholomew, as it came to be called—and Nonconformity, after a history of a hundred years within the Church, was driven outside its walls. Edmund Calamy, who wrote an account of the ejected ministers, whose father and grandfather were among them, upholds their action as a testimony to 'the old Puritanical principle (which was that of the first Reformers) of the necessity of a further Reformation in the Church, in order to the more General and Effectual reaching of the great ends of Christianity.'

Severe Acts were passed against Dissenters. Burnet says that by the Conventicle Act (1663) 'Any meeting for religious worship at which five were present more than the family, was declared a conventicle. And every person above sixteen, that was present at it, was to lie in prison three months or to pay £5 for the first offence; six months for the second offence, or to pay £20 fine; and for the third offence, being convict by a jury, was to be banished to any plantation, except New England or Virginia, or to pay £100.' It will be remembered that John Bunyan, author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, was in prison for twelve years from 1660, with one brief interval. He might have been released if he would have consented to forbear from preaching, but he would not. The imprisonment was not always rigorous. At least Bunyan for some years, while a prisoner, attended the church meetings at Bedford, and even preached, 'taking all occasions to visit the people of God' and even going 'to see Christians in London.'

Burnet says that 'all people were amazed at this severity'; and no wonder. It does not appear that either the King or the bishops were the prime movers, but the Parliament, which looked on every meeting-house as a nest of sedition. The motive was more political than religious. But, whatever the motive, the Dissenters suffered severely. The King disliked persecution, complaining to Burnet that in England the clergy did nothing and would have him do everything. That 'if the clergy had done their part it had been an easy thing to run down the Nonconformists. He told me he had a chaplain, a very honest man but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given

a living in Suffolk, that was full of that sort of people. He had gone about among them from house to house; though he could not imagine what he would say to them, for he was a very silly fellow. But that he believed his nonsense suited their nonsense, for he had brought them all to church, and in reward of his diligence he had given him a bishoprick in Ireland.' [1]

The Revolution, 1688.—When William came to the throne fresh hopes for comprehension were raised. A Bill for Comprehension actually passed the Lords, but was thrown out by the Commons, who were much offended with the Bill 'as containing matters relating to the Church in which the representative body of the clergy had not been so much as advised with.' Accordingly, a commission of bishops and clergy was appointed to draw up proposals to be submitted to Convocation.

The commission agreed on several drastic alterations, proposing to make optional the use of the surplice and kneeling at the Communion, and substituting new collects 'more agreeable to the Epistle and Gospels for the whole year.' According to Baxter these 'were drawn up with that elegance and brightness of expression and such a heat and flame of devotion that nothing would more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers.' Gilbert Burnet, the Whig Bishop of Salisbury, 'added to them yet further force and spirit,' and Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop, 'had the last hand giving them some force and masterly strokes of his free and sweet and flowing eloquence.' It was proposed in the commission, but left for the decision of Convocation 'That a Nonconformist Minister going over to the Church should not be ordained according to the Common Form, but rather conditionally,' as had been done by Archbishop Bramhall with some Presbyterian ministers in Ireland.[2]

However, their labour was in vain. Convocation met and refused to endorse the proposals put before it. *Leges Angliae nolumus mutari* was the motto of the prevailing party in the Convocation, and so ended the last formal attempt at comprehension.

Toleration.—Though the times did not admit of comprehension, they were ripe for toleration for all Christians except Roman Catholics. The feeling in favour of it had been steadily growing. Locke wrote in favour of it. 'Religious liberty grew up as the fruit of civil liberty, of which it is a part,' wrote Lord Acton, and after the Revolution, with William of Orange, a Presbyterian, on the throne, toleration for all except Roman Catholics, who were

[1] Burnet, *op. cit.*, i. 258.

[2] Calamy, *op. cit.*, i. 452.

considered politically dangerous, became a necessity. In Scotland Episcopalians were excluded from its benefits for the same reason as the Romanists in England. The Toleration Act was passed accordingly. Its effect was to relieve Protestant Dissenters of persecution on account of their religion, while denying any such relief to 'any Papist or popish recusant whatsoever or any person that shall deny in his preaching or writing the doctrine of the blessed Trinity.' Nor were Roman Catholics relieved until the repeal of the Test Act in 1829.

Non-Jurors

When William of Orange and Mary took the throne of James II, all ecclesiastics were required to take a new oath of allegiance on pain of deprivation. Unfortunately they had already sworn allegiance to James II, 'his heirs and lawful successors,' and many of them considered this oath to be binding. Nine English bishops, and 400 English clergy, and nearly all the Scottish bishops and clergy, refused to swear and were called Non-Jurors (non-swearers). Among the bishops were Archbishop Sancroft and Thomas Ken, the saintly Bishop of Bath and Wells. The schism thus made lasted a long while. It might have been healed on the accession of Anne, but for an Abjuration Oath, requiring an abjuration of 'the pretended Prince of Wales,' and later, but for another oath requiring

[1] This predilection for the imposition of oaths was unfortunate. In the Middle Ages those kings whose title was under suspicion were content to punish those who openly called it in question. An interesting dialogue has been preserved between Henry IV and a Franciscan who was charged (1402) with saying that Richard was alive.

H. 'You say that King Richard is alive.'

F. 'I do not say that he is alive, but that if he is alive he is the rightful king.'

H. 'He resigned.'

F. 'He resigned, but against his will, and under coercion in prison, which resignation is not good in law.'

H. 'He resigned of his own accord.'

F. 'He would not have resigned if he had not been forced.'

H. 'He was deposed.'

F. 'While he was king he was taken by force and deprived of his kingdom and you usurped his crown.'

H. 'I did not usurp his crown, but was duly elected.'

F. 'The election is null when the lawful holder is alive.'

After a few more words the king said, 'By my head, you shall lose yours,' as indeed he did.

Continuatio Eulogii.

a declaration that George I was 'rightful and lawful king.' The schism was perpetuated by the consecration of non-juring bishops, and their succession was kept up until 1805, when the last non-juring bishop died.[1]

Just as the seminary priests were martyrs to a theory, partly political and partly religious—in their case, the deposing power of the Pope—so the non-jurors were martyrs to a mixed political and religious theory, namely, the doctrine of Passive Obedience : that kings held their power by divine right, and that it was never right to resist their commands, however unlawful, by arms, passive obedience being due at the least. 'These doctrines were held against Papists who set the Pope, and Plebists who set the people, above the Lord's Anointed.'

Many distinguished men were non-jurors. Besides Ken, the best-known, perhaps, are William Law, author of the *Serious Call*, and Thomas Hearne the antiquary. Their loss was out of all proportion to their numbers. They were eminent alike for piety and learning and could ill be spared. The decline of the Church in the eighteenth century, both in devotion and in Catholic practice, must be attributed in no small degree to its being deprived of its most learned and most devoted clergy. None the less their example and memory did something to keep alive the Catholic tradition and prepare the way for the Tractarians.

II

RELIGION IN SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES II AND JAMES II

When Oliver Cromwell died and Charles II was restored, the wheel came round full circle, and bishops, as well as the King, came into their own again, but in Scotland their restoration was not precipitate. Urged by Lauderdale to maintain Presbyterianism in Scotland, 'the King,' according to Burnet, 'spoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen.'[2] Charles had in mind his own experiences when he came to Scotland on his father's death. 'I remember in one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. . . . The king was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays. And if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely

[1] Canon Ollard in *D.E.C.H.*

[2] Burnet, *op. cit.*, i. 107.

reproved for it.'[1] Accordingly, in 1661, he resolved to restore episcopacy, and sent for James Sharp (1618–79), one of the leading Presbyterian ministers, who had been sent by them to London to represent their views, and invited him to be Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

It does not appear that the Scottish people as a whole had at that time any rooted objection to episcopacy. The Aberdeen synod petitioned for its restoration. Robert Douglas, one of the leading Presbyterian ministers, wrote to Sharpe in 1660: 'The generality of this new upstart generation have no love to Presbyterial government, but are wearied of that yoke, feeding themselves with the fancy of episcopacy.'[2] When an Act re-establishing the Church as it had been in the reign of James I and Charles I was introduced, only five voted against it in the Scottish Parliament. When the new bishops made their state entry in Edinburgh, they were welcomed with applause. There was, however, an irreconcilable party, fiercely attached to the Covenant, that would have nothing to do with episcopacy in any form. The aim of Charles II was (1) to make the Church as comprehensive as possible, so as to limit the numbers of the untolerated; (2) to secure his own supremacy.

Attempts at Comprehension.—The Covenanters in the south were the difficulty. No concession, short of the abolition of the episcopacy, was the least use. The government issued numerous Acts of Indulgence by one of which it was permitted to any *outed* minister, if of 'peaceable and orderly' behaviour, to re-enter his parish, if vacant, and occupy church and manse, under certain restrictions, without any acknowledgment of episcopal authority. The ministers who took advantage of these Indulgences were roundly denounced as *the King's curates*, and their ministrations refused.

The English Nonconformists looked on these offers with envy. 'What,' remarked Calamy, 'would our brethren in Scotland be at, and what would they have? Would to God we had these offers.'

Robert Leighton (1611–84), Bishop of Dunblane and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, may be regarded as the ecclesiastical champion of the policy of comprehension. He was the son of the Leighton who was sentenced by the Star Chamber to be whipped and lose his ears on account of a libel. The son grew up to be as peace-loving as his father was militant. When minister of Newbattle he was reprimanded for not 'preaching up the times.' 'Who,'

[1] Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[2] Grub, *Ecc. History of Scotland.*

he asked, 'does preach up the times?' He was answered that all the brethren did. 'Then,' he replied, 'if all of you preach up the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to preach up Christ Jesus and eternity.' Persecution was entirely alien to his spirit. He described it as scaling heaven with ladders fetched out of hell. Once when asked what was the mark of the beast, he said: 'If I might *fancy* what it were, it would be something with a pair of horns that pusheth his neighbour, as hath been so much seen and practised in Church and State.'[1]

The study of history led him to believe that episcopacy was the primitive form of church polity as well as the most convenient, but he never doubted the validity of his Presbyterian orders. When summoned to London to be consecrated Bishop, he and Sharp, as only having received Presbyterian ordination were ordained deacon and priest before proceeding to consecration. His own explanation was that 'the re-ordaining a priest ordained in another church imported no more but that they received him into orders according to their own rules; and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received.'

He was prepared in the interests of peace to hand over the government of the Church to assemblies of clergy with the Bishop as President, but with no other power above a minister apart from ordination, and to allow any minister to repudiate his personal belief in episcopacy. Conferences were held with the Covenanters, at which Leighton explained his proposals for accommodation, but without success. They pleaded the Covenant, which did not allow 'a hoof or so much as a hair of the Scottish model to be altered.' Leighton complained that 'they had more honest among them than strong heads.' He explained that his proposals involved the diminution of the just rights of episcopacy, which he was convinced had subsisted from the apostolic age of the Church. He feared he had annoyed his order by making such large concessions, but hoped that his sole object, which was to procure peace, might justify him. This was in 1670.

Feeling himself entirely out of sympathy with the policy of the Government, he with difficulty obtained permission to retire, and in 1674 went to Horsted Keynes in Sussex, where he lived in retirement until 1684, spending his time in devotion, preaching, visiting, and in riding on the downs. He was an enthusiast for visiting as a method of pastoral care. 'Were I again to be a parish minister, I must follow sinners to their houses and even to their ale-houses,'

[1] J. N. Pearson, *The Whole Works of Archbishop Leighton.*

a view of the pastoral office which he shared with Charles II. He often expressed a wish to die in an inn, and his wish was gratified, as he died in 1684, during a visit to London, at the Bell Inn, Warwick Lane.

With the departure of Leighton, methods of conciliation gave way to persecution.

Persecution.—In the south-west the ministers for the most part left their parishes and ministered in field conventicles to which their congregations resorted, and when these conventicles were forbidden, they came armed, and defied the soldiers. Risings took place and were bloodily suppressed. Severe measures by the Government were unsuccessful in suppressing the Covenanters, but made them fiercer and more seditious. Soldiers were quartered in the disaffected districts, but exacerbated feeling without suppressing the conventicles. Severe measures produced outrages, and outrages measures still more severe. Religion in Scotland was resolved into an ecclesiastical dog-fight, in which for the moment the Covenanter was the under dog. Torture was freely used, but it must be remembered that torture was a regular part of Scottish criminal procedure at this time. Archbishop Sharp was made a scapegoat and bore the infamy of the persecution. After an attempt on his life he was assassinated in 1679 by a body of Covenanters, who met his coach on Magus Moor, near St. Andrew's, and murdered him before his daughter's eyes.

Responsibility for the persecution rests, not with the bishops, but with the King and his Scottish Privy Council, of which Lauderdale was the presiding genius. The King was a persecutor against the grain. Burnet says that a severe Act was passed in 1670 by the Scottish Parliament 'with which the King was not well pleased, saying that bloody laws did no good and that he would not have passed it, if he had known it beforehand.' Nevertheless, the repressive policy was maintained until after the accession of James II, and then, after being at first intensified, came to an end with the Declaration of Indulgence in 1687.

The Supremacy.—The failure of the Church during the Restoration period to regain the affections of southern Scots must be attributed only in part to their objection to episcopacy. There was no point on which the Presbyterian conscience was more sensitive than upon the point of Erastianism, and the Church was identified with Erastianism of the crudest sort. The *Assertory Act* of 1669 declared that the ordering of all things relating to the

external government of the Church and all ecclesiastical matters and persons were inherent in the person of the sovereign. Burnet says 'Many of the best of the episcopal clergy, Nairn and Charteris in particular, were offended at the Act. They thought it plainly made the king our pope.' He says that the responsibility for the Act was generally charged on Lauderdale. Some bishops went away before the division, but no bishop except Leighton opposed it, and he ended by voting for it, not having sufficiently considered the consequences, and repented of his vote as long as he lived. Sharp made 'a long dark speech and voted for it.' The Presbyterians said it put the King in the place of Christ. James II, when King, turned out two bishops for opposing a Bill of Toleration in the Scottish Parliament, no reason being given except his own pleasure.

III

THE CALL OF THE WORLD IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Columbus made his first voyage in 1492. Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape to India in 1497. The Spaniards soon acquired the West Indies, Mexico, Chili, Peru, and the upper waters of the Amazon. The Portuguese claimed Brazil and established themselves in the East, occupying Goa (1510), Malacca, near Singapore (1511), the Malay Archipelago (1514), and in 1517 reached Canton and began to trade with China.

Wherever the discoverers went, they took their religion with them. 'The conversion of the Indians,' declared Ferdinand of Spain, 'is the principal foundation of the conquest.' His lieutenant, Ojeda, issued a proclamation requiring submission to Church, as well as State, on pain of plunder, and death or slavery. Priests accompanied the invading armies, and temples and idols were destroyed. A better state of things was inaugurated in 1524, when the Spanish Council of the Indies despatched twenty-four friars, twelve Franciscans and twelve Dominicans, to Mexico, who worked with such devotion that six years later the Bishop of Mexico wrote that a million natives had been baptised, 500 temples had been overthrown, where 20,000 human hearts had been sacrificed yearly, that churches, convents, and schools had been built, one school for girls having 1000 pupils. No doubt a good deal of exterior pressure was exercised, and the preparation of the baptised must have been

woefully inadequate, but we need not doubt the zeal and devotion of the missionaries.

The New World.—In the New World the first missionaries were Franciscans and Dominicans. A Dominican, Las Casas, attracted attention by his championship of the native Indians, who were cruelly treated by their Spanish masters, wrote a treatise to protest against forcible conversions (*De unico vocationis modo*), and got permission to conduct a mission in a country from which all Spaniards, except missionaries, were to be excluded. The country he proposed to evangelise was Tuzulutlan, in Guatemala, known as *the land of war*. After he and his brother Dominicans had worked there for a few years, its name was changed to Vera Paz, *the land of peace*.

However, Dominicans and Franciscans alike were put in the shade by Jesuits. Learning from Las Casas, they saw that the presence of lay Spaniards was a great deterrent to missionary work. They also saw that it was very difficult to keep in touch with converts leading a nomad life amidst heathen surroundings. They met both difficulties by gathering their converts into settlements, called *reductions*, as they were supposed to include only converted or *reduced* Indians. These reductions were created along the Amazon, the Orinoco and the Plata, in the forests at the foot of the Andes, and in the north in the Spanish possessions of California. The three principal were in the Lieutenancy of Buenos Ayres, known as Paraguay, now part of Brazil, which still bears the name of Missiones. Settlements were subdivided into a number of reductions, each containing about two thousand persons under the control of two Jesuit priests. The reductions were administered on communistic lines. The inhabitants did each day the work allotted, and received in return food, housing, and maintenance. They lived under paternal and vigilant discipline. Attendance at mass was compulsory. Their behaviour at mass was watched over by officers called *zelatores*. At night other officers called *regidores* patrolled the streets. Offenders against the moral law were punished with stripes, but only after every effort was made to bring them to confess their sins and to accept their punishment as a fitting penance. The principle underlying the reductions was enunciated by one of the missionaries. 'Before we make them Christians, we must first of all make them men.' The men were trained to the use of arms, in order to repel the forays of hostile Indians and for kidnapping recruits.

When the Jesuits were expelled from South America in 1760, the reductions were handed over to civil magistrates and came to a speedy end. A recent writer, W. H. Koebel, has described in *Jesuitland* the few overgrown ruins in Missiones, the name still eloquent of its origin, which alone remain of what were once flourishing towns and villages. For nearly 200 years this social and religious experiment had been maintained. It is doubtful if it would have been permanent, even if the Jesuits had not been expelled. It had one fatal defect. The populations of the reductions were always tending to decrease. They would not breed. It was only by forays and kidnapping that their numbers could be kept up. In North California, where the expulsion was not effected, the reductions died a natural death in 1840.

In their reductions, as elsewhere, the Jesuits devoted much pains to education. They invented the Industrial School. An account of one of them survives, founded by Samuel Fritz, who spent forty years evangelising the natives in the swamps and islands of the Amazon. We are told that after the religious instruction, 'each one goes to carry out his duties; some set themselves to cook the mid-day meal; others to learn to play the guitar and violin and to sing the office of the mass; others to occupy themselves in unravelling cotton, and in spinning and weaving their own garments; others in mending the shoes and clothes of the Father and their own; others in making hempen sandals, weaving breeches; others in making hammocks, oars, bows, arrows, lances, shields, so that they know everything when they grow up. Some of greater ability learn also to read, write, shave, bleed, etc. . . . In the afternoon, they return to the tasks of the morning, and occupy themselves in cleaning out the orchard and seed-plots until five o'clock.' [1]

The forests of North America, in what was then New France and afterwards became Canada, were the scene of the most heroic Jesuit missions, and indeed of any in the whole history of the Church. As early as 1541 a Frenchman sailed up the St. Lawrence and attempted to settle at Quebec, though the first permanent settlement was not made until 1609 under Champlain. The first two Jesuits arrived in 1611 and, four years later, began mission work among the Indians. They continued their labours until their expulsion in 1764, when there were thirty-eight Jesuit missionaries in New France and seventeen among the Indians further south.

They endured almost incredible hardships from cold, squalor,

[1] *Journal of the Travels of Father Samuel Fritz*, Hakluyt Soc., p. 140.

fatigue, and the moroseness of their hosts. They often shared a hut with thirty or forty Indians of either sex and all ages, the hut having no outlet for smoke. 'Unhappy Indians,' wrote one missionary, 'doomed to pass time in smoke and eternity in flames.' 'Filth itself,' wrote another, 'presides over their cooking.' Their lives were constantly in danger. A pestilence or famine, ill success in hunting or in war, were enough to designate them as convenient scapegoats. Several were tortured and killed.

All lived lives of the greatest devotion. Their *relations*, as their reports were called, excited the greatest interest in France. A Princess de Condé and the Chancellor and the Secretary of State were among the sponsors at the baptism of two little Indians sent to France to be educated. 'What surprises me,' wrote one of the missionaries, 'is that so many young nuns, consecrated to our Lord, wish to join us . . . from so many convents and from various orders.' The Superior of one order, on being asked to send some sisters to a town in France, answered that 'she had no sisters except for New France and for England, in case God restored the Catholic faith there.' Men were equally ready. 'Neither shall I say any more about the burning desire of a great number of our fathers who find the air of New France the air of heaven, since there they can suffer for heaven. I pass over in silence many other religious who have the same sentiments and the same willingness.'[1]

Yet their success was not great and their conversions were largely confined to the dying. 'Many,' wrote one, 'had this idea that baptism is injurious to life, but that it is a good thing with which to protect oneself from the fire with which we threaten them.' The missionaries appealed almost exclusively to self-interest, in this world and the next, especially to the fear of hell, which they helped their converts to realise by means of pictures. One missionary complained that those he had were too indistinct. 'If some one would depict three or four or five devils tormenting one soul with the different kinds of tortures, one applying the torch, another serpents, another pinching it with red-hot pincers . . . it would have a good effect, especially if everything were very distinct and if rage and sadness appeared plainly in the lost soul. Fear is the forerunner of faith in these barbarous minds.' The weapon was, however, double-edged. One woman refused to be baptised, alleging that 'she desired only to go where one of her little sons was, who had died without baptism.'

[1] *Le Jeune, Relation of*, 1635.

Whatever the reason, seldom, if ever, have such zeal and devotion been lavished so freely with so little apparent result.

Missions in the East.—The Portuguese had established themselves in Goa in 1510, and a bishopric of Goa was established in 1536, but no serious attempt at missionary work was made before the arrival of Francis Xavier with two Jesuits in 1542, as the first missionaries of their order. Starting from Goa, during the next six years he evangelised all the Portuguese settlements along the coast from Goa to Cape Comorin and from Comorin to Meliapur. He then sailed east to the Celebes and the Molucca Islands. In 1549 he landed in Japan, where he stayed two years; on his return he set out for China and died on his way there in 1552.

Xavier has been acclaimed as the greatest missionary since St. Paul. His personal holiness and devotion, his faith and hope in claiming Japan and China for Christ, as well as India, and his journeyings, have placed him on this pedestal, but some of his methods were anything but Pauline. His usual plan on his missionary journeys was at each centre to get the catechism and some prayers and hymns translated into the vernacular. Then he would stay some weeks, teaching the children to sing what he had taught them, and leave a native teacher to continue the instruction. As it does not appear that he himself understood the vernacular, the meaning conveyed must have been a little uncertain. His personal influence was so great that he tells us that sometimes he could hardly lift his hands on account of the fatigue of baptizing so many. It seems impossible that under these circumstances there could have been, not merely adequate, but any preparation. Like all the Jesuit missionaries of that day, he believed in the indiscriminate baptism of infants.

He was also ready to use the power of the State to assist the work of conversion. He wanted makers of idols to be punished with death. In 1543 he urged the Portuguese governor to support the claims of the pretender to a native throne, who had promised to become Christian if the Portuguese would oust his brother and place him on the throne. 'In Jaffna and on the opposite coast I shall easily gain 100,000 adherents for the Church of Christ.' He wanted the King of Portugal to punish with a long term of imprisonment or heavy fines any governor who did not do his best to promote Christianity. If that were done, he was confident that 'the whole of Ceylon, many kings on the Malabar coast, and the whole of the Cape Comorin district would embrace Christianity within a year.

As long as the viceroys and governors are not forced by fear of disfavour to gain adherents to Christianity, Your Majesty need not expect that any considerable success will attend the preaching of the Gospel in India or that many baptisms will take place.'[1]

Jesuits in India after Xavier.—In 1595, besides their missions in the south, the Jesuits got a footing at the court of Akbar in North India, the most powerful ruler in India, and Jerome Xavier baptised three princes at Lahore. Akbar had a hankering after Christianity himself and, we are told, 'reverenced the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary when they were shown him by the missionaries.' From the court of Akbar, Benedict Goes, a Jesuit Father, made one of the most adventurous journeys on record, seeking the half-mythical Cathay of Marco Polo and John of Monte Corvino, which Jerome Xavier suspected to be the same as China, where Ricci had gone a few years before. His journey took him through Kabul, Afghanistan, and the wildest parts of Central Asia. After a journey of nearly three years he arrived at Suchau, a town on the frontier of China, where he was held up for seventeen months, not being allowed to enter the kingdom. At the end of that time he died, though not before the Jesuits in Peking had sent a greeting to him by one John Ferdinand, a Chinese novice. 'Having sought Cathay, he found heaven.'

In South India the name of one other Jesuit claims attention. This was Robert di Nobili, who worked in the Madura district, 1605–56, and adopted the Brahmin dress, scarlet thread, and sandalwood sign and accepted the caste system, having no intercourse with any natives of the lower castes. In the eighteenth century, where there were not enough Jesuits to provide separate missionaries for the lower castes, those who worked among the Brahmins used to administer the sacraments to low caste Christians at midnight outside the doors of the higher caste churches. Following Nobili, it became the rule of the Jesuits in India to adopt the dress and asceticism of Indian holy men. One of the Jesuits sent by Louis XIV in 1685 to the King of Siam reported that the Jesuits in Madura 'took the badge of the Brahmans and began to live as they did. Since that time these apostolic men have been seen walking upon the burning hot sand bare-footed and bareheaded and continually exposed to the heat of the sun, because the Brahmans wear no stockings or shoes and never cover their head, living on nothing but herbs, and spending three or four days without eating, under a tree or on the highway, waiting until some Indian affected with such surprising austerity

[1] Coleridge, *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier.*

should come and hear them. God hath so blest their zeal and mortification that they have converted above three score thousand Indians.' [1]

Japan.—Xavier landed at Kagoshima in Japan on August 15, 1549, accompanied by two Jesuits and three Japanese Christians. He met with some opposition and had many disputes with the Japanese bonzes, which convinced him of the necessity of sending able and learned men to Japan. After spending a little more than two years there, he left the country, but the mission was continued.

The Jesuits were followed by Dominicans and Franciscans. Their labours were so successful that in thirty years there were said to have been 600,000 Christians in the islands. Then followed a century of persecution. In 1638, when the fortress of Shimabara was captured, 17,000 Christians are said to have been put to death. From 1715 foreigners were so jealously excluded that no news reached the outside world. Modern missions began in 1859, when the Roman missionaries found a number of Christian communities who had retained the sacrament of baptism and secretly observed Sunday and other Christian festivals.

China.—Matthew Ricci, a Jesuit, entered China in 1583, and won respect at the Chinese court by his mathematical and scientific attainments. He was the first European to write books in Chinese. He carried the Jesuit principle of conciliation to an extreme, as he dressed like a Buddhist priest and taught that the Christian faith was a development of Confucianism and that the one need not be abandoned for the other.

Fifty years after the coming of Jesuits, they were followed by Dominicans and Franciscans. Considerable success attended their united efforts. In 1661 the Dominicans had twenty-one churches, the Franciscans three, and the Jesuits 159, while the number of baptised was over 300,000, of which the Franciscans claimed 3500.[2]

In 1692 the Emperor legalised the teaching of Christianity. A Jesuit Father wrote that in 1705 the Emperor contributed 10,000 oz. of silver to the building of a church in Peking, and when it was built, furnished it with inscriptions. Altogether the outlook seemed promising. The mandarins were not unfavourable. The principal obstacle was the anti-foreign sentiment of the Chinese. 'Having so great a conceit of their own country, their manners, their customs, and their own maxims, they cannot be persuaded that anything which

[1] Tachard, *Voyage de Siam des pères Jesuites*, trans.
[2] Robinson, *Hist. Ch. Missions*, p. 177.

is not of China deserves to be regarded. . . . They answer us coldly, "Your religion is not to be found in our books, it is a foreign religion; is there anything good out of China, or anything true, which we know not?"'[1]

But in 1720 the Emperor who was the friend of the Jesuits died, and his successor persecuted the Christians and destroyed 300 churches. Another blow to Christianity in China was the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773. Nevertheless, in 1810, there were reckoned to be 200,000 Christians in the empire, though the figure cannot be taken as accurate.

The Jesuits in India invented the idea, if not the name, of Medical Missions. They all had some knowledge of medicine, which they applied with confidence and zeal. Thus a missioner in India writes[2] of being 'obliged daily to administer the sacraments and to assist the sick that were brought to my cottage.' Another writing from Bengal in 1698 mentions two lay Jesuits on their way to China, 'who are very skilful in physic.'[3] A third describes his treatment of a cholera patient.[4]

Some idea of the numbers and quality of the Jesuit missionaries may be obtained from three incidental allusions. A Jesuit writing from Peru in 1700 says that in America there were six Jesuit Provinces, two of them including above 350 Jesuits each. The author of the account of the voyage of the six Jesuits to Siam, writing in 1683, says that forty Jesuits had been recently captured off Las Palmas on their way to Brazil by 'Calvinist pirates.' He also

[1] *Travels of Several Learned Missioners of the Society of Jesus* (trans. pub. 1713), p. 180.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 96. [3] *Edifying and Curious Letters* (1709), p. 10.

[4] 'I hasted away immediately to the assistance of the patient and found him stretched out on the ground almost beside himself and with violent convulsions. All the village was gathered about him and every one was pressing to give him several sorts of medicines, which were more proper to heighten than to alleviate his distemper. I caused a great fire to be lighted and wanted an iron rod for my remedy, but there being none took a sickle such as they use to cut rice and herbs. I made it red hot in the fire and ordered the back of it, red hot as it was, to be applyed to the sole of his foot about three fingers' breadth from the back of his heel; and to the end that they might commit no mistake in an operation, which they had never seen performed, I scored with a coal the place to which the hot iron was to be applied. They held it hard against the foot till the iron penetrated those corny skins, which in the blacks are extremely hard, came to the quick, and was felt by the patient. The same was done to the other foot with the like precautions and with the same success. If it happens that the patient suffers himself to be burnt, without giving any token that he feels it, the case is almost desperate.' *Ibid.*

demands twelve more Jesuits, who were to be expert mathematicians, to be sent to Siam with no apparent misgivings about supply. France alone sent more than eighty Jesuit missionaries to the East within fifteen years about this time.

Non-Roman Missions

Neither Luther nor Zwingli nor Calvin said a word to advocate missionary work. Calvin, indeed, went so far as to say that no special effort for such work was necessary ; ' we are taught,' he wrote, ' that the Kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced or maintained by the industry of men, but this is the work of God alone.'

Erasmus, it is true, urged the duty of evangelising the world, but Erasmus was not a Reformer. Saravia in his treatise on the different degrees of the Christian priesthood published in 1590 was the first non-Roman writer to plead the cause of missions. Theodore Beza, in his reply, not only controverted Saravia's views on the ministry, but also his interpretation of the command to teach the Gospel, maintaining that its obligation did not extend beyond the first century. Gerhard (d. 1637) held that the command only applied to the Apostles. *Mandatum praedicandi evangelium in toto terrarum orbe cum apostolis desiit.*[1] The Lutheran theological faculty of Wittenberg declared that the command to preach to all nations was a *personale privilegium* of the Apostles and had been already fulfilled.[2] The first Protestant missionaries were sent to Brazil by Calvin in response to a request by a Frenchman who had founded a colony there, but these labours seem to have had little effect. Three of the Society of Friends set out for China in 1661, but never arrived. The Pietists of Germany were the first Protestants to carry on missionary work on any considerable scale.

Colonial and commercial expansion was in England, as in Spain and Portugal, the spur to missionary enterprise. Sir Walter Raleigh subscribed £100 for missionary work in Virginia ; the Pilgrim Fathers set apart one of their number for the same purpose, and in 1649 the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was created by the Long Parliament. The corporation, later known as the New England Company, was refounded by Charles II ' for the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the heathen natives in or near New England and the parts adjacent

[1] C. H. Robinson, *Hist. Christian Missions.* [2] *Ibid.*

of America.' The first missioner, John Eliot, was ordained in the Church of England, but had become a Nonconformist and gone to America. Among other apostolic labours, he translated the whole of the Bible into the language of the Indians to whom he ministered. He continued to serve the new corporation, the charter of which made no denominational distinctions, but professed as its object 'the better educating and instructing of the said heathen natives in learning, and in the knowledge of the true and only God and in the Protestant religion.'[1] The corporation survives to this day under the name of the New England Company and claims to be the oldest missionary society connected with the Church of England.

The missionary conscience of the Church of England began to awaken towards the close of the seventeenth century. The man who contributed most towards this was a layman, Robert Boyle, one of the founders of the Royal Society, its President, and a distinguished man of science. Besides being director and manager of the New England Company, to which he gave time and money ungrudgingly, he urged upon the East India Company, of which he was a director, the duty of 'doing some considerable thing for the propagation of the Gospel among the natives,'[2] he was the principal promoter of translations of the Gospels into Malay, and the New Testament into Turkish, and distributed copies of Grotius's treatise of the truth of the Christian religion, translated into Arabic, where that language was understood. The residue of his estate, after the payment of legacies, was left to his sister and other trustees for 'pious and good uses' but with the strong recommendation that the greatest part should be devoted 'to the advance or propagation of the Christian religion among infidels.'

Christopher Codrington (1668–1710), Fellow of All Souls, the Admirable Crichton of his day, who, when Captain of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, had been chosen by the University to deliver an oration on the occasion of the visit of William III to Oxford, was another lay supporter of missions. He became Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1699, and on his retirement in 1703 resided in Barbados. By his will he left two estates in Barbados to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the foundation of a College there, which flourishes to this day.

Thomas Bray (1656–1730) was the first clerical champion of overseas work in the Church of England. Being appointed Com-

[1] Birch, *Life of Robert Boyle*, p. 321. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

missary for the Bishop of London for Maryland, he set to work to arrange for the foundation of parochial libraries in that colony before sailing. He could not sail until 1699 and employed the interval in founding the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which grew out of the scheme for parochial libraries. On his return to England he founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1701) for the special work of ministering to heathen, as well as Christians, working in our plantations. He took a deep interest in the welfare of negroes and formed an association called '*Dr. Bray's Associates* for founding clerical libraries and supporting negro schools.' He was also an advocate of the *colony* system of emigration, as recently (1929) advocated in *The Times*, as he proposed founding a colony in America for the relief of the necessitous poor, who could not find employment at home.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel employed in 1740 fifty-four missionaries, thirteen schoolmasters, and a 'Catechist for the instruction of negroes in New York.' They were distributed over New England, Newfoundland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Carolina, Georgia, and the Bahamas. Their ministrations were not confined to the colonists. Mr. Barclay, for instance, wrote from Fort Hunter in 1736, 'that the Indians continued to attend devoutly every Lord's Day, and understood him perfectly well, he having made himself master of the pronunciation of their language, which was very difficult, the words being many of them as long as sentences, with a great rumbling sound ; and that he taught forty young Mohocks to read and write, most of whom made good progress.'

The Moravians were, however, the only great missionary force outside Rome before 1800. They alone among Christians have maintained the duty of evangelising the world as the business of all, the 'common affair' of the community.

IV

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL (1574–1660)

It is difficult to place Vincent de Paul. He was a thoroughgoing *authoritarian*, disliked argument, and believed in coercion. But he was a modern in his passion for social reform. Mendicity, charity organisation, unemployment, and unwanted babies, were all problems he grappled with, as we do to-day. In that field he was

a pioneer, and as such belongs to the modern world, which was to value works above faith.

France was indeed sadly in need of works of practical benevolence. Wars, both foreign and civil, had devastated whole regions of France. Social conditions were appalling. In Picardy and Champagne famine was rife. In one district his missionaries found the rich living on barley bread ; the poor on lizards, frogs, and grass. Even the churches were plundered. In the diocese of Laon alone there were a hundred in which it was not possible to say mass for want of utensils. In Lorraine 'wolves infested towns and villages in all weathers and devoured women and children in broad daylight.' Even members of the *bourgeoisie* and *petite noblesse* died of starvation. After the battle of Rethel the bodies of two thousand Spanish soldiers were left unburied for more than eight weeks, and the bodies of those, who had not been devoured by dogs and wolves, were left to poison the air.

The Church was corrupt and apathetic. M. Collet says that there was no preaching or catechising and that a great number of Christians hardly knew there was a God. A bishop complained in 1628 [1] to the saint 'of the great and inexplicable number of ignorant and vicious priests who compose my clergy, whom I cannot correct either by word or example. I am horrified to think that in my diocese there are almost seven hundred drunken or unchaste priests.' Another bishop wrote : 'Except the *Théologal* of my church I do not know of any priest in my diocese who can discharge adequately any ecclesiastical office.' Some of the bishops were as bad. Francis of Lorraine, Bishop of Metz, at the head of his troops attacked his own cathedral town.

Born of humble parents near Bordeaux, Vincent became priest in 1600 and was a country *curé* until 1610, during two years of which period he was absent, having been captured by Moorish pirates and sold as a slave. In 1610 he came to Paris, was presented to Queen Margaret of Navarre, became her almoner and in course of time chief ecclesiastical adviser to the French court, a position he retained until his death. Louis XIII died in his arms.

The motive of his life was pity for the poor, the ignorant, and the fallen, and in their relief he showed himself full of resource and initiative. He founded a Congregation of Mission Priests (1632) whose business it was to preach the Gospel to the ignorant, chiefly in France, but they were also sent to Rome, Madagascar, Barbary,

[1] *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, i. 260.

Poland, Ireland, the Hebrides, and even to England, which was according to M. Collet under the tyranny of the hypocrite and '*scélerat* Olivier Cromwel' who called himself '*Mi Lord protecteur*.'

So far they resembled the Jesuits, but these missionary priests were as much occupied with the relief of distressed areas, and the collection and distribution of relief funds, as with preaching.

He founded the first unenclosed order of nuns. He saw that to reform the clergy it was as necessary to provide good priests as to reform the bad. Preparation there was none. 'Men without trial or examination as to their vocation passed in a few months from the riot and license of the college to the priesthood, and were hardly capable of reflecting seriously on the dignity of their calling.'[1] Hence one of his main works was the institution of seminaries for young men. Existing seminaries mostly took ordinands when children, a practice which Vincent found worse than useless. Believing that the great need of the Church was good priests he founded seminaries, of which the existing number was quite inadequate.

He was not the inventor of retreats, but he founded the first retreat house, S. Lazare in Paris. 'Vincent compared it himself to Noah's Ark, where all kinds of animals, large and small, were received on equal terms. It was in fact a strange sight to see in the same refectory, persons of the highest and lowest degree, laymen and clergy, learned men and peasants, high officials and artizans, masters and servants, old and young men.'[2] Those who knew the houses of the late Robert Dolling at Landport or Poplar, have seen something of the kind on a smaller scale. Dolling, indeed, might have taken Vincent for his model.

He is frequently represented in art as carrying a naked baby. This is to commemorate his Foundling Hospital. It was the custom in Paris to deposit unwanted babies on the steps of the nearest church. The police had orders to collect them and take them to a widow, who with two assistants was supposed to look after them—surely the queen of baby farmers. Most of the babies died. The rest were sold for twenty *sols* or given away.

He was also the first person since the days of the early Church to organise the distribution of charitable relief. He instituted committees of great ladies who provided funds and met once a week to hear what had been done and give their approval. His visitors were his mission priests, his sisters of charity and lay men and women,

[1] *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, i. 3. [2] *Ibid.*

enlisted for the purpose. In one charitable undertaking he was less inspired. He acquired *La Salpêtrière*, a vast building, and obtained an order that all the beggars of Paris should either make their living by getting work, or become inmates.

Alert as he was in practical affairs, in his mental outlook he shared fully the obscurantism of the counter-reformation. He stirred up the court to prevent Protestant preachers from trespassing beyond the restricted areas allowed them by the Edict of Nantes. He took active measures against the Jansenists and expelled any of his congregation who sympathised with their opinions. He thought that a good Catholic should submit to the decrees of the Council of Trent and the Pope without question. Submission was the key to a correct mental attitude and he disliked argument. His own practice was to allege the authority of the Council of Trent, and if his opponents continued to argue, 'Instead of replying I used to recite my *Credo* to myself.' Nevertheless he thought the best thing to be done for a heretic was to pray for him. He died after a life of unwearied labours in 1660.

V

THE AGE OF REASON

The scientific and rationalising temper of the day soon began to make itself felt in religion. One of the far-reaching results of the Protestant Reformation had been to introduce the principle of testing faith by reason. Luther had stated early in his career as a Reformer that every man had the right to interpret the Scripture for himself. In practice, however, Protestants had, in general, established confessions of faith, which had to be accepted on authority, and, even when liberty of interpreting the Bible was permitted, the Bible itself was held to be above criticism. When Bryan Walton published during the time of the Commonwealth the *Biblia Polyglotta*, Owen, Dean of Christchurch, objected that his 'gathering up translations of all sorts, and setting them up in competition with it' is to take away 'all certainty about sacred truth.'

William Chillingworth (1602–44) was the father of those who took reason for their guide. Brought up under the auspices of Laud, who was his godfather, he was won over to Rome by Fisher, the Jesuit, and was employed by the Jesuits in writing an account of

his motives for taking this step. The effect of this renewed investigation led him to renounce Rome and return to Oxford and eventually to the Church of England. The exigences of controversy led him to publish his famous book *The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way of Salvation*, in which he argued 'in favour of free inquiry as the great principle of Protestantism, and limited himself to prove that if this principle was honestly followed, even though it led to intellectual error on some points, it could not exclude from a participation in God's promises, and was therefore a safe way of salvation.' He vindicated the place of reason in religion. Aubrey wrote of him and Lord Falkland (Lucius Cary) 'they were wont to say at Oxford that if the great Turk were to be converted by natural reason, these two were the persons to do it.' [1]

'For my part,' wrote Chillingworth, 'I am certain that God hath given us our reason to discern between truth and falsehood, and he that makes not this use of it but believes things he knows not why; I say, it is by chance that he believes the truth and not by choice; that I cannot but fear, that God will not accept this sacrifice of fools.' [2] His teaching was as much disliked by Geneva as by Rome. Francis Chennell, a Presbyterian minister, said when Chillingworth was dying, 'I hope to be saved by faith, yet Master Chillingworth hopes to be saved by reason,' and at his funeral threw his book into the grave with the words, 'Get thee gone thou corrupt rotten book, get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author and see corruption.' [3]

As against Rome, he contended that if the infallibility of the Pope were appointed by God, there would be no more doubt of it than there is of the Nativity and Resurrection. He went on to deny the infallibility of the Church, which, though capable of leading men to heaven, is also 'susceptible of error.'

Two editions of his book appeared in the year of its publication (1638), three more in the reign of Charles II, and five editions of his complete works between 1704 and 1742, showing the rapid growth of his opinions in favour.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), said to have been the first 'who licked Deism and brought it into something of a form,' [4] was another pioneer, though hardly a Deist. He believed in natural religion and rejected all revelation. He was the father of the science of comparative religion, as he maintained that by the

[1] *Lives of Eminent Men.*
[2] *Works*, i. 237, ed. 1838.
[3] Chillingworth, *Novissima*, E. 3, ed. 1644.
[4] *D.N.B.*

study and comparison of different religions the essential parts of true religion might be deduced and comprised under five heads ; namely, that there is a God, that He ought to be worshipped, that virtue and piety are essential to worship, that a man ought to repent of his sins, and that there are rewards and punishments in a future life.

Herbert is said to have sent for Archbishop Usher on his death-bed, as he wished to receive communion. ' He said indifferently of it, that if there was anything good in anything 'twas in that, or, if it did no good 'twould do no hurt. The primate refused it, for which many blamed him.'

Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (1588–1671), author of *The Leviathan*, which was published in 1651, was more concerned with expressing political than theological opinions. His main theological conclusion was that ' in every Christian Commonwealth the civil sovereign is the supreme pastor to whose charge the whole flock of his subjects is committed, and consequently that it is by his authority that all other pastors are made and have power to teach and perform all other pastoral offices.' He anticipated critics of a later day by denying the Mosaic authorship of the ' Pentateuch ' and thought that from the Scriptures by themselves and the use of reason ' all rules and precepts necessary to the knowledge of our duty both to God and man without enthusiasm, or supernatural inspiration, may easily be deduced.' Burnet thought it ' a very wicked book ' and subversive of all religion. Aubrey says ' that he was a Christian is clear, for he received the sacrament and in his confession to Dr. Cosins on his, as he thought, death-bed, declared that he liked the Church of England best of all other.'

The Latitudinarians

After the Restoration these new ideas gave birth to a third party in the Church, destined to eclipse the other two in influence, if not in numbers. Its members were in favour of toleration for all Protestants who were to be comprehended in the established Church ; great stress was laid on the part played by the human reason in matters of faith and little made of the authority of the Church and the supernatural parts of religion. Burnet says that they came mostly from Cambridge and were great students of Plato, and gives the following account of them : ' They studied to assert and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds and in a

philosophical method. . . . They declared against superstition on the one hand and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church and the Liturgy, and could well live under them. But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and in divinity. From which they were called men of latitude and upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of Latitudinarians.'[1] Among them, though not in orders and an Oxford man, must be numbered John Locke (1632–1704), the philosopher, who wrote two tracts recommending toleration and an essay on 'The Reasonableness of Christianity.' Locke lived and died in full communion with the Church of England.

John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury (1690–94), was one of the first Latitudinarians to attain distinction. On coming to London in 1664 he soon became one of the most fashionable preachers of the day. His friend Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, says that 'he was esteemed the best preacher of the age, and seemed to have brought the art of preaching to perfection; his sermons were so well heard and liked and so much read that all the nation proposed him as a pattern and studied to copy after him.'[2] He had been brought up as a Puritan, but through the writings of Chillingworth had become a Latitudinarian and wrote of the Athanasian creed, 'I wish we were well rid of it.' In his sermons of which a large number survive, his main appeal is to reason and common sense. One which occupies seventy-four octavo pages in print is on 'The Wisdom of being Religious.' 'Considering,' he insists, 'the reasonableness and rewards of piety and virtue, nothing can be wiser.' He insists on the important part that reason had to play. Reason was to be the judge both of the doctrines revealed in the Bible and of the special inspirations to which some men pretended. He paid homage to the fashionable religion of nature. 'All supernatural religion supposes the truth of the principle of natural religion.' Transubstantiation was to be rejected because unreasonable. Tillotson was freely denounced as a Socinian and even an Atheist by the High Church party. The charge cannot be sustained. All that one can say is that while he accepts the supernatural truths of religion, which are above reason, he does not dwell on them.

[1] Burnet, *op. cit.*, ii. 188.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 135.

Hoadly was equally famous but less attractive. His career is instructive. In 1717, when Bishop of Bangor, a see he was bishop of for six years without ever visiting, he held, besides, the rectories of St. Peter le Poor and of Streatham. He became successively Bishop of Hereford, of Salisbury, and of Winchester. He died in 1761 after being a bishop forty-five years. He is chiefly remembered now as the hero of the Bangorian controversy. In 1717, when Bishop of Bangor, he preached a sermon before the King, 'The Nature of the Kingdom of the Church of Christ,' in which he denied that in the Church 'any one more than another has authority either to make new laws for Christ's subjects, or to impose a sense upon the old ones, or to judge, censure, or punish, the servants of another master in matters relating purely to conscience or salvation.' The sermon in itself was unimportant but gave rise to the suppression of Convocation. To prevent the condemnation of the sermon, Convocation was prorogued, and practically suppressed until 1852. Hoadly's son, who wrote a sketch of his life, says that 'he lived to see his Christian and moderate opinions prevail over the Km. in Church and State, and to see the Nonconformists at a very low ebb for want of the opposition and persecution they were too much used to experience . . . to see the general temper of the clergy entirely changed, the bishops professing few or none of intolerant principles and the clergy claiming no inherent authority, but as the natural result of their own good Behaviour as Individuals.'[1]

The Deists

Outside orthodox circles the Deists made the most stir and exercised most influence. They did not form a party, but were a school of thought and, as such, exercised great influence both in England and on the Continent. Their leading contribution to the thought of the day was the tenet that natural religion was adequate, and could be comprehended by the unaided reason of man, and that consequently a revelation was unnecessary. To a generation which, as we have seen by the popularity of the Latitudinarians, was reacting against faith and exalting reason, and inclined to minimize the supernatural, this teaching was most acceptable. It was a modification of the orthodox faith to meet the intellectual needs of the day.

The Deist controversy was begun by John Toland, an Irishman,

[1] Benjamin Hoadly, *Works*, Introd. vol. i.

who in 1696 published a book called *Christianity not Mysterious, or a Treatise showing that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason nor above it; and that no Christian Doctrine can properly be called a Mystery.* The book created a considerable stir, and was presented as pernicious by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, and burnt by the common hangman in Dublin by order of the Irish Parliament. Toland himself was so much preached against in Dublin that a certain Irish peer is said to have given as a reason for not going to church that 'instead of his Saviour Jesus Christ, one John Toland was all the discourse there.' Toland's main point was that the teaching of Christ, as given in the Gospels, was simplicity itself, but that mysteries had been grafted on to its original simplicity by interested sacerdotalists. He anticipated certain modern writers by accusing the Church of borrowing from pagan religions and, in particular, of altering the whole character of Baptism and the Eucharist; 'they strangely disguised and transformed these by adding to them the Pagan Mystical Rites.' His book made a great stir and is said to have evoked 115 answers.

The Deist writers had an extraordinary vogue. Woolston is said to have sold in a short time 30,000 copies of a book entitled *Six Discourses on the Miracles*, which said in effect that miracles do not happen. Nor was the ferment confined to the educated classes. Thomas Chubb (1679–1747), a tallow chandler of Salisbury, devoted his life to the propagation of Deist opinions among the comparatively uneducated. He pointed out that the Bible was not one book but a collection of books, and made great play with the contradictions to be found in it. He asserted that many things in it were 'greatly below and unworthy of the Supreme Deity.' He objected to the imprecations in the Psalms. He anticipated the criticisms that have been made of late of the morality of the Gospels as well as of the Old Testament, and though the idea of an 'interim ethic' had not occurred to him, he insinuated that the morality of Christ was not suited to life in this world. 'The question before us is whether that thoughtlessness and indolence as to worldly goods, which Christ requires, or that thoughtfulness and industry which man's present indigent condition, or the present constitution of things, call for, the question is which of them contributes most to human happiness.' [1]

In 1730 Matthew Tindal (1657–1733) published *Christianity as Old as Creation.* His main contention is that Natural Religion

[1] *Remarks on the Scriptures*, p. 5.

is sufficient and can be apprehended by the reason. 'The law of nature either is or is not a perfect law; if the last, does it not argue want of wisdom in the legislator in just enacting such an imperfect law and then letting it continue thus imperfect from age to age and at last thinking to make it perfect by adding some merely positive and arbitrary precepts?'

The Deist controversy did one lasting good. It called forth the *Analogy of Religion*, by Joseph Butler, of which the first edition was published in 1736, described by Sir Leslie Stephen as 'the greatest theological work of the time and one of the most original of any time.' Butler's main argument is that, given the Deist position, that Nature is from God, there is no good reason for doubting that Scripture, morality, and revelation, are from God also. It is not so much his closely packed argument that appeals to us to-day as the illuminating remarks that crop up in his pages. That 'probability is the guide of life'; that it may be that 'in eternity there are spaces vast enough' for fulfilling lives cut off prematurely on earth: or that active habits tend to grow stronger, passive impressions weaker by repetition. It is a work that appeals very differently to different minds. But he may at least be said to have made good his claim that 'Thus much at least will here be found, not taken for granted but proved, that any reasonable man, who will thoroughly consider the matter, may be as much assured as he is of his own being, that it is not, however, so clear a case that there is nothing in it.' 'There is I think strong evidence of its truth; but it is certain no one can, upon principles of reason, be satisfied of the contrary.' Butler became successively Bishop of Bristol and of Durham. Before, when living in the country, his name had been mentioned to Queen Caroline, who remarked that she thought he had been dead. 'No, madam, he is not dead, but he is buried' was the reply.

The publication of the *Analogy* seems to have killed Deism. Sir Leslie Stephen says that only two worthless pamphlets appeared against him in his lifetime. When the works of Lord Bolingbroke, the Tory statesman, who had been a kind of king among the Deists, were published posthumously in 1754, the first impression was not sold off in twenty years. For the work aroused little interest. But if Deism considered as a constructive religion was dead in England, its destructive element remained, and was carried on by two remarkable men, David Hume the philosopher and Edward Gibbon the historian. Hume in his *Dialogue on Natural Religion*, published in 1776,

attacked the argument from design, on which Deists based their belief in a God of Nature. In his 'Essay on Miracles' he argued against belief in miracles on general grounds, alleging the impossibility of producing sufficient testimony for a miracle to justify belief in them. Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, a work of genius and learning, lost no opportunity of casting doubts on the truth of Christianity, and in two celebrated chapters, XV and XVI, sought to explain its rise and success on purely secular grounds. Hume also wrote a 'History,' but its influence was political, rather than religious, and it has long been superseded. Gibbon's prime motive was historical, but the religious motive of discrediting Christianity was secondary and important. Moreover, after 150 years, his history has not been superseded and remains a standard authority for the period which it treats.

The Arians

The Arians revived the tenets of the celebrated Arius, whose opinions were condemned by the Council of Nicea. It may be remembered that in response to the intellectual demands of his day he endeavoured to make the Christian faith more reasonable by denying the self-existence of the second Person of the Trinity. This heresy was renewed, and for the same reason, towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. John Milton in his later years was an Arian. Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), Vicar of St. James, Westminster, was the most celebrated of the eighteenth-century Arians. His *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* was generally considered unorthodox and provoked an animated controversy. The famous Waterland wrote in 1719 *A Vindication of Christ's Divinity* in answer to it. A subsidiary controversy arose over the right of those who held Clarke's opinions to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. Clarke held that 'every person may reasonably agree to such forms, whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them with Scripture,' a position which was controverted by Waterland in a tract entitled *The Case of Arian Subscription considered and the several Pleas and Excuses for it particularly examined and confuted*, a controversy which has a very twentieth-century sound. Clarke once had a controversy with a Roman Catholic in the presence of Queen Caroline, Consort of George II, in which he endeavoured to defend his orthodoxy, but on being pressed to say whether the First Person of the Trinity

could annihilate the Second and Third, could make no reply. Voltaire, who saw him in England, says that Bishop Gibson prevented his preferment to the see of Canterbury by telling the Queen that 'Clarke was the most learned and honest man in her dominions but had one defect—he was not a Christian.'[1] Bishop Hoadly was intimate with him and wrote his life and declared that he wished to be known as 'the friend of Dr. Clarke.'

VI

PIETISM

In Germany

The Thirty Years' War was succeeded in Protestant Germany by an arid era, in which religion tended to be resolved into assent to certain theological propositions, to be, in fact, 'high and dry.' The name Pietism was given to a movement tending to make religion more living, and to lay stress on a personal sense of the divine nearness rather than on an intellectual assent to a creed. The title of a book written by an English admirer gives an insight into the character of the movement, *Pietas Hallensis or a Publick Demonstration of the Footsteps of a Divine Being yet in the world.* Its appeal was emotional.

The Halle Pietists.—One of the early Pietists, a certain Dr. Müller (1631–75), was charged with having preached a sermon at Rostock in which he stated that 'Our modern Christians have four dumb idols, which they worship, and these are (1) The pulpit, (2) the font, (3) the altar, (4) the stool of Confession,' but was acquitted after pleading that he only rejected the *opus operatum* of the means of grace.

The mantle of Müller fell on Philip Spener (1635–1705), who was the John Wesley of the German Pietists. He wrote a book entitled *Pia Desideria* and issued republications of Tauler's works, and of the *Imitatio.* In 1666 he went to Frankfurt, where he established Collegia Pietatis, or devotional gatherings. These meetings took the form of an exposition on Scripture, followed by a practical application, after which others, including laymen, were allowed 'to bring forth any experience or Spiritual Meditation, that was upon their Spirits.'[2] From Frankfurt he went to Dresden to

[1] *D.N.B.*

[2] *Pietas Hallensis*, Introd., p. xxv.

be Chaplain to the Elector John George III of Saxony, who disliked both his sermons and his private visits, 'where he would hold him in an unpleasing Conference and Intercourse about his future state, dealing plainly and roundly with him as an Ambassador of God and Christ.'[1] From Dresden he moved to Berlin by the invitation of the Elector of Prussia, and died there in 1705. His principal instrument for the reformation of the Church was to be the establishment in each congregation of devotional gatherings, for prayer, Bible study, mutual exhortation, and confession, anticipating the Methodist class-meeting and unconsciously plagiarising the early Oratorians. He was a Puritan, disallowing cards, dancing, and the theatre.

Augustus Francke was the third great name among the Pietists of Germany. He had come under the influence of Spener and had himself experienced a divine rebirth. He did for the University of Leipzig very much what Spener had done for Frankfurt. A Society called the *Collegium Philobiblicum* was founded for the promotion of the devotional study of the Bible. Its meetings began with prayer. 'After the lecture both explicatory and applicatory of the text, it was a custom for the director to add his monitions and counsels, the rest of the members to confer their observations, and even the students and auditors sometimes to propose theirs too.'[2] So much zeal was shown that the booksellers were hardly able to keep pace with the demand for copies of the New Testament in Greek. The logical, metaphysical and homiletical schools were almost deserted, as many of the students employed several hours daily in these exercises on the Bible, some hardly reading any book besides. Opposition was soon encountered. The name of Pietist was given them in derision, very much as Wesley's followers were called Methodists, and before long Francke was expelled from Leipzig.

In 1691 he received the appointment of Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Halle, recently founded by the Elector of Brandenburg. Through his work and influence Halle became the headquarters of German Pietism. He established an orphanage, a hostel for students, and almshouses for the aged poor, which were supported by the offerings of the charitable. His own account of them survives, in which he claims that he undertook their foundation in faith alone, and that having tried begging and found it laborious and its results inadequate, he relied entirely on prayer for the maintenance of his charitable undertakings. In his account of

[1] *Pietas Hallensis*, Introd., p. xxv.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

his institutions he enumerates more than twenty separate occasions when he was reduced literally to his last coin, only to be relieved by the post, or a visitor, bringing a fresh supply of money or food. If Francke is to be believed, his faith never failed to be justified.[1] He attributed his success to the direct interposition of God. 'I never as yet have missed my aim when I have undertaken anything in dependence upon the Lord.' In the nineteenth century Müller maintained a huge orphanage at Bristol, and Erasmus Phillips expensive institutions at Warminster by the same method.

Francke also held weekly conferences for divinity students in the university, on the lines of the *Collegia Philobiblica*, 'for keeping up in some degree the life of religion, in an age wherein profaneness has got the ascendant, while preaching is generally looked upon as a mere trade and hearing of sermons practised out of mere custom.'

To Halle must be given the credit of proving to be the first nursery of missionaries, outside the Roman Communion, since the Reformation. When Frederick IV of Denmark wished to establish Christianity in the Danish settlements in India he sent to Halle for missionaries. Francke died in 1727.

The Moravian Brethren.—One of Francke's disciples at Halle, Count Zinzendorf (d. 1760), became the patron and afterwards the pastor of a colony of Protestants, who had escaped from Bohemia and Moravia. They were descended from the Hussites and had preserved an episcopal succession. Count Zinzendorf gave them an estate in Saxony which received the name of Herrnhut, the Watch of the Lord. The settlement at Herrnhut was distinguished by its discipline. The unmarried were divided according to sex and no social intercourse was permitted between the sexes. The children were brought up by the community. It was, in fact, a monastic establishment with special arrangements for the married. There was a system of bands and classes, for mutual edification and confession, afterwards introduced by Wesley into Methodism. Wesley's constitution for his school at Kingswood also was imitated from what he found at Herrnhut. Zinzendorf, by upbringing a Lutheran, did not wish to break away from the State Church but to found societies within the Church, much as the Methodists were societies within the English Church. As with Wesley's followers, circumstances were too strong, and in 1742 Moravianism was recognised as a separate Church by the Prussian government.

The Moravian Brethren were distinguished by their zeal for

[1] *Pietas Hallensis*, p. 50.

foreign missions. During Zinzendorf's lifetime Moravian missions were despatched to the West Indies, Greenland, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Dutch Guiana, Egypt, and South Africa.

In The Roman Church

Quietism.—Similar Pietistic movements can be traced within the Roman Church. The underlying motive was the same—the intense longing for a realised union with God and a living faith in God as present and operative in the human soul. Such a movement was *Quietism*. Its founder was Molinos (1627–96), a Spanish priest, who acquired a reputation at Rome as a spiritual director and published a book in 1675 called *The Spiritual Guide*, which attained an immediate popularity and went through twenty editions in six years. He recommended a passive and receptive attitude in religion on the lines of the verse in the Psalms : 'Open thy mouth wide and I will fill it.' 'The highest state of the soul was the state of retirement and perfect contemplation, in which the soul does not reason or reflect, neither about God nor itself, but passively receives the impressions of celestial life, undisturbed by the world or its works. Whenever the soul can be lifted up to this state, it desires nothing, not even its own salvation, and fears nothing, not even hell. It becomes indifferent to the use of sacraments and to all the practices of sensible devotion, having transcended the sphere of their efficacy.'[1]

'It concerns thee only,' he wrote, 'to prepare thy heart like clean paper wherein the Divine Wisdom may imprint characters to his own liking.' Parallels to such passages are to be found in the writings of St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross and other mystics, and for a time Molinos received far more praise than censure. He was given lodgings in the Vatican, and became the fashion in devout circles. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, was in Italy during the winter of 1685, and wrote : 'the new method of Molinos doth so much prevail at Naples that it is believed he hath above 20,000 followers in the city. He hath writ a book which is intitled *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the Mystical Divinity ; the substance of the whole is reduced to this, that in our prayers and other devotions, the best methods are to retire the mind from all gross images and so to form an act of faith and thereby to present ourselves before God and then to sink into a silence and cessation

[1] Bigelow, *Molinos the Quietist*, p. 5.

of new acts and to let God act upon us and so to follow his conduct. . . . The Jesuits have set themselves much against this conduct.'

The Jesuits opposed Molinos from the first and were credited with having stirred up Louis XIV to use his influence with the Pope to secure his trial by the Inquisition. He was arrested ten years after the publication of his book, and in 1687 formally condemned. His opinions were anathematised as 'heretical, suspicious, erroneous, scandalous, blasphemous, and offensive to pious ears.' He died in prison.

The *Spiritual Guide* of Molinos was said to be derived from the *débris* of the sect of *Illuminés*.[1] The *Illuminés* held that they were vessels, chosen of God to reform the Church, had revelations in abundance, and pretended to arrive at the most sublime perfection. They got a foot in many religious houses, were harried by Louis XIII and finally suppressed by the vigilance and energy of Vincent de Paul.

Madame de Guyon.—About the same time Madame de Guyon was independently propagating very similar opinions in France. She claimed that she could preach with ease because 'words were given her from above,' and could write without thinking 'because an excellent Penman held her hand; she could perform miracles, knew what was passing in the minds of others and had absolute power over their souls and bodies.' She said that the perfect should not pray for graces for themselves, because, being wholly in God's hand, their state was His concern rather than their own. She said that she could no more say the Lord's Prayer for herself than a paralysed man could move his limbs. She was for some time a protégée of Fénélon, the famous Bishop of Cambrai, but her opinions were condemned, she ended her days in prison, and an odour of heterodoxy hung about Fénélon for years.[2]

In America

Simultaneously with the Pietists of Halle and before the Wesleys had begun to preach, a Pietistic movement was on foot in America, subsequently called *The Great Awakening*. The famous Jonathan Edwards was its pioneer at Northampton, in Connecticut. We first read of it in 1735. He describes the effects of his sermons, how 'the assembly in general were from time to time in tears while the Word was preached, some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and concern for the souls of their

[1] Collet, *op. cit.*

[2] St. Cyres, *Fénélon.*

neighbours.' His congregation solemnly promised to renounce all evil ways, 'those who are young to allow themselves in no diversions that would hinder a devout spirit.' He wrote a book under the title *Narrative of Surprising Conversions* which influenced Wesley, who read it during a walk from London to Oxford, and wrote of it in his journal, 'Surely this is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in his eyes.' The movement spread. In New Londonderry (1749) the first signs were remarked of those bodily convulsions which afterwards became such a feature of revivalist preaching. 'Several would be overcome and fainting; others deeply sobbing hardly able to contain; others crying in a most dolorous manner; many others more silently weeping, and a solemn concern appearing in the countenances of many others.'[1]

The Moravian Brethren arrived in Georgia with John Wesley in 1736 and increased the Pietist leaven. But the Pietist revival did not spread until the second visit of George Whitefield (1739). Perhaps no one has ever preached to such enormous crowds or received such homage as Whitefield did in America. His vogue was not confined to the uneducated. Benjamin Franklin emptied his pockets when he pleaded for an orphanage. The governor at Boston 'slobbered over him with tears, embraces and kisses.' The Governor of New Haven thanked him 'for such refreshings on the way to our rest.'[2] In common with Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley he preached the necessity of an assurance of salvation by means of a psychological experience, which was induced by a genuine terror of hell-fire, a conviction of sin, and the offer of pardon through the Cross and acceptance by Jesus.

Whitefield's faults were intensified in his followers, and the emotional displays which resulted were disapproved by many. Dr. Timothy Cutler, the former head of Yale College, wrote: 'Whitefield has plagued us with a witness. It would be an endless attempt to describe the scene and disturbance occasioned by him; the division of families, neighbourhoods and towns; the contrariety of husbands and wives; the undutifulness of children and servants; the quarrels among the teachers; the disorders of the night; the intermission of labour and business; the neglect of husbandry and the gathering of the harvest. . . . In many communities several preaching, and several exhorting or praying, at the same time, the rest crying, or laughing, yelping, sprawling or fainting. This revel in

[1] Jonathan Edwards, *Works*.
[2] Platner, *History of Religion in New England*.

some places has been maintained many days and nights together. . . .' 'After him came one Tennant, a monster, impudent and noisy, and told them they were all Damned! damned! damned! This charmed them, and, in the most dreadful winter I ever saw, people wallowed in the snow, night and day for the benefit of his beastly brayings.' [1]

'Mr. Whitefield's Doctrine of inward Feelings,' wrote Dr. Chauncy, a leading Congregationalist minister in Boston, 'began to discover itself in multitudes whose sensible perceptions rose to such a height as that they cried out, fell down, swooned away, and to all appearance were like Persons in Fits; and this when the preaching had in it as little well digested and connected good Sense as you can well suppose. . . . The speaker delivers himself with the greatest vehemence both of voice and gesture and in the most frightful language his genius will allow of. . . . In the same house and at the same time, some would be praying, some exhorting, some singing, some clapping their hands, some laughing, some crying, some shrieking and roaring out.' As to the good effected by Whitefield, Chauncy wrote: 'Wherever he went he generally moved the passions, especially of the younger people and the females among them; the effect whereof was a great talk about religion, together with a disposition to be perpetually hearing sermons, to neglect of all other business. . . . So far as I could judge upon the nicest observation, the town (Boston) was not much mended in those things wherein a Reformation was greatly needed.' [2] The S.P.G. missionaries spoke of large numbers of proselytes who had been brought to the Church by dislike of revivalism. On the other side of the account must be put a practical movement among planters to instruct their slaves, and missionary work among Indians.

The Great Awakening lasted from 1735 to 1760, but Methodism proper, which is organised revivalism, did not begin until 1766, when Philip Embury, who had been a local preacher in Ireland, began to preach in New York and formed a *class* in his house. In 1771 Francis Asbury arrived from England, sent out by Wesley. He was the apostle of Methodism in America and was the first Methodist bishop. The movement spread rapidly and Methodism is said to be to-day the most powerful religious body in America.

[1] Platner, *History of Religion in New England.*

[2] *A letter from a gentleman in Boston to Mr. George Wishart, one of the ministers in Edinburgh, concerning the state of religion in New England,* 1742.

John Wesley (1703–91)

John Wesley, the father of English Pietism, was said to have derived his religion in the first place from William Law. Bishop Warburton wrote : 'William Law begot Methodism.' Law was a High Churchman and Non-Juror, whose book *The Serious Call* had an extraordinary influence. Few books have had more. John Wesley took Law for his oracle. George Whitefield wrote : 'God worked powerfully on my soul by that excellent treatise.' Later Evangelicals endeavoured to frame their lives according to its precepts. The reason of its influence is not far to seek. It is the call of a man thoroughly in earnest calling upon Christians to consider the implications of being a Christian, and the tremendous claims of Christ on his followers. The burden of the book, pressed home with the advantages of wit, humour, logic, and penetrating observation, is that if religion is true and Christ our Master, our whole lives belong to him and should be devoted to his service, and to stop short half-way and be content with half-measures is foolish. No believer can read the book without heart-searching and inward qualms. Nevertheless, great as the book undoubtedly is, it had one striking omission, which the Evangelicals were to supply. Law says little about redemption through the Cross, and nothing about vicarious suffering.

John Wesley must be reckoned with the great religious reformers—with Benedict, Dunstan, Francis, and Ignatius Loyola. He did not head a revolt like Luther, nor organise a new religion like Calvin. The schism for which he was responsible was not of the essence of his reformation, but an accident, though possibly an inseparable accident. The reformer he comes nearest to is Ignatius Loyola, of whom he wrote : 'Surely one of the greatest men that ever was engaged in so bad a cause.' [1] Like that great man, his greatness lay not in originality, but in personal influence, iron determination, and ability to adapt means to ends, over and above a spirit of self-sacrifice almost super-human. Ignatius, however, was content to accept the Christian faith as he received it. Wesley gave it an individual twist and attached extraordinary importance to his variations. He anticipated the Tractarians by a hundred years, but tried to graft Pietism on to High Church doctrines.

He decided to be ordained when an undergraduate at Christ Church, and on becoming a Fellow of Lincoln College in 1726, determined to have no acquaintance that would not help him on the

[1] *Journal.*

way to heaven. 'And I bless God,' he wrote long afterwards, 'this has been my invariable rule for about three-score years.' He now became the leader of a group of young men, including his brother Charles, then an undergraduate of Christ Church, who resolved to live by rule, study the Bible, fast on Wednesdays and Fridays, and communicate weekly. They also visited prisoners and the sick and observed a rule of self-examination. They were called *Sacramentaries* in Christ Church, the *Holy Club* by Merton men, by others, *Methodists*. 'I hear,' wrote Samuel Wesley, 'my son John has the honour of being styled the Father of the Holy Club.'

Like Ignatius, John Wesley did not realise at first what his life's work was to be. In 1735, with his brother Charles and two companions, he sailed to the newly founded colony of Georgia as an S.P.G. chaplain on a stipend of £50 per annum to minister to the colonists and convert the Indians.

If William Law, to use Bishop Warburton's metaphor, had 'begot Methodism,' Moravians were 'to rock its cradle.' On the way out Wesley made the acquaintance of some Moravians by whom he was attracted. When they landed in Savannah, one of their pastors thus interrogated him. 'My brother, have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your Spirit, that you are a child of God?' He was surprised and did not know what to answer. The other observed it and asked: 'Do you know Jesus Christ?' He paused and said: 'I know he is the Saviour of the world.' 'True,' replied he, 'but do you know he has saved you?' Wesley could not answer, and a seed was planted, destined to germinate and bear fruit.

The mission to Georgia was a failure. It was the only period in his life which can fairly be described as such. The Indians he never reached. There were difficulties and obstacles, but he made no serious attempt to overcome them, and though he learned German, Spanish, and Italian during his absence from England, it does not appear that he attempted to learn the language of the natives. The English settlers he alienated, though they were at first well disposed. When he preached his first sermon at Savannah, he noticed the number of people in church, the deep attention with which they listened, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces. But they were soon offended. He preached on dress, 'expounding those scriptures which relate to dress and pressing them upon his audience in a plain and close application.' He insisted on baptising

infants by immersion. He refused sponsors who were not communicants; he would not admit a Dissenter who wanted to communicate unless he would submit to re-baptism. He refused to read the Burial Service for reasons which did not satisfy his flock. His sermons were so personal that people stayed away from church. He changed the services on Sunday, saying morning prayer at 5 A.M. and the communion office with the sermon at 11, claiming that he followed the primitive arrangement, which, he said, was still observed in a few places in England. Finally, after courting a young lady, the niece of one of the leading men at Savannah, he drew back because the Moravian elders, whom he had consulted, advised him 'to proceed no further in the business.' The lady almost immediately married someone else. Soon afterwards he repelled her from Communion, on grounds which have not been divulged. Legal proceedings followed. The colony was like an angry beehive and the Wesleys withdrew.

He returned to England in 1737, not a little depressed. The doubts concerning his own salvation which had been instilled by the Moravians, and which might never have recurred to him, if his work in Georgia had been successful, lodged in his mind. He was introduced to Peter Böhler, a leading Moravian, by whom he 'was clearly convinced of unbelief—of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.' 'It is now two years and almost four months since I left my native country in order teach the Georgian Christians the nature of Christianity. But what have I learned myself meantime? Why—what I least of all suspected—that I who went to America to convert others was never myself converted to God.' He felt he lacked the right sort of faith. 'The faith I want is a sure trust and confidence in God that through the merits of Christ, my sins are forgiven and I reconciled to the favour of God.' Further, he had come to believe that that faith 'none can have without knowing that he hath it.' He had not long to wait. 'On May 24, 1738, I went very unwillingly to a Society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine while he was thus describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.' The doctrine of the inherent depravity of human nature, of justifying faith as the sole instrument of

salvation, and the need of personal assurance became the cardinal doctrines of Methodism. The last, the need of assurance, he modified, however, before he died.

The direction of his future work was decided by Whitefield, who had been preaching to vast crowds at Kingswood, a colliery district near Bristol, and wrote to Wesley to join him. This he did after considerable hesitation. 'The devil,' he said afterwards, 'does not like open-air preaching, neither do I; I love a commodious room, a soft cushion, a handsome pulpit.' His preaching had instantaneous effect, witnessed to, so it was thought, by the convulsions into which many of his hearers were thrown. Henceforward, Wesley felt that the world was full of ignorant, sinful, and indifferent, men and women who had only to be preached to effectively to be saved, and that he was called by God to this work. During the next fifty years he is said to have travelled over 250,000 miles and to have preached over 40,000 sermons. He crossed the Irish Channel forty-two times.[1] He visited Scotland, Wales, Germany and Holland. 'I look upon,' he said, 'the whole world as my parish.'

When he died there were in the Society 1000 local and 300 itinerant preachers, 80,000 members in England, besides 191 preachers and 60,000 members in America. To-day the number of preachers runs into thousands, and of members into millions.

His labours were almost superhuman. In addition to other tasks, he founded a school at Kingswood for the children of his lay-preachers, for which he himself wrote Latin, Greek and Hebrew grammars. He neglected no means of *propaganda* and was a prolific writer of tracts, sermons, and letters. Even before his conversion he had resolved to use absolute unreserve on religious matters with all whom he should meet, and would exhort strangers he met on the road, the servants and company at an inn. Once on the coach on the way to Salisbury he broke the ice by general conversation and resolved never to do so again, as he afterwards failed to bring it to as high a level as he wished.

He was not only a great teacher but he was a great organiser. He saw that to preach to vast crowds and then leave the result to care for itself was not enough. By the class system every Methodist was in a class with a leader responsible for the members, their subscriptions, and their morals. It met weekly for business and devotion and would have supplied a great want in any religious

[1] *D.E.C.H.*

organisation, but particularly in one recruited by sensational preaching.

Another source of strength was the system of local and itinerant preachers. The local preachers went on with their ordinary business and preached as required. The itinerants, like the Wesleys, devoted their whole lives to the work, and toured in pre-arranged districts. The Wesleys, Charles especially, were at first against the lay-preachers, but the movement was too strong and lay-preaching became one of the keystones of the Methodist arch.

These two things, fellowship and the opportunity of expression, satisfied two great psychological needs of the fervent convert.

Wesley and the Church.—Wesley was not only a Churchman but a High Churchman. He and his associates in the beginning of the movement fasted until 3 P.M. on Wednesdays and Fridays, because these were the ancient fast-days of the Church. In 1745, when charged with grounding the validity of this ministry on 'a succession supposed to be from the Apostles,' he says, 'that it would not be right for me to administer either baptism or the Lord's Supper, unless we had a commission so to do from those bishops, whom we apprehend to be in a succession from the Apostles.' But when he found that Catholic principles stood in the way of his work, he did not hesitate to sacrifice Catholic principles. He felt he was called upon to preach the Gospel, but, 'where,' he asked, 'shall I preach it on what are called Catholic principles?' 'God in Scripture commands me according to my power to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous; man forbids me to do this in another man's parish; that is in effect, to do it at all, seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall.'

The Bishop of Bristol, who was much disturbed by the convulsions into which people were thrown by Wesley's preaching, desired him to leave his diocese, but he was never formally inhibited, though his brother Samuel said that 'he was forbid all the pulpits in London,' adding, 'I am not afraid that the Church should excommunicate him; discipline is at too low an ebb; but that he should excommunicate the Church.' Even before the appointment of lay-preachers, Samuel Wesley, who died in 1739, foretold a separation. 'But they design separation. Things will take their natural course without a special interposition of providence.' The organisation of lay-preachers made a schism inevitable. Many of them had been Dissenters. Few were attached to the Church. They soon claimed to celebrate the Holy Communion. Wesley

convinced himself that presbyter and bishop were identical terms, and that he had as good a right to ordain as to celebrate the Holy Communion. In 1784 he set apart Thomas Coke as Superintendent of the Methodists in America by laying on of hands, and Coke soon afterwards took the name of bishop, which the chief officers of the Episcopal Methodists in the U.S.A. have retained ever since.

In England the formal separation was not made until 1795, in Ireland not until 1870. The laying-on of hands in the setting apart of ministers was not exercised after Wesley's death until 1836, and is declared to be non-essential. In the Methodist body itself there have been many separations. The Methodist New Connexion seceded in 1796, the Bible Christians in 1815, the Primitive Methodists or Ranters in 1812.

George Whitefield (1714–1770)

George Whitefield was the son of an innkeeper at Gloucester and had himself 'washed mops, cleaned rooms, and in one word become a professed and common drawer for nigh a year and a half.' However, he abandoned this life and going up to Pembroke College, Oxford, as a servitor, joined the original band of Methodists. He was ordained and became famous as a preacher almost immediately. Soon after his ordination he went to Bristol, when he preached five times a week to crowded churches. 'Some hung upon the rails of the organ-loft, others climbed upon the leads of the church and altogether made the church so hot with their breath that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain.' [1] He began the open-air preaching. This was attended with great success. 'To-morrow I am to repeat that mad trick and on Sunday to go out into Moorfields. The word of the Lord runs and is glorified; people's hearts seem quite broken; God strengthens me exceedingly. I preach till I sweat through and through.' At Kingswood, Bristol, 20,000 are said to have come to hear him. He wrote of 'the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback and some in the trees, and at times all affected and drenched in tears together.'

Lord Chesterfield was a great admirer of his preaching. Even the Deist, Lord Bolingbroke, went to hear him. Dr. Johnson thought his sermons characterised by 'familiarity and noise' but that he 'was of use to the lower classes of mankind.' In Scotland

[1] Southey, *Life of Wesley*, ed. 1887, p. 88.

his preaching was attended by scenes of wild enthusiasm. At Cambuslang he wrote : ' The people seem to be slain by scores. They are carried off and come into the house like soldiers wounded in and carried off a field of battle. Their cries and agonies are exceedingly affecting . . . such a universal stir I never saw before.'

He broke with the Wesleys in 1741 over the doctrines of predestination and sinless perfection. ' What a fond conceit it is,' he wrote, ' to cry up perfection and cry down the doctrine of final perseverance ? But this and many other absurdities you will run into because you will not own election, because you cannot own it without believing the doctrine of reprobation. What then is there in the doctrine of reprobation so horrid ? ' ' I cannot bear the thoughts of opposing you,' he wrote in 1740, ' but how can I avoid it, if you go about (as your brother once said) to drive John Calvin out of Bristol.'

This doctrine of reprobation was in his own words : ' That a certain number are elected for eternity and these must and shall be saved, and the rest of mankind must and shall be damned.'

In England he was taken up by the Countess of Huntingdon, who had been converted by Wesley, but found in Whitefield a servant willing to be used, instead of an autocratic and exacting master. She put herself at the head of his followers in England. She built chapels, which were called Lady Huntingdon's chapels, and provided preachers who were called Lady Huntingdon's preachers. By right of her position as a peeress, she was able to engage ordained clergymen as chaplains, but she also employed lay preachers, whom she appointed and dismissed at pleasure. She set up a seminary for the instruction of preachers at Trevecca in South Wales, which was called Lady Huntingdon's College. When the Calvinistic controversy with the Methodists was at its height, she dismissed the staff at Trevecca for refusing to renounce Arminian views. Her followers, when they broke away from the Church, became known as Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, and still survive, as a variety of Congregationalism, under that name.

At one time, like St. Benedict, of Aniane, Whitefield thought ' Christianity required him to go about nasty.' Afterwards, like St. Bernard, he ' dressed decently out of principle.' [1]

His epistolary style is effusive and sentimental, and added to his tremendous earnestness and eloquence helps to explain his popularity as a preacher. This style is better suited to speaking than writing.

[1] Letter of Sept. 1745.

To the wife of the superintendent of the orphanage in Georgia, when some of the orphans had died, he wrote :

' Dear Sister B,—Has the Lord called for your dear lambs ? ' To her husband, who had been arrested : ' And has my dear brother B. got the start of me ? What, put into prison before me ? I wish you joy, dear brother, with all my heart.' In another letter : ' Dear brother, my soul loves you.' To his mother : ' Ere long your doom, honoured Mother, will be fixed. You must shortly go hence and be no more seen. Your only daughter is, I trust, in the Paradise of God. Methinks I hear her say, Mother, Come up hither. My honoured mother, I am happier and happier every day. How my heart does burn with love and duty to you. Gladly would I wash your aged feet and weep and pray till I could pray no more.' [1]

Whitefield died in America, worn out with his labours. He died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he had preached for two hours, and on returning to the house where he was staying, preached to the crowd from the stairs until his candle was burnt out. Next morning he died, and was buried, at his own request, before the pulpit in the Presbyterian Church of that town. All the bells in the town tolled, the ships in the harbour fired mourning guns and hung their flags half-mast. In Georgia, all the black cloth in the stores was bought up and the church was hung with black : the governor and council met at the state-house in deep mourning and went in procession to the church to hear a funeral sermon.

The Salvation Army

In time Methodism settled down into respectability, and in 1866 its special work of preaching to the outcast was taken up by the body, first called the Christian Mission and then the Salvation Army. The *ægis* of John Wesley was taken up by William Booth, one of the most vivid and forcible personalities of the nineteenth century. In the military form of his organisation he resembled Ignatius Loyola, in his autocracy, his power of arousing enthusiasm, his genius for adapting means to ends, his determination, his belief in prayer, his business capacity, and his wholehearted devotion to his Master, he resembled both that great man and John Wesley.

Like Methodism, the Salvation Army has spread all over the world.

[1] 26 August, 1742.

VII

JANSENISM

Jansenism, which was a Puritan rather than a Pietist movement within the Church in France in the seventeenth century, was called by Dean Church 'the greatest religious birth of the French.'[1] It derives its name from Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, who is said to have read over the works of St. Augustine ten times and the passages relevant to the Pelagian controversy thirty times. The results of his studies were embodied in a book called the *Augustinus Cornelii Jansenii*, which took him twenty years to write and was finished on the day he died. Published in 1640, its teaching was introduced into France by Saint Cyran, the spiritual director of Port Royal, a Cistercian abbey presided over by the famous Mère Angélique. Port Royal proper was situated about eight miles south-west of Versailles, but the Community had established itself in Paris in 1626, and for a time there were two Port Royals, *Port Royal de Paris* and *Port Royal des Champs*, both ardently Jansenist.

Like all Puritan movements, it was an assertion of the power and majesty of God and the insignificance of man. The Jesuits, who were in the ascendant in France, seemed to the Jansenist to allow too much to man's free will. The Jesuit with his doctrine of *sufficient* grace taught that every man had sufficient grace to correspond to God's will and be saved. The Jansenist that 'we understand nothing of the works of God, if we do not take it as our starting-point that He has willed to blind some, to enlighten others.'[2] The Jesuit tended to lay stress on the activity of man, the Jansenist on that of God. The Jansenist emphasised the tremendous moral demand of God, while he accused the Jesuits of undermining Christian morals by relaxing the demand in favour of their penitents. The Jansenist charged the Jesuit with admitting people to communion without real repentance. The Jesuit accused the Jansenist of putting communion out of reach even of the penitent: not altogether without truth. Arnauld, a leading Jansenist, wrote a book, *Fréquente Communion*, in which he recommended a period of probation between confession and communion for those who had committed mortal sin, 'in order that they might purify themselves by penitential exercises before presenting themselves at the altar.'[3]

[1] *Pascal and other Sermons*, p. 5.

[2] Pascal, *Pensées*, iii. 6.

[3] J. Paquier, *Le Jansénisme*, p. 311.

He spoke with approval of those who, moved by penitence, deferred their communion until the approach of death.

In their outlook on Nature and Art, the Jansenist attitude was Puritan. In fact, their sense of God was so overpowering that they distrusted all indirect means of approach. Like St. Augustine, they feared in contemplating the creature to lose sight of the Creator. There were no flowers on their altars, no music in their churches. Just as a Molinist was accused of having thrown away a crucifix, because it distracted his attention, an eminent Jansenist remarked that many of them were obliged to close their eyes when they prayed in beautiful churches. There were no flowers in the garden of Port Royal.[1]

Blaise Pascal, who had earned before he was twenty-four a permanent niche in the temple of fame as a geometrician, a physicist and an inventor, was their most famous disciple. At the age of twenty-four he came under Jansenist influence and resolved to forswear all knowledge except the knowledge of God, all studies except the Bible, all pursuits except such as tended to the direct advance of the glory of God and his own salvation. Six years later, he underwent a second conversion, and, though he never entered a religious house, renounced so far as possible all intercourse with the world, and, after living for some years a life of extreme austerity and devotion, died in 1662 at the age of thirty-nine.

Two books by him illustrate the Jansenist attitude towards religion—the *Pensées* and the *Provincial Letters*. The *Pensées* do not form a treatise, but, as the name implies, detached observations on life and religion. They are distinguished like *The Serious Call* by a tremendous sense of the reality of God and of the practical importance of this reality. Two truths are insisted on, the corruption of man and his redemption by Jesus Christ. Everything else is comparatively unimportant. Pascal does not pretend that the truth of religion is clear or capable of proof by demonstrative evidence. For God is a God who hides himself. *Deus absconditus*. Yet there is light sufficient for those, whose only desire it is to see, and darkness sufficient for those, whose dis-

[1] J. Paquier, *Le Jansénisme*, p. 339: 'On ne savait là ce que c'était que de cueillir des fleurs, dit Fontaine, et d'un seul coup d'œil, on remarquait que c'était le jardin de personnes pénitentes, où il me fallait point chercher d'autres fleurs que les vertus de cœur qui le cultivaient.'

'Il y a plusieurs personnes qui sont obligés de fermer les yeux lorsqu'elles prient dans les églises qui sont trop belles.'

position is the contrary. But to the disobedient, God will not reveal Himself, nor will the reasoning faculties alone be sufficient to reveal Him. 'The heart has its reasons, which the reason knows nothing of.'

His corollary is the corollary of William Law. If Christianity is true, a wise man must make it the one serious business of life. 'Imagine a number of men in chains and all condemned to death, some of whom are every day butchered in the sight of the others; those who remain see their own condition in that of their fellows and each painfully and hopelessly beholding the other, await their turn. This is the picture of man's condition.' With this outlook on life, most mundane affairs seemed trifles and to amuse oneself with them folly. It is the attitude of the long line of ascetic saints. The attitude may be exaggerated, but to the Christian it is the exaggeration of a truth. After all, man lives on the brink of a precipice. 'The last act is always tragic, however fine the rest of the play may be.' 'Le dernier acte est sanglant, quelque belle que soit la comédie en tout le reste.'[1]

In the *Provincial Letters* Pascal attacked the Jesuits for their doctrine of grace and their casuistry, which seemed to him to sap the foundations of Christian morality. He accused the Jesuits of having two codes of morality, one strict for earnest Christians and one easy for those who wished to avoid the severer parts of religion.

His own life was lived in accordance with his teaching. He rebuked one sister for permitting the caresses of her children. He refused to mourn for the death of another, saying 'May God in His grace grant us so good a death.' He did not permit, if he could help it, anyone to become attached to him, saying that in permitting private attachments 'we occupy a heart which ought to be for God alone, and steal from Him the thing which is the most precious thing in the world to Him.' Yet with all his austerity he was full of tenderness and consideration. He originated for the service of poor people the first omnibuses in Paris. He took endless pains just before his death to get a young girl, who had begged of him, placed in a position of safety.

Jansenism was unpopular with both Jesuits and the court. A book, attributed to Jansen, called *Mars Gallicus*, treated the French King with scant respect. 'The French nation and its monarchs are most cruelly treated—the majesty of the throne is

[1] Church, *Pascal and other Sermons*.

violated, the anointing which makes the King sacred in the eyes of his subjects is discredited : finally their fury dares to maintain that our kings are *most Christian* in name only and aim at overthrowing Christianity in the principal countries of Europe.'[1] This alone would have roused the wrath of Louis XIV. Jansenists were also accused of holding that the Church had two heads—St. Peter and St. Paul—instead of one, a doctrine not likely to commend them to the authorities at Rome.

In 1653, at the instigation of the Jesuits, five propositions alleged to be taken out of Jansenius were condemned by the Pope, and French Jansenists were required to accept the condemnation. They were by this act placed in a quandary, as, though many were prepared to accept the doctrinal decision of the Pope condemning the propositions, they were not prepared to accept his decision on the question of fact, as to whether these propositions were contained in the Augustinus, as the condemnation stated. French Jansenists thus became inclined to Gallicanism. In 1708, Port Royal was destroyed by order of Louis XIV, and in 1712, Jansenism was finally condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*. Its influence, however, persisted and a French writer as recently as 1908 attributes to it the anti-clerical feeling of the France of his own day.[2]

VIII

GALLICANISM

Gallicanism is properly the name given to the spirit of nationalism in the French Church. It may, however, be given an extended meaning and taken to cover all nationalist movements within the Catholic Church, unlike Ultra-montanism, which asserts the opposite or centralising tendency; it also maintained the divine right of bishops as against the theory that all ecclesiastical authority is derived from the Pope.

This spirit was always strong in the French Church. By the Pragmatic Sanction of 1260, Louis IX had asserted the freedom of the French Church from external interference both as regards patronage and taxation. During the Council of Basle in 1438 the French Clergy met at Bourges to consider its decisions, and accepted or rejected them as they thought fit, thus implicitly recognising the

[1] Collet, *op. cit.*

[2] Paquier, *op. cit.*

principles for which Febronius was to contend long afterwards, that the decree of a Pope or even of a General Council was not valid in France until accepted there. Among other decrees of the Council of Basle they accepted that which declared the superiority of a General Council to the Pope. The Council also restored the right of electing bishops to the French Chapters. This assertion of Gallican rights became known to history as the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. Gallicanism, however, received a set-back by the Concordat of Bologna (1516) when, in return for the right of appointing bishops, the king ceded to the Pope the right of Institution.

But the spirit of Gallicanism was firmly planted in French soil. Marsollier [1] records that Francis de Sales told Beza that a General Council was the Supreme Authority for Catholics. Whether Francis used these words or not, they are quoted with approval by a French catholic in a book sanctioned by authority and dedicated to Mme. de Maintenon. Even Vincent de Paul in his controversy with the Jansenists asserted the infallibility of the Council of Trent.[2]

The Four Articles of 1682, which were drawn up and afterwards defended by Bossuet, laid down (1) that civil rulers have full authority in temporal affairs, (2) that General Councils are superior to the Pope, (3) that the customs of the French Church limit Papal interference, and (4) that the Pope is not infallible.

Ultimately the Jesuits proved too strong, the King gave way and the Articles were in effect withdrawn. Bossuet's defence was not published until 1745.

Febronius.—An interesting champion of national rights appeared in the eighteenth century in a certain von Hontheim, Coadjutor Bishop of Trèves, who wrote under the pseudonym of Febronius a book entitled *De statu ecclesiae et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis.*

It was published in four stout quarto volumes in 1763. A second edition appeared two years later. Though Febronius was compelled to retract in 1778 his views are interesting as constituting a reasoned defence of national churches from a believer in the primacy of the Pope. Like the fifteenth-century champions of conciliar rights he held that a General Council was superior to the Pope, and might be summoned in his despite, that the true holders of power were the bishops, that the Church was not a State,[3] and was not monarchical. In support of this last assertion he quotes

[1] Marsollier, *op. cit.*, ii. 22.
[2] Collet, *op. cit.*, ii. 437.
[3] *Ecclesia autem status non est* (2nd ed.), i. 158.

from the Fourth Gospel 'I will ask the Father and He will give you (*vobis* not *tibi*) another Comforter'; and from the Acts, 'visum est Spiritui et *nobis*.' He held that General Councils have their authority immediately from Christ: that they can depose popes who err gravely in faith or morals: that in a Council bishops are not merely advisers of the Pope but co-judges: that appeals from the Pope to a General Council are legitimate.

He also asserts the rights of national Churches. He regards the Gallican liberties as not the special privileges of one Church, but as part of the natural rights of all Churches. While a General Council was the best remedy for abuses, if a General Council could not be had, he held that National Councils should be summoned by the respective kings and carry out necessary reforms. But if the Pope opposed their decrees and made a schism, there would have to be provided *extra ordinem ad tempus*, a *Caput Nationale* for the Church, as had been done in 1408 in France, by an Assembly of the Clergy, which is to be regarded as the sovereign ecclesiastical tribunal of the nation. He takes Grosseteste as a laudable instance of refusal to obey the orders of a Pope, and is prepared to sanction resistance to the Pope, if necessary, by the secular power. If secular princes were justified in going on Crusades, much more were they in taking up arms to end divisions in the Church. Febronius quotes Locke at some length, but makes no allusion to Henry VIII or the Church of England, whose history and example he evidently had in mind. Febronianism was taken up by the Emperor Joseph II, whose four archbishops drew up the Articles of Ems in 1786, embodying his ideas. Da Ricci, a Tuscan bishop, initiated reforms on the same lines in Tuscany. Both attempts, however, ended in failure and Febronianism died.

In France after the Revolution.—Gallicanism at first seemed likely to gain by the Revolution. For the great majority of the parish clergy, who sprang from the people and were miserably paid, favoured its principles. In 1790, the Constituent Assembly enacted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which was both Gallican and democratic. Both bishops and clergy were to be elected by popular vote. Low maximum and high minimum stipends to be paid by the State were fixed. The new bishops were to be neither instituted nor confirmed by the Pope. They might inform him of their election as a testimony of the unity of the Church and his position as its head. An oath of allegiance to the civil power was also imposed. The law was strongly opposed by the bishops of the

ancien régime, who were all of the nobility and had been dispossessed of enormous endowments. The palace of the Bishop of Strasbourg, for instance, had 700 beds and stabling for 180 horses.[1] The law was also denounced by the Pope, who had previously condemned the Declaration of Rights, the article to which he took most exception being that which stated that no one ought to be molested for his religious opinion. The clergy, who wished to conform, had therefore both Pope and bishops against them. Only two bishops conformed. Of the parish clergy, about half refused to take the oath.[2]

A non-juring schism was thus created. The Government passed laws more and more severe against non-jurors, but remained friendly to the State Church until the insurrection of La Vendée in 1793, when the rebels called themselves 'Royal and Catholic armies.' It must be remembered that the Government was at the same time at war with half the states of Europe, assisted by fugitive nobles and bishops. All clergy became suspect, and a movement for the destruction of Christianity, beginning in the provinces, soon reached Paris, where the Goddess of Reason was installed at Notre-Dame, which was henceforward to be known as the Temple of Reason. This worship spread rapidly. M. Aulard, however, thinks it was Deistic, not atheistic.

The popularity of the worship of Nature and Reason soon waned and in 1795 liberty of worship was restored. The mover of the law said: 'Absurd dogmas will be no sooner recognised than despised. Very soon the religion of Marcus Aurelius and of Cicero will be the religion of the world.' Meantime, toleration was to be permitted to the obscurantist, and the bishops of the Civil Constitution met, declared their adhesion to the Four Articles of 1682, and summoned a National Council.

The schism continued until the advent of Napoleon, who arranged a Concordat with the Pope in 1801. Napoleon, though himself without religion, declared that he wished he could imitate Henry VIII and make the head of the State the head of the Church. By his Concordat the First Consul was to nominate the bishops and the Pope to institute them. The bishops were to present to all livings subject to the approval of the Government. By the Organic Articles of 1802, it was provided that no papal decrees should be published without the consent of the Government.

[1] Galton, *Church and State in France*.

[2] M. Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*.

The effect was to kill Gallicanism as an effective force. Gallican rights had been surrendered, and the Pope became the Church's only protector from the tyranny of the State. In 1905 the Concordat was denounced and the Church formally separated from the State, after bitter controversies over Dreyfus, the suppression of the religious orders, and education. The general result has been to make the Church more than ever dependent on Rome.

The Dutch Old Catholic Church

This schism was the indirect result of Jansenism. Ever since the United Provinces had revolted from Spain, Catholics had held their ground in spite of persecution. They were in ill odour at Rome as the Dutch bishops disliked the Jesuits and did their best to keep them out of Holland. The Jansenist troubles made them direct objects of suspicion, the original Jansenists having come from Holland, and the Archbishop of Utrecht had to go to Rome in 1670 to answer a charge of Jansenism, though nothing came of it and he returned to Holland. Relations, however, between the Dutch Catholic authorities and Rome continued strained. The Archbishop elected by the chapter in 1710 was summoned by the Nuncio to appear at Cologne within twenty-four days, on pain of excommunication, to answer some charge. The Archbishop-elect replied by a protest and was duly excommunicated. After an interval of thirteen years, during which Holland was left without a bishop, the Bishop of Babylon, a bishop *in partibus*, was prevailed upon to take pity on the widowed Church and act as consecrator. Accordingly, Cornelius Steenoven was consecrated Archbishop of Utrecht on October 15, 1724, and the Old Catholic Church of Holland began its separate existence, which still continues. It was represented at the enthronement of Archbishop Lang at Canterbury.

IX

THE CHURCH IN THE DOLDRUMS

The Oxford Dictionary defines the Doldrums as being 'the condition of a ship in which either from calms or from baffling winds she makes no headway; a becalmed state, a condition of dullness and drowsiness.' This not unfairly describes the state of the Church

of England from the accession of George I to that of Queen Victoria, although Dr. E. W. Watson and other writers have successfully shown that things were not so black as they are sometimes painted.

The novels of Fielding and Jane Austen give the impression of a somnolent Church, which is borne out by facts. The great evil was absenteeism. Bishops were absent from their sees, and rectors from their parishes. It was common for an incumbent to have two livings and reside in neither. In a sermon preached to the Convocation of Canterbury at St. Paul's in 1741, Zachary Pearce dwelt at great length on the evils of non-residence. In 1759 Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, devoted his entire charge to the same theme. 'It sometimes happens,' he complained, 'that a curate is employed to serve two parishes: a case never to be admitted but upon necessity, as bringing great reproach upon the clergy and necessarily introducing a great neglect of religious service in the country. When a man who has a good living leaves it himself and puts in one of these half-curates to supply his absence, what can the people think? And when churches are thus half attended and are deprived either of the morning or evening service, the people of the parish who are religiously disposed will probably go to the Meeting House, if there be one near; those who are not religiously disposed will probably go to the ale-house.'

Bishops, unfortunately, set the example. In fact, their absenteeism was taken as a matter of course. Hoadly was Bishop of Bangor for six years without ever visiting his see, and though virulently abused for many things, does not appear to have had non-residence included among his crimes.

Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol, 1761–82, was a Residentiary of St. Paul's and Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, as well as Bishop. On being made Dean of St. Paul's he resigned the living, which he regarded as a specially virtuous act. 'He was under no kind of obligation to resign it, he held it *in commendam*, and might still have held it, as many would have done, and advised him to do; but he thought it not proper nor becoming his character and station to be so tenacious of pluralities.'[1] He found the air of St. Paul's Cathedral prejudicial to his health, so as his friends advised him 'Not to go any more to that cold church,' and as 'the last time he preached there he caught such a cold there as indangered his life and totally deprived him of his voice,' he was reluctantly compelled to give up attendance there. His rule was to reside in his diocese of Bristol,

[1] *Life and Anecdotes*, p. 122.

which then included Dorset, for three months in the year, but when 'no longer able to go to St. Paul's, he continued at Bristol four or five months and went to church as often as his health and the weather would permit.' He was much distressed by the non-residence of the Dean and Chapter. 'Never was a church more shamefully neglected. The Bishop has several times been there for months together without seeing the face of Dean or Prebendary or anything better than a Minor canon. The care and management of the church was left to Mr. Camplin, precentor or Senior Minor Canon, and to the Sexton.'[1] He quotes George Grenville as saying that 'he considered bishoprics to be of two kinds, bishoprics of business for men of abilities and learning, and bishoprics of ease for men of family and fashion. Of the former sort he reckoned Canterbury and York, and London, and Ely, on account of its connexion with Cambridge; of the latter sort, Durham, and Winchester, and Salisbury, and Worcester.' When the Bishop of Rochester, who was also Dean of Westminster, wished to resign the Deanery, he did his best to dissuade him, thinking that 'these two places of preferment lay so convenient to each other.'[2]

Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff (1782–1816), held with his bishopric two rectories and the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. He resided in Westmoreland and devoted himself to agriculture, visiting his diocese every third year. His ecclesiastical preferments brought him in £2200 a year, a sum he considered inadequate. His comment towards the close of his days on what he evidently considered a meritorious life is illuminating, but is too well known to print.

The result was that in many out-of-the-way places and in new centres of population there was gross neglect. Hannah More wrote of the Mendips in 1789: 'In one particular spot six large parishes without so much as a resident curate. Three commonly-gifted curates cannot serve eight churches.'

When John Wesley visited Norwich in 1790, there was no sermon 'at any of the thirty-six churches in the town save the Cathedral and St. Peter's.'[3]

The author of an anonymous tract entitled *An Address to the People of England, or A Change for the Better*,[4] wrote in 1798, 'was piety more in fashion clergymen would prepare themselves for holy orders in a very different manner from what they do at present;

[1] *Life and Anecdotes*, p. 127.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[3] *Journal.*
[4] In the London Library.

for now a man chooses that profession because it is an idle and easy way of getting a livelihood . . . settled as a curate or at most in a small living he commences his career by huddling over the prayers as fast as possible, because he knows few come to pray ; the sermon he has purchased . . . and the same gentleman on week days hunts, drinks, swears. . . .'

As late as 1827 the Vicar of Bardney, in the diocese of Lincoln, was required by the Bishop to give up the curacy of Horsington, in order that he might provide two services on Sunday at Bardney. He protested on the ground that of the fourteen Lincoln churches only one had a 'double duty' on Sunday, and quoted a number of instances in his immediate neighbourhood where only one service was provided. Grimsby, for instance, had only the ministry of half a curate and one service on Sunday.

Nor does religion seem to have been in any better case abroad. The Bishop of Le Mans wrote of Lent in 1793 : 'Non-observance has become general. . . . It is no good to look for Lent among us ; it is no longer to be found.'[1] Ordinations were becoming rarer. In the diocese of Le Mans at the beginning of the eighteenth century the annual number ordained was forty-nine ; but for the years between 1784 and 1788 there were only thirty-nine in all. Elsewhere we hear the same.

Missionary work is a good index of vitality, and missionary work was at a low ebb. The preacher at the anniversary sermon of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1740 complained of the lack of support it had received from so wealthy a nation as England, which was 'so ready to contribute very largely to the support of every idle amusement or even pernicious diversion. The Certain Fund for this great work is no more than £57 10*s.* a year. The annual subscriptions to it amount to a little above £600, and two-thirds of this sum are subscribed by the clergy. All the rest arises from casual benefactions.'[2] The total expenditure amounted during the year in question to £3800.

The year 1800 may be taken as the low-water mark of missionary activity since the coming of the Friars. There were only 300 Roman Catholic missionaries at their posts in that year.[3]

[1] Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution.*

[2] *Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,* by Martin Lord Bishop of Gloucester, February 15, 1739–40.

[3] *Outlines of Christianity,* iii. 122.

Of non-Roman missions in India, there was only a Danish mission with German missionaries supported by English missionary societies, and in the north, William Carey and the Baptist Mission. In Africa the Moravians were working among the Hottentots. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had a missioner on the Gold Coast. Missionaries of the last-named Society were at work in some of the islands of the South Pacific, but there was not a single non-Roman missionary in New Zealand, Australia, nor in China, or Japan, nor in the vast spaces of Central Asia. In North America there were Moravian missions in the West Indies, and Danish and Moravian missionaries in Greenland, and some American missions to the Indians. In South America there were no non-Roman missionaries. 'There were no American missionaries anywhere except among the American Indians, and the only English missionaries overseas were those of the Baptist Missionary Society in Bengal and of the London Missionary Society in the islands of the Pacific, in South Africa, and Bengal.'[1] In fact the Church was in the doldrums.

X

THE AGE OF REASON (2)

When rationalism died down in England it crossed the Channel and had a great vogue on the Continent. It was afterwards revived in England among the less educated by the popular propaganda of Tom Paine, and spread to America.

In France

Bale was the first popular Deist writer on the Continent and exercised considerable influence in England as well as France. He was a French Protestant who fled to Holland to avoid persecution and there wrote a Philosophical Dictionary, in which he produced an attack on the doctrines of Christianity, masquerading as a defence. His plan was to parade the objections and meet them with very inadequate replies. He stated that the more irreconcilable religious truth was with reason and the greater the faith required to believe in it, the greater the merit in believing, and professed that in exhibiting the difficulties in the way of belief, he was exalting faith

[1] Dr. Garfield Williams in *Outlines*, iii. 413.

at the expense of reason. The book made a great stir. A Dane named Holberg who was staying in Paris (1715–16) says that the crowds waiting for the opening of the doors of the Mazarin Library in order to read the book were so great that they had to be formed up in queues.

Voltaire (1694–1788) was the most formidable of the French sceptics. Coming to England in 1726, when the Deist controversy was at its height, he made the acquaintance of Bolingbroke and other Deists. Their arguments became deadly weapons in his hands when sharpened by the wit and irony of which he was a master.

One of the most voluminous writers of his own or any other day, often scurrilous but never dull, his attacks on religion, direct and indirect, were the most formidable of the century. He was tired, he said, of hearing that it took twelve men to carry Christianity throughout the world ; he would show that it takes but one to destroy it. His Deism was, in fact, little more than a repudiation of Christianity. He professed to believe in a God of Nature, who had implanted reason in the breast of every man, by which he could judge all religions for himself. Rousseau [1] wrote of him : 'Voltaire, while always appearing to believe in God, has never really believed in anything but the devil, since his pretended God is nothing but a malicious being, who, according to him, finds no pleasure except in doing injury.'

He rejected Christianity as unreasonable and did his best to cover the Church, the creeds, and the Bible, with ridicule. His coadjutors and successors in this attack on religion were the encyclopædists, as the writers were called, who contributed to a work bearing the title *Dictionnaire universel et raisonné des connaissances humaines*, which came out in thirty-five volumes between 1751 and 1765. Its contributors, however, went further than Voltaire, and were rather Atheist than Deist. Their influence was considerable. The leading encyclopædists, according to Rousseau, 'lived in the society of the great world, and divided between them nearly all its circles, great men, wits, men of letters, lawyers, women, all listened to them.'

Horace Walpole wrote from Paris in 1765 : 'The Savants—I beg their pardons the philosophers—are insupportable, superficial, over-bearing, and fanatic ; they preach incessantly and their avowed doctrine is Atheism ; you would not believe how openly. Don't wonder therefore if I return a Jesuit. Voltaire himself does not

[1] *Confessions.*

satisfy them. One of their leading devotees said of him, " Il est bigot, c'est un deiste." '[1]

Rousseau was another writer who had great influence in France, and agreed with Voltaire in repudiating the religion of the Church, but, unlike him, was enthusiastically in favour of substituting a modernised version of Christianity, which he presented to the world in the *Confessions of a Savoyard Vicar*. He believed in a personal God, in the conscience, and in the immortality of the soul. He said his prayers and read the Bible. ' My usual evening reading was the Bible, and in this manner I have read the whole of it at least five or six times.' When he returned to communion after a long abstention he wrote : ' I, went to communion with a heart greatly moved and affected to tears.' He thought that the civil government ought to prescribe what doctrine was to be believed in its own territory. ' As the gospel was the same for every Christian, and as the essential part of the doctrine only differed in the attempts of different people to explain what they could not understand, I said to myself that in each country it was the right of the sovereign alone to define the manner of worship or to settle this unintelligible dogma.'

Like Lessing, he held that all religions had their part in the service of mankind, and would have reformed rather than destroyed the Church. He said that every man should accept the faith that suits him best. His Savoyard Vicar claimed that never had the services and sacraments of the Church been so full to him of spiritual significance, and never had he realised his communion with God, as when he had discarded his old faith.

The rationalistic movement in France led up to the French Revolution. The crown was identified with the interests of the Church, against which Voltaire with his cry ' Ecrasez l'infâme ' was directed. Horace Walpole wrote from Paris in 1765 of *philosophers*, ' who, avowing war against the Papacy, aim at a subversion of all religion and still more at a destruction of regal power.' Diderot, one of the leading encyclopædists, said that the world's salvation would only come when the last king was strangled with the entrails of the last priest.

In Germany

In England Pietism was a reaction from Rationalism. In Germany the tendency of the prevailing Pietism to cry up faith at

[1] To T. Grey, 1765.

the expense of reason and even of common sense, paved the way for rationalism, which, in its Deistic dress, was imported from England. Toland visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover in 1701, and had philosophical conversations with Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia. The works of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Collins, Woolston, and Toland himself, all found readers in Germany, and the drift towards Rationalism soon showed itself even in orthodox circles.

Wolff (1679–1754), Mathematical Professor at Halle, though an orthodox Lutheran, held that truths of religion could be given demonstrative proof, like problems in mathematics. Francke and the Halle Pietists, with their emphasis on feeling, disliked his theories and persuaded Frederick William I of Prussia that he was a dangerous character. That monarch, chiefly famous for his collection of gigantic grenadiers, issued an edict in 1723, in which Wolff was required to leave the city of Halle and 'all our dominions' within forty-eight hours, under penalty of death. Nevertheless, the movement spread.

Tindal's *Christianity as Old as Creation* was translated into German in 1741, and had a wonderful success. The impression made on one reader is thus described: 'God,' he wrote, 'with what enjoyment and transport I read this remarkable book; how are all my thoughts about mystery and revelation altered at once! All doubts vanished from me and came no more into my soul. I became convinced as by a mathematical certainty that Jesus and the Apostles taught nothing but natural religion, here and there adorned with pictures out of the old oriental figures of speech.' [1]

Translations and extracts from Deist writers poured from the press and the rationalistic movement was fairly launched. The accession of Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–86), son of Frederick William I, helped considerably. Himself a Deist, so far as he was anything, he entertained Voltaire and other free-thinking French philosophers at his court. Viewing all varieties of Christianity with contemptuous indifference, he recalled Wolff, who returned amidst scenes of tumultuous enthusiasm, and declared for the toleration of all religions. 'Every man must get to heaven his own way.' When a dispute arose about a hymn-book, he wrote: 'In my dominions, any man can believe just as he pleases. As for the hymn-book, let any one be free to sing "Now rest the peaceful forests" or any other stupid foolishness he likes.' [2]

[1] Abbey and Overton, *English Church in Eighteenth Century*.

[2] Hagenbach, *History of the Church in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*.

The Age of Enlightenment.—The age of Frederick the Great was the age of enlightenment or illuminism (*Aufklärung*), by which was meant an age of reason and humanism. In literature the poet Haller presented the dogmas of religion in Alexandrine verse in a poem 'Thoughts Concerning Reason, Superstition, and Unbelief' (1729).[1] In Biblical criticism, Wettstein produced a revised text of the Greek Testament (1751). Ernesti applied the principle of Spinoza that the Bible must be criticised like any other book and must be rigidly explained according to its actual language, free from bondage to dogmas or accepted allegorical interpretations. Semler (1725–91) wrote on 'The Free Investigation of the Canon,' calling attention to the way in which the different books of the Bible had gained their place in it, and would have excluded the Song of Solomon and The Apocalypse.[2] He was a pioneer in the investigation of the historical growth of doctrine, and was the first to insist on the importance of the knowledge of the current Jewish expectations of the Messiah, if the Gospels were to be correctly interpreted. He was also responsible for a theory of accommodation, by which he distinguished between the religion to which a man might legitimately assent in public, although not believing in it, and the religion he really held in private.

Semler had been brought up by the Pietists at Halle, but though extraordinarily devout failed to receive the *sealing* or conviction of acceptance and forgiveness on which they insisted. 'There was no corner of the house where, in order to be perfectly alone and unobserved, I did not often kneel and weep many tears, that God might deem me worthy of this grace . . . but I still continued under the law.'[3] In his old age he became a student of alchemy.

Lessing (1729–81), author of the *Laocoön* and other famous works, was responsible for publishing the most damaging attacks on Christianity that appeared at this time in Germany, namely, *The Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, so called because they purported to be literary fragments discovered by him in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, of which he was librarian. The author was Reimarus, a Hamburg schoolmaster, who attacked Christianity on historical grounds, as being a deliberate imposture. The publication of these fragments began in 1774. Hagenbach, the German historian, compares the effect produced with the stir created during

[1] Hagenbach, *History of the Church in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.*
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

his own lifetime by the publication of *The Life of Jesus* by Strauss in 1840.

In his own writings Lessing was more circumspect. He published a play in 1779, *Nathan the Wise*, of which he wrote 'I mean certainly to bother the theologians much worse with it than I could with ten more fragments.' He made in it no direct attack on Christianity, but protagonists of Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity are brought on the stage, and—to parody Dr. Johnson—the Christian dogs are not allowed to get the best of it, while the Jew, Nathan, is the hero of the play. Each religion is represented as having certain elements of truth, while the perfect religion has yet to appear. He developed this idea in his tract *The Education of the Human Race*, in which revelation is represented as being given gradually and in proportion to the capacities of its recipients. It is 'the education which the human race has received and is capable of receiving.' The Old Testament was the Primer; then came the New Testament for students no longer in the elementary stage, and finally, there was to be a new eternal gospel, which is promised in the New Testament. Alluding to the *Everlasting Gospel*, he wrote: 'Perhaps their three ages were not so vain a fancy after all . . . .when they taught that the New Covenant must become as antiquated as the Old had grown to be.'

Two other Illuminists had great influence on the thought of their time, one as a leader in education, the other as a publisher of popular books. Basedow, the son of a wig-maker at Hamburg, and the pupil of Reimarus, was the pioneer in Germany of modern theories of education. He held the modern view that education consisted rather in drawing out than in putting in, which, when applied to the teaching of religion, tended to make insistence on revealed doctrine superfluous. We are told that he could enter into the minds of his scholars and teach them to work as if they were playing a game. His work on Elementary Education (1774) had a great success, and he founded a model school called the Philanthropic. Education on his principles became the fashion, and its tendency was to divorce religion from education and put Christianity in opposition to the religion of philanthropy.

The other was Nicolai, the publisher. He was the son of a Berlin bookseller and was educated at the Halle Orphan House, to which he attributed his subsequent want of religion. 'By preaching religion almost every hour,' he said, 'the morality of the institution sank very low.' He published, among other things, the *Universal*

German Library, on the lines of the French Encyclopædia. While its expressed object was the dissemination of useful knowledge, its tendency was to decry any other kind of knowledge. Poetry, philosophy, and religion were alike discredited. Its first number appeared in 1765, and its influence, like that of the French Encyclopædia, was very great.

The Illuminist movement also gave an impetus to works of practical benevolence among the blind, the deaf and dumb, and prisoners, but it almost reduced Christianity to a means of inculcating morality and utility. Nicolai drew a picture of a preacher who used his sermons ' as a harmless means of impressing useful truths,' teaching them ' to rise early in the morning, attend carefully to their cows, work in their fields and gardens . . . with the view of becoming comfortable, acquiring property, and getting rich.' Preachers gave instruction on agriculture, housekeeping, and hygiene. Hymns were adapted to the new fashion, and the line ' Now slumbers *all* the world,' changed to ' Now slumbers *half* the world.' No importance was attached to the great dogmas of Christianity. The Christmas festival was used as an occasion for sermons on the feeding of cattle, and Easter Day to inculcate the benefits of early rising.[1]

The authoress of *The Pastor's Wife* writes of her hero's sermons, ' They were sermons weighty according to the season either with practical advice or wrathful expositions of duty. There was one every year when the threshing time was at hand on the text: " Arise and thresh," explaining with patient exactitude the best methods of doing it. There was the annual harvest sermon on Matthew xiii, part of verse 26, *Tares*, after yet another year of the congregation's indifference to chemical manure . . . and there was the Advent season, when the annual slaughter of pigs drew near, on Isaiah lxv, part of the fourth verse, *swine's flesh*. This sermon filled the church.' This may be a caricature, but seems to be based on fact.

Thomas Paine

Burke had written: ' Who born within the last forty years has read one word of Collins and Toland and Chubb and Morgan, and the whole race who call themselves free-thinkers? Who now reads Bolingbroke? Who ever read him through? ' But a few years later, Thomas Paine, the most popular of all the Deist writers,

[1] Hagenbach, *History of the Church in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*.

published his *Age of Reason*, and revived, for the uneducated, arguments which had ceased to weigh with Burke and his acquaintances. He had a more extensive influence than any of the Deist writers from whom he got his arguments.

Paine served up the Deist objections to the Bible in a popular form, making the point that this world was one of a number of inhabited worlds, and that to believe 'that God created a plurality of worlds at least as numerous as what we call stars renders the Christian system of faith at once little and ridiculous and scatters it in the mind like feathers in the air.' He wrote with force and perspicuity. He made great play with the moral difficulties of the Old Testament, and with the contradictions on matters of fact in Scripture. This was common form, but Paine was a writer of uncommon force. He was, besides, the first to promulgate in England the theory of the composite authorship of Genesis and anticipated Bishop Colenso in finding difficulties in Biblical chronology. On the positive side he was a Deist. For the knowledge of God it was only necessary 'to refer to the Bible of the Creation,' which was 'inexhaustible in texts.'

Paine was *Chubb Redivivus*. His appeal was popular. That it was far more successful was partly because he was a writer of greater force, and partly because the public to which he could appeal was much larger. Chubb's England had been an England of villages and country towns. When Paine wrote, industrialisation had begun, and he appealed to a population of artisans and tradesmen, ill-paid and discontented, who were ill-educated but thirsty for knowledge and eager to read. *The Age of Reason* was sold for a shilling. Bishop Watson published a reply called *An Apology for the Bible*, which evoked from George III the *mot* that he did not know the Bible needed an apology, and from Hannah More the practical criticism that a four-shilling antidote was not much use to counteract a shilling poison.

In America

The movement passed from Europe to America and spread rapidly, accelerated by the presence of Tom Paine, who fought for the Colonies in the War of Independence, and the predilection of Americans for their French allies, which disposed the colonists to give a favourable reception to French deistical writings.

'Every New England village,' according to an American writer,

'had its militant atheist who stopped sober citizens at the post office when they came to get their mail and robbed them of their faith. The new French fashion of infidelity, like the new French gowns and bonnets, affected the remotest hamlets of Vermont and Maine.[1] In the colleges Christianity was almost extinct. At Yale and Harvard, institutions founded for the purpose of training young men for the ministry, it was possible to find one or two professing Christians, but no more. At the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, the students freely debated "whether there be a God," and "whether Christianity has been beneficial or injurious to mankind."'[2]

Bishop Henshaw, first Bishop of Virginia, wrote in his *Life of Richard Moore* (1762–1841): 'The mad demon of blasphemy and infidelity which had rode upon the whirlwind of the French Revolution was welcomed as an angel of light by the leading citizens of Virginia.'

But even before the arrival of Tom Paine and Voltairism, there were symptoms of revolt in *Universalism.*

Universalists represented the popular side of the movement. They began about 1750 and were first organised as a distinct body in Gloucester, Mass., about 1780. Their doctrines were formulated later by Hosea Ballou, an excommunicated Baptist. The chief points seem to have been denial of the Trinity and the Fall, and the assertion of the final salvation of all men.

Unitarians.—After the Revolution, the Unitarians became prominent. Unitarianism was an intellectual revolt against popular dogma. Boston was its centre. 'It was an academic movement and carried the Harvard stamp.' It captured King's Chapel and many of the Congregationalist Churches with their endowments, and gained control of Harvard in 1806. Its creed consisted in a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity and a positive belief in the Oneness and Fatherhood of God. With respect to Jesus Christ 'all of them laid stress on the humanity of Christ, which, although the Church had laboured hard to maintain it equally with his divinity, had actually faded into the background.'[3]

Their progress, however, was not maintained. One of their own prophets, Theodore Parker, wrote: 'No sect had ever a finer opportunity than the Unitarians to advance the religious development of a people. But they let it slide, and now they must slide with it.'[4]

[1] Platner, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

XI

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Methodism, pure and simple, did not long retain whatever hold it had on the upper classes of society. H. Walpole wrote in 1753 : ' Methodism is quite decayed in Oxford its cradle,' and the next year *à propos* of the conversion of the Prince of Hesse to Rome : ' One is in this age so unused to conversions above the rank of housemaid turned Methodist.' But the *Evangelicals*, who adopted some leading features of Methodism, were to become not only an influential but a fashionable section of the Church of England.

Wesley had friends and collaborators among the clergy. Grimshaw (1708–63), the eccentric curate of Haworth in the Yorkshire Wolds, is said to have been miraculously converted from a life of carelessness independently of Wesley, but after his conversion used to act as one of his itinerants. He was called ' Mad Grimshaw ' from his eccentricities, but laboured with apostolic devotion in his own and neighbouring parishes, preaching alternately twenty-four and twelve times a week. When a Methodist preacher visited him he had a platform erected in the churchyard, as the church was not big enough to accommodate the crowds that came to listen. Once when Whitefield spoke as if the hearers had profited by Grimshaw's ministrations, he interrupted : ' Oh, sir, for God's sake do not speak so ! I pray you do not flatter them : I fear the greater part of them are going to hell with their eyes open.' Another time he embraced the preacher at the conclusion of his discourse, saying : ' God bless thee, Ben ; this is worth a hundred of my sermons.' In spite of his eccentricities the communicants in his parish increased from twelve to 1200 during his incumbency.

Henry Venn (1724–97), for twelve years Vicar of Huddersfield, was also at one time one of Wesley's itinerants, though he afterwards changed his views on the propriety of what may be called an uninvited ministry. His son wrote : [1] ' Induced by the hope of doing good, my father in certain instances preached in unconsecrated places. But having acknowledged this, it becomes my pleasing duty to state that he was no advocate for irregularity in others ; that when he afterwards considered it in its different bearings and connexions, he

[1] Abbey and Overton, *op. cit.*

lamented that he had given way to it and restrained several other persons from such acts by the most cogent arguments.' He had been one of Lady Huntingdon's chaplains, but resigned, as did most of the others, when she registered her meeting-houses as dissenting places of worship.

William Fletcher (1729–85) was another collaborator. By birth a Swiss and by profession a soldier of fortune, he came to England in the capacity of tutor, and, becoming acquainted with the Methodists, took orders by the advice of John Wesley himself. As Vicar of Madeley, a colliery parish in Shropshire, he led a life of apostolic holiness and zeal. For years he sat up two whole nights in every week to pray and meditate. Every day he set out on a round of preaching from which he seldom returned before midnight. He was also one of the earliest founders of Sunday Schools.

Charles Simeon (1759–1836) is famous for his work at Cambridge. He resided in King's College from 1779 until his death and devoted himself principally to work among undergraduates, though he also, in collaboration with Henry Venn, did some itinerating in the villages round Cambridge. He may be regarded as the Father of Theological Colleges, as every Friday evening he used to give 'open tea-parties' and lectured on the art of preparing sermons and the difficulties of the ministerial life. Macaulay, who was himself at Cambridge during Simeon's ministry, wrote of him : 'If you knew what his authority and influence were and how they extended from Cambridge to the most remote corners of England, you would allow that his real sway over the Church was far greater than that of any primate.'

Hannah More (1745–1833) began life by teaching in a girls' school near Bristol, kept by her sisters. In 1773 she came to London and was taken up by the wits, the bishops, and society. Dr. Johnson loved her, Edmund Burke delighted in her conversation, Horace Walpole was her faithful correspondent ; she was a welcome and honoured guest at the houses of bishops and great ladies. The Duchess of Gloucester, sister-in-law of George III, sought from her spiritual counsel and help.

The death of David Garrick, at whose house she used to stay every winter, was the cause of her conversion. Her letters show an increased distaste for gaieties. She enjoyed what she called a 'snug' party with friends, but disliked large entertainments. She refused to go out on Sundays, abandoned cards and the theatre, and refused even to see her own play, *Percy*, performed.

In 1785 she acquired a cottage at Cowslip Green, near Bristol, and, with her sister, began a great work in the Mendip villages. They started in Cheddar, a place with 2000 inhabitants, and soon had 1200 children under their care in various villages, the furthest twelve miles distant from their house. Well might John Newton wish them muscles and sinews of iron for tramping over the hills. They won over a landlord who was an atheist, a farmer who 'did not want saints but workmen,' a farmer's wife who thought 'the lower class were fated to be poor and ignorant and wicked,' and labouring folk so ignorant that they thought there was a scheme on foot to sell their children for slaves. Oddly enough, Methodists gave her most trouble. She wrote in 1792 to Mr. Wilberforce: 'I think it right that you and Mrs. W. should know what a sad spirit sets these new Seceders at work. . . . They do not now so much go to places which are in darkness and ignorance as they once professed to do, but rather where the Gospel is preached, in order to draw people away from the Church. I begin to fear they will quite knock up our labours at Cheddar. . . . The Sectaries are more inflamed against us than the High Church bigots; such an inconvenience it is to belong to no party and so discreditable is moderation.'[1]

She was besides a voluminous writer of plays, stories, and tracts. Two million copies of her tracts were sold in one year. She saw that cheap publications were necessary, and her tracts had a huge sale in America and the West Indies.

John Newton (1725–1807) was another leading evangelical. His epitaph, composed by himself, records that he was 'Once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa.' It does not record that he was first the mate and then the captain of a slaver for some years after his conversion, which happened during a storm at sea. His biographer records that 'he tried to treat those on board with humanity and to set them a good example. He likewise established public worship, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, officiating himself twice every Lord's Day. He did not proceed further than this while he continued in that occupation.' Though he had no scruple as to the lawfulness of the slave trade, which he regarded as the appointment of Providence, 'yet he was sometimes shocked with an employment so conversant with chains, bolts and shackles,' and was glad to get a berth on shore when he became friends with Wesley and Whitefield. After some years, thinking that he was very fit to proclaim 'that Jesus Christ came

[1] Roberts, *Life and Correspondence of H. More.*

into the world to save the chief of sinners, and that his life has been full of remarkable turns and seemed selected to show what the Lord could do,' he decided to seek holy orders, and after being refused twice by the Archbishop of York was accepted by Bishop Green of Lincoln after an examination, which 'lasted about an hour, chiefly upon the principal points of divinity.' [1] He was curate of Olney for sixteen years, where the poet Cowper resided, and afterwards Vicar of St. Mary Woolnoth in the City, where he exercised great influence, and 'like a father among his children he used to entertain, encourage, and instruct his friends, especially younger ministers and candidates for the ministry.'

Thomas Scott (1747–1821) is famous as the author of a Commentary on the Bible. He was a disciple of John Newton, whom he succeeded as curate of Olney. He wrote his Commentary when Chaplain of the Lock Hospital in 174 weekly parts, being often called up in the night for more copy after he had gone to bed, thinking his weekly tale was complete. His popularity as a writer was so great that in little more than twenty years £199,900 had been paid 'over the counter' for his Commentary, of which his own share had been £47 per annum.[2] In 1803 he removed to Aston Sandford in Bucks, where J. H. Newman records that he thought of visiting the man 'to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul.'

Henry Martyn (1781–1812) was the most apostolic figure among the Evangelicals. The son of a Cornish miner, he obtained the highest academical honours at Cambridge, but under the influence of Simeon, resolved to be a missionary. He landed in India as a chaplain on the Bengal establishment in 1805. Three years later, after translating the New Testament into Hindustani, he began preaching to natives. He visited Persia, translated the Psalms and the New Testament into Persian, and died at Tokat in 1812. Sir James Stephen, with some injustice, calls him the one heroic name which adorns the annals of the Church of England from the days of Elizabeth to his own. 'While other apostolic men were cast out of or quitted her communion, Henry Martyn, the learned and the holy, translating the Scriptures in his solitary bungalow at Dinapore, or preaching to a congregation of 500 beggars, or refuting the Mohammedan doctors at Shiraz, is the bright exception,' [3]

The Clapham Sect.—Clapham was the headquarters of the

[1] J. Newton, *Works*; *Mems. by R. Cecil*, p. 41.
[2] Stephen, *Ecc. Biog.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 552.

Church Evangelicals, who were nicknamed by Thackeray 'the Clapham sect,' though they were not Dissenters, but loyal churchmen, who sat under John Venn, Rector of Clapham (1779–1813). The leading members were rich, influential, deeply religious, and forward to assist every good work with labour, money, and prayers. They helped in the institution of Sunday and day schools, and had the chief part in establishing the Church Missionary Society, the Bible Society, and the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. They kept up a correspondence with the leading clergy and lay people in London and the provinces, and they were the pioneers of social reform, including education at home and the abolition of slavery abroad. They must also be given credit for having invented most of the modern machinery of propaganda. The formation of societies, the collection of subscriptions, the despatch of reports and circulars, and the holding of public meetings emanated mainly from Clapham.

William Wilberforce was the most famous of the band. Member of Parliament for Yorkshire, rich, witty, popular, the bosom friend of William Pitt, and a social favourite, he was converted through the instrumentality of John Newton, and resolved to devote himself wholly to the service of God. He gave up card-playing, denied himself luxuries, and gave away one fourth of his income; he tried to fast, but on account of delicate health had to content himself with leaving off pleasant food. He spent much time in prayer and reading the Bible and became a regular and devout communicant. Though famous for his share in the crusade against the slave-trade, this was only one among his many philanthropies. 'Whether churches and clergymen were to be multiplied, or the Scriptures circulated, or missions sent to the ends of the earth, or national education established, or the condition of the poor improved, or Ireland civilised, or good discipline established in gaols . . . his sanction, his eloquence, and his advice were still regarded as indispensable to success.' [1]

The activities of Wilberforce were the activities of the whole sect, of Henry Thornton, the banker, who never gave away less than one-third of his income, and of Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, a protagonist in the fight against the slave-trade, who 'meekly endured the toil, the privation and the reproach, resigning to others the praise and the reward,' and of many other heroes who must in this present Iliad remain unsung.

This chapter may close with Mr. Gladstone's testimony to the

[1] Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

Evangelicals : 'The main characteristic of the Evangelical school was a strong, systematic, out-spoken and determined reaction against the prevailing standards, both of life and preaching. It aimed at bringing back on a large scale and by an aggressive movement the Cross and all that the Cross essentially implies, both into the teaching of the clergy and into the lives as well of the clergy as of the laity. "The preaching of the Gospel" became afterwards a cant phrase, but that the preaching of the Gospel a hundred years ago (that is, in 1779) had disappeared, not by denial, but by lapse from the majority of Anglican pulpits is, I fear, in large measure an historic truth. To bring it back again was the aim and work of the Evangelical Reformers in the sphere of the teaching function. Whether they preached Christ in the best manner may be another question ; but of this there is now, and can be, little question—that they preached Christ : they preached Christ largely and fervently where, as a rule, He was but little and coldly preached before.' [1]

When we think of the saintliness of these men it seems strange that their influence did not have more effect on the Church as a whole. They converted individuals but failed to revive the Church.

Evangelicals in the Church of England are to-day divided into two main parties : (1) The extreme Protestants who do not derive so much from the Evangelical Movement as from the old Nonconforming Puritan leaven, by no means completely evacuated at the Restoration. (2) *The Liberal Evangelicals.* These are of many shades of opinion. At one end they might be described as Pietists, using the word in no depreciatory sense ; at the other, as moderate modernists.

XII

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL

The nineteenth century witnessed a great Catholic revival, both within and outside the Roman Church, in England and Ireland, on the Continent of Europe, and in the United States of America. Its marks were : (1) the value attached to the ancient creeds as against the rationalist ; (2) the importance attributed to the Church and its sacraments ; (3) the religious and spiritual value of beauty and historic associations. In the two last points, Catholics were at issue both with Evangelicals and Utilitarians.

[1] Quoted by Mr. G. W. E. Russell, *History of the Evangelical Movement.*

In Germany

Here the movement was a reaction from Illuminism. In Basedow, Nicolai, and the German Encyclopædists, Illuminism reached its high-water mark, from which it soon began to recede under the influence of philosophy, romanticism, and politics.

Philosophy.—Of the philosophers, Kant (1724–1804) is the most important. He was a native of Konigsberg in East Prussia, from which city he never travelled more than twenty-eight miles. He lived alone with a man-servant, disapproved of music, loved cards, and was a connoisseur of cooking. His great work was *The Critique of Pure Reason*, in which he considered the limitations of knowledge. He came to the conclusion that everything which is beyond time and space, and cannot be tested by the senses, is not a subject for pure reason. Religion, therefore, was outside its province. But man, besides pure reason, possesses practical reason and is convinced by his practical reason of his moral nature, freedom, and immortality. To a man's sense of moral necessity, or conscience, Kant gave the name of the *Categorical Imperative*. Heine said that this book was the sword with which in Germany theism was decapitated. But it decapitated not theism but the rationalistic arguments with which theism had been attacked. Its effect was to undermine the rationalistic position. It declared all arguments against the existence of God on the ground of pure reason to be irrelevant and declared for the existence of moral values. 'It is from him that was developed or rather revived, for the Platonists taught it, the belief in eternal, intrinsic values, as not less real and significant than the world of facts with which science deals.' [1]

Romanticism.—Illuminism was the doctrine of 'common sense' as the interpretation of life. It is the denial in human life of the claims of adventure, mystery, surprise and wonder, in a word, of romance. The Romanticists revolted against the Rationalists, who had advocated a religion without miracles and useful only for reinforcing a utilitarian code of morals. They found in history a religion which included Monasticism, the cult of the Virgin, and instead of a world arranged and accounted for entirely on principles of common sense, one into which the mysterious would persist in breaking in, like the cheerfulness which prevented Dr. Johnson's friend from being a philosopher. Their tendency was to go back to the past.

[1] Inge, *Science and Ultimate Truth.*

In Germany the Schlegels, August William and Frederick, preached the gospel of Romanticism from Jena. August William translated Shakespeare, and Frederick, according to Heine, 'rummaged among the ancient Rhine cities for the remains of old German pictures and statuary, which was superstitiously worshipped as holy relics.'[1] Romanticism was even found in the Bible. Herder published in 1778 a translation of the Song of Solomon with the title, 'Love-songs, the most ancient and beautiful of the love-songs of the East,' and wished the Bible to be read *menschlich*.

Politics.—'Need teaches prayer' according to a German proverb, and never was the need greater than in the Germany of the Napoleonic era. Germany, after Jena, lay under the heel of Napoleon, and to prepare the way for liberation encouragement was given to religious and national forces. The Romantic school of literature was essentially German. 'When finally German patriotism and nationality were victorious, the popular Teutonic-Christian-romantic school triumphed also.'[2]

The effect was seen in the nineteenth century, when there was a revival of religion in Germany. There was a renewed belief in the Church and even an anticipation of the Tractarian movement in England. Novalis, who remained a Protestant, wrote 'Christianity was undone with the Reformation,' and again, 'Christianity must again become vital and effective, and again form, without territorial limits, a visible Church, which will receive to its bosom all souls that are thirsting after what is heavenly.' Frederick Schlegel, Werner the poet, Tieck, a popular writer of romances, and other leading men, became Roman Catholics. Even a Darmstadt Court preacher was suspected of being a Roman, and a Protestant historian records gravely that after his death (1816) 'there was found in his house a room perfectly arranged for reading the mass.'[3] The Baron de la Motte-Fouqué, a major in the Prussian army, author of a romance called *Undine*, in which the heroine was a water-nymph, contemplated going over, attracted by 'the glories of the Catholic service,' but refrained and became a disciple of Jacob Behmen, the Protestant mystic. Heine, a free-thinking contemporary, who viewed these conversions with disgust, wrote that 'artists in swarms simultaneously abjured Protestantism and reason.'

One of the by-products of this revival was the union between the Lutherans and Calvinists in Prussia in 1817 under the name of the Evangelical Church at the instance of Frederick William III.

[1] Heine, *The Romantic School*. [2] *Ibid*. [3] Hagenbach, *op. cit.*, ii. 304.

The more conservative Lutherans refused to conform, and were treated with great harshness, many who insisted on ministering to Separatists being imprisoned.

The Tractarian Movement

In England the Catholic movement, nicknamed Tractarianism after the Tracts, which were its first method of propaganda, had its roots deep down in the Church in the teaching of Hooker and the Caroline divines, which had been mislaid but never altogether forgotten. The lamp had been kept alight by such men as Mr. Sykes of Guilsboro, Canon Norris of Hackney, and Archdeacon Daubeny (1745–1827), who built in Bath the first free and open church in England [1] and wrote *A Guide to the Church*, in which he endeavoured to prove that the discipline of the Church of England was of apostolic origin and that any departure therefrom was schismatical. These men and Hugh James Rose, an original Tractarian, were correspondents of Bishop Hobart, who made their acquaintance on his visit to England and Scotland (1823–24). He also met Newman, then a layman and an Evangelical, who wrote 'Bishop Hobart of New York is in Oxford. I dined with him at the Provost's yesterday. He is an intelligent man and gave us a good deal of information on the affairs of the American Episcopal Church.' [2]

Catholic breath was even stirring the dry bones of the Church of Ireland, as may be seen in the correspondence between Alexander Knox (1757–1831) and Jebb, Bishop of Limerick. Knox belonged to the family of John Knox, and was born in Derry. His parents became Methodists in 1760 and he himself corresponded with Wesley for many years and wrote an anti-Calvinist tract in his defence. Both Knox and Jebb anticipated the Tractarians. Jebb wrote in 1813 'It is my wish and prayer that I may be saved from the simplicity of Bible religion.' [3] Six months later Knox wrote questioning the permanent value of non-Conforming Calvinist teaching. 'Catholic verities are the only wings on which earth is truly left and heaven truly anticipated.' [4] In 1817 he wrote 'We as well as the Romanists belong to the Athanasian Episcopal Church. We can boast of an uninterrupted apostolical succession, we condemn heresy and schism as in themselves offences.' [5]

The beginning of the movement in England was in part a reaction, as in Germany, against Pietism and Illuminism. Pietism

[1] Christ Church, Walcot. [2] *Letters and Correspondence*, ed. Anne Mozley, i. 83.
[3] *Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb and Alex. Knox.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

was represented by the Evangelical movement, which had declined in the moral demand it made on its followers. 'The austere spirit of Newton and Thomas Scott had between 1820 and 1830 given way a good deal to the influence of increasing popularity. Its strength was in fashionable centres like Bath and Cheltenham, not in the neglected slums of the great towns.'[1] If religion was to be a force, something more was needed.

German enlightenment was represented in England by Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians, who had become the fashion. Newman called them Liberals. They combined political and social views of a radical sort with deistic notions in religion, tending to exalt natural religion at the expense of revelation, and to believe that education, progress, and what they called the 'march of mind' would provide all that was necessary for the welfare of mankind. Dr. Arnold, though himself a sincere Christian, had much in common with them and proposed to save the Church by including in it all bodies of Christians except Quakers and Roman Catholics. A letter from James Mozley to his sister, written in 1833, describes an encounter with 'a regular built modern London barrister and march-of-mind man, profoundly indifferent to exclusive systems of belief,' a friend of Lord Brougham and an active member of the Useful Knowledge Society, who 'thought that Arnold's scheme of Church reform was not practicable, as there was not sufficient religious feeling in the country to carry it.'[2] As in Germany, the Utilitarian was out of sympathy with Romanticism, and hostile to the new movement.

The revival was hastened by attacks on the Church and the dangers which threatened it. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed, followed in the next year by Roman Catholic Emancipation. All these measures were looked on as unfriendly to the Church. The Reform Bill was passed in 1832 and the Whigs, anti-Church by tradition, were in power and looking for support to Dissenters and Roman Catholics. The Prime Minister bade the bishops 'set their house in order.' Dr. Arnold wrote in 1832, 'The Church as it now stands, no human power can save.'[3]

In face of these attacks the Church seemed helpless. Neither Evangelical nor old-fashioned High Churchman was able to make any effective reply. John Keble was the first to sound the trumpet

[1] Church, *History of the Oxford Movement.*
[2] *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley.*
[3] Ollard, *History of the Oxford Movement.*

which was to turn a feeble defence into a spirited attack. The Tractarian movement was considered by its begetters to have been inaugurated by Mr. Keble's sermon preached at the Oxford Assizes, July 14, 1833. John Keble (1792–1866) was called by Newman 'the true and primary author' of the movement. The son of a country clergyman, he took a double First and became Fellow of Oriel in 1817. In 1827 he published a volume of poems called *The Christian Year*, which had an extraordinary success, going through over one hundred editions in forty years. Keble said 'that his aim was to bring man's thoughts and feelings into unison with the Prayer-book.' Though he resigned his fellowship in 1823 and took a country curacy, he continued to exercise great personal influence on Oriel men, notably on Hurrell Froude, and to the end of his life was a power in the movement.

John Henry Newman (1801–90) was the son of a banker and came up to Oxford a devout Evangelical; he had been converted in 1816, and was still an Evangelical when he was ordained in 1824. He became a Fellow of Oriel in 1822, where he was joined by Hurrell Froude in 1826, with whom he was in the closest and most affectionate friendship from 1829, and it was owing to the influence of Hurrell Froude more than to anything else, that, as he put it himself, 'he moved out of the shadow of Liberalism.'

Newman brought to the cause a deep sense of the forces hostile to religion and of the need for action. As Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, 1828–39, his sermons had an unprecedented and unsurpassed effect. 'None but those who remember them can adequately estimate the effect of Mr. Newman's four o'clock sermons at St. Mary's.' Besides the sermons he had great personal influence. 'That great man's extraordinary genius drew all those within his sphere, like a magnet, to attach themselves to him and his doctrine.'[1] He had also an extraordinary power of expression in writing. The earliest and most effective of the Tracts were written by him. He knew that what was wanted to rouse men out of apathy was not so much learned disquisitions to prove what they had no wish to deny, as short, sharp, staccato utterances, calculated to rouse them, both to a sense of their danger and the meaning of what they believed. He was the inventor of a new kind of theological literature. Tracts were not new, but this kind was.

Hurrell Froude (1803–36), the pupil and disciple of Keble, was the son of the Archdeacon of Totnes, a country gentleman and

[1] Ollard, *History of the Oxford Movement*.

old-fashioned high-churchman. He was a man of bold and aggressive disposition and hated Erastianism. 'If a national church means a church without discipline, my argument for discipline is an argument against a national church; and the best thing we can do is to unnationalise ours as soon as possible.'[1] 'Froude,' wrote one who knew him, 'was made for conflict, not to win disciples.'[2]

'Many,' wrote Dean Church, 'thought and felt like them about the perils which beset the Church and religion. Loyalty to the Church, belief in her divine mission, allegiance to her authority, readiness to do battle for her claims, were anything but extinct in her ministers and laity. The elements were all about of sound and devoted churchmanship. But it was not till Mr. Newman made up his mind to force on the public mind in a way which could not be evaded, the great article of the creed—"I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church" that the movement began. . . . It was the direct result of the searchings of heart and the communings for seven years, from 1826–33 of these three men. . . .'[3]

Two other protagonists who came into the movement later on must be mentioned. One was Dr. Pusey (1800–82). Educated at Eton and Christ Church, he became Fellow of Oriel in 1823, studied Oriental languages and advanced criticism in Germany, and in 1828 was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. He identified himself with the movement by publishing a tract on the *Uses of Fasting*, and in the words of Newman 'gave us at once a position and a name. . . . He was a Professor and Canon of Christ Church; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his professorship, his family connexions, and his easy relations with the university authorities.'[4] He shared the leadership of the movement with Newman until Newman retired and left him as the undisputed head. The term Puseyite became the common nickname of the party.

Richard William Church (1815–90), afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, was brought up under Evangelical influences, and became a Fellow of Oriel in 1838. 'There was such a moral beauty about Church that they could not help taking him.'[5] He was one of the two Proctors who vetoed the condemnation of Tract 90 by Convocation. In his later years, when he was Dean of St. Paul's, that cathedral became a pattern for all cathedrals.

[1] R. H. Froude, *Remains*. [2] Ollard, *op. cit.* [3] Church, *op. cit.*
[4] Ollard, *op. cit.* [5] *Ibid.*

The Tracts.—Keble's sermon was followed in September by the first tract, written by Newman, who had 'out of his own head begun the tracts.' It began: 'Fellow-labourers—I am but one of yourselves—a Presbyter; and therefore I conceal my name lest I should take too much upon myself by speaking in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil and no man speaks against them.' He speaks of the bishops as Successors of the Apostles, and calls on his readers to be their standard-bearers, while disclaiming any desire 'to deprive them of the duties, the toils, the responsibilities of their high office. And, black event as it would be for the country, yet, as far as they are concerned, we could not wish them a more blessed termination of their cause than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom.' He asks his fellow-presbyters 'Should the government and the country so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, on what will you rest the claim to respect and attention which you make upon your flocks. Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connexions: should these secular advantages cease, on what must Christ's ministers depend?

'I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLIC DESCENT.'

Other tracts followed in rapid succession in the same style, mostly by Mr. Newman, on the nature of the Christian Church, its authority and government, current objections to its claims, its services, its prayers, its sacraments, the neglect of its discipline.

When the first forty-six tracts were collected into a volume, the advertisement claimed (1) that the doctrines inculcated were no novelties, 'the Apostolic Succession, the Holy Catholic Church, were principles of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century,' and that the 'establishment' and the love of 'decency and order' were inadequate motives for remaining within the communion of the Church, (2) that positive teaching was necessary, if schism was to be met; that if church-people had been taught 'that the Sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of divine grace; that the Apostolic ministry had a virtue in it, which went out over the whole Church, when sought by the prayer of faith; that fellowship was a gift and privilege, as well as a duty, we should not have so many wanderers from the fold, nor so many cold hearts within it.'

The Tracts were meant to save the Church from Popery as well as Dissent. 'The awakened mind knows its wants but cannot

provide for them ; and in its hunger will feed upon ashes, if it cannot obtain the pure milk of the word. Methodism and Popery are in different ways the refuge of those whom the Church stints of the gifts of grace ; they are the foster-mothers of abandoned children.' Again, 'these neglected doctrines faithfully preached will repress that extension of Popery, for which the multiplying divisions of the religious world are too clearly preparing the way.' We are reminded of Bishop Newton, who called Methodism 'a bastard kind of Popery.'[1]

It was no wonder that these early Tracts—the later ones were treatises rather than tracts—made a sensation, and were received with 'surprise, dismay, ridicule, and indignation.' They offended the Calvinists, the theological liberals, who saw in them the most effective counter-stroke to their own plans and theories, and the apathetic 'whom the movement forced to think' and 'who did not want such an addition to their responsibilities.'

There were many also who were offended by the asceticism of the Tracts. When Pusey, preaching at St. Mary's on luxury among undergraduates, took occasion to say that those *in station* might do well to live more simply than they did, 'the Master of Balliol was seen to march out of church afterwards with every air of offended dignity.'[2] But 'they also at once called forth a response of eager sympathy from numbers of those to whom they brought unhoped for relief and light in a day of gloom, of rebuke and blasphemy.'[3] As was to be expected, the movement grew rapidly. Archbishop Whately wrote in 1838 : 'I very much doubt between Oxford and Cambridge for my boy. Oxford, which I should otherwise prefer on many accounts, has at present two-thirds of the steady-reading men, Rabbinists, *i.e.* Puseyites.'[4]

As early as 1836 Dr. Arnold, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on 'Dr. Hampden and the Oxford Malignants,' wrote : 'The objects of High Church Fanaticism, objects so pitiful that if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser or the better ; they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral or spiritual ; to no effort social or religious, except to the changing of sense into silliness and holiness into formality and hypocrisy.'

Opposition.—Three Tractarian publications precipitated a conflict, and enlisted the full strength of the Protestant and anti-Roman feeling, which was at that time suspicious on account of the recent emancipation of the Roman Catholics and their aggressive attitude.

[1] Newton, *Works*, vol. i. p. 117.
[2] Ollard, *op. cit.*
[3] Church, *op. cit.*
[4] Ollard, *op. cit.*

The first was the *Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude*, published in 1838. Besides a very intimate diary, revealing a highly introspective mind, the book contained many unguarded expressions of opinion, which had never been intended for publication, including many animadversions on the Reformers. 'I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation.'[1] 'As to the Reformers I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would call in these days an irreverent dissenter.'[2] 'The person I like best of all I have read about is Cardinal Pole.'[3] Of a friend who had just taken a curacy, 'May he escape becoming a "Gospel minister."'[4] These were casual expressions and not 'considered opinions,' but a generation brought up to revere the Reformers as only on a slightly lower plane than the Apostles, was shocked and exasperated. Sir James Stephen asked indignantly in the *Edinburgh Review* in an article provoked by the book, 'In what does the modern creed of Oxford differ from that of Rome?'

The second was one of the Tracts contributed in 1839 by Isaac Williams, a fastidious scholar, a poet, a clergyman of definitely moderate and conservative opinions. It was called *On Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge*.' 'It was a protest against the coarseness and shallowness which threw the most sacred words about at random in loud and declamatory appeals.' But the word *Reserve* was enough. It meant, people thought, that the Tractarians avowed the principle of keeping back part of the Counsel of God and were given to secret, crooked, and so-called Jesuitical methods. Dean Church says that the result was like the explosion of a mine. The book was denounced by bishops and created an atmosphere of suspicion which was never allayed.

The third was the famous Tract 90, published in 1841, written by Newman and entitled *Remarks on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles*, written with the professed object of showing that the Articles were not inconsistent with the Catholic faith, and 'may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine': as, for instance, that Article Twenty-two did not condemn the doctrine of purgatory, but only the doctrine held by Roman Catholics (*doctrina Romanensium*) at the time when the Article was written, and that there were other doctrines of purgatory as that, for instance, maintained by the Greeks at the Council of Florence, which are not condemned by the Articles. The Tract

[1] *Remains, etc.*, i. 336.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 379.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 254.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 255.

created a storm. The Board of the Heads of Houses, the governing body of the University, condemned the Tract. They accused Newman of 'evading rather than explaining the words of the Thirty-nine Articles.' The country rang with the word *evading*, which is specially abhorrent to the English sense of honesty. A leading Evangelical, Dr. Close of Cheltenham, afterwards Dean of Carlisle, said in 1843, in a speech at a public dinner: 'When I first read No. 90, I did not then know the author; but I said then and I repeat here, not with any personal reference to the author, that I should be sorry to trust the author of that Tract with my purse.'[1] The bishops then began to charge. 'They went on in this way, directing charges at me, for three whole years. I recognised it as a condemnation. . . . At first I intended to protest, but I gave up the thought in despair.'[2]

The reception of the Tract was, in fact, decisive. Newman resigned his place in the movement and the living of St. Mary's, and in 1845 was received into the Church of Rome. He has given his own reasons for this step in a book of matchless beauty and pathos. We can see now that he went because, when sore and hurt by injustice, suspicion, and the foulest abuse, the charges of the bishops convinced him that the Catholic views held by Hooker and the Caroline divines, and excluded by no formularies, were no longer tenable in the Church of England.

Many went with him: some for the same reason: others, like Faber, the hymn-writer, and the celebrated W. G. Ward, recent converts to the movement, because their drift had been Romeward from the first. Mr. Gladstone used to say that Newman's secession 'left wrecks on every shore.' Besides those who went over to Rome, some, like J. A. Froude and Mark Pattison, became liberals in theology of the most advanced type, more modern than the Modernist, and one at least, Robert Williams, a fervent Evangelical. However, the main body held firm under Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, Dean Church, and others. Referring to this time, Pusey wrote afterwards: 'Dear J. H. N. said to me one day at Littlemore: "Pusey, we have leant on the bishops, and they have given way under us." Dear J. K. and I never did lean on the bishops, but on the Church.'[3]

Two letters,[4] each written to the late Mr. Gladstone, when the writer was suffering from undeserved obloquy, help to illustrate the

[1] Ollard, *op. cit.* [2] Newman, *Apologia.* [3] *D.E.C.H.*

[4] Now in St. Deiniol's Library; printed by permission.

difference between Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey. On November 12, 1844 when smarting under attacks which were the result of Tract 90, Newman wrote: 'My spirits are just now a little affected by the continued or rather continuous attacks which have been made upon me for so many years, and from so many quarters at once. After all I do not think I should mind the attacks if I had anything to fall back upon. But for a long time past I have nothing. I cannot fall back upon bishops or upon rubrics or upon Articles or upon Reformers, or upon the new theology, or upon usage. Nothing present, nothing past, nothing in books serve as an appeal, and thus I must stand by myself or seek external support.'

Two years earlier Pusey had been suspended from preaching before the University on account of a sermon he had preached on the Holy Eucharist. In acknowledging a letter of sympathy and encouragement, he wrote, July 2, 1843: 'On the whole I can bear and am of good cheer about this and all things, which concern our Church. One cannot suppose that so great a restoration as is now going on in her should be without manifold drawbacks and checks and disquietudes and sufferings. No great restoration ever took place without them. But while all who are allowed any way to be concerned in it, must expect their share, directly or indirectly, on the whole one must be of good courage.'

Tractarians were now under a cloud, under which they remained for many years. Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort, Lord John Russell, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, were all alike agreed in excluding them from preferment. They were the objects of cartoons in the comic papers and of obloquy in the press; they were the targets of episcopal charges, and were sent to jail under the Public Worship Regulation Act. Nevertheless the Church of England as we know it is largely their work. The decency in worship which Laud tried hard to enforce, which was conspicuously absent in 1833, is now almost universal. The eucharistic vestments, then fallen into disuse, are now used in over 4000 churches. In 1833 there was no regular training provided for ordination candidates; it is now the exception for any clergyman to be ordained without receiving a regular course of training in a Theological College, and these colleges are a secondary result of the movement. In 1845 Dr. Pusey founded the first post-Reformation religious community; there are now forty-one in communion with the Church of England.

In the work of preaching the Gospel to the neglected populations

in the great towns, the way was led by the Tractarians. In the work of foreign missions, the Universities Mission to Central Africa and the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, to mention only two, have carried their principles to two continents, but here their followers neither in zeal, or in the number of workers sent, or the amount of money raised, have rivalled the Evangelicals.

Anglo-Catholics.—When Tractarianism was all but suppressed in Oxford it found a refuge for the most part in the slums. All Saints', Margaret Street, St. Peter's, London Docks, St. Alban's, Holborn, All Souls', Leeds, St. Margaret's, Liverpool, St. Alban's, Birmingham, and many other well-known churches were the direct outcome of the movement. The Tractarians in Oxford had been content with the barest possible ceremonial. In parishes though at first many were still content with the *minimum* consistent with decency, the majority soon began to develop the external side of worship and were stigmatised—inaccurately—as *Ritualists*. During the period from 1855 to 1892, from the opening of the Westerton *v.* Liddell case to the judgment in Read *v.* Bishop of Lincoln, the Catholic party in the Church of England was engaged in a hard fight for the right to use certain points of ceremonial, sometimes called the *Six Points*, for which the sanction of the Prayer-book was claimed. In 1874 the Public Worship Regulation Act, the 'Bill to put down Ritualism' (Disraeli), was passed by Parliament the better to deal with offenders. Under this Act five clergymen were imprisoned. This tended to weaken its moral force. It became discredited and is practically obsolete. The trial of the Bishop of Lincoln marks the end of this stage.[1]

What is sometimes known as the Kensit agitation, the name being taken from its leader, John Kensit, a bookseller in Paternoster Row, was an attempt, beginning in 1896, to force the bishops to use the machinery of the Act against so-called Ritualistic clergy. The agitation is only important in that it gave birth to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, which in its turn was the parent of the attempted revision of the Prayer-book, as it stated as one of its conclusions that the present book was too strait for the needs of the day and should be revised.

The name *Anglo-Catholic* is Tractarian. Mr. Newman, writing to Mr. Gladstone in March 1844, said of a neighbour, 'In his opinion he is Anglo-Catholic as it is called.' Modern Anglo-Catholics can be divided roughly into two parties.

[1] See G. Crosse, *Authority in the Church of England.*

(1) Those who claim that their aim is to conduct services according to the directions of the Prayer-book, reasonably interpreted, conceding the right of the Church of England 'to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church,' at least up to a point.

(2) Those who deny the competence of one or two provinces to set aside rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Church and plead the authority of the 'Western Church' for ritual or ceremonial developments which are not apparently contemplated by the Book of Common Prayer.

XIII

RELIGION IN SCOTLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The accession of William III was a definite turning-point in the history of the Church of Scotland. It marked the victory of the Presbyterian over the Episcopal party in the Church and the final cleavage between the two.

Episcopacy

If we may believe Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, the question whether Episcopalians or Presbyterians were to prevail was determined more by political than religious considerations. That prelate had gone to London to represent the state of the Scottish Church at Court, and reports a speech made to him by Compton, Bishop of London, who gave the following account of the King's position. 'My Lord, you see that the King, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely and offered to support him and therefore he cannot cast them off unless he could see how otherwise he can be served. And the King bids me tell you that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland, for while there he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy, and it is the trading and inferior sort that are for Presbytery: wherefore he bids me tell you that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in

England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order and throw off the Presbyterians.' [1]

Bishop Compton went on to point out that Bishop Rose had not waited on the King, nor had the Scottish bishops sent him an address. 'So you see the King must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians.' Next day Rose was taken by Compton to Whitehall, when William said to him, 'I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England.' The Bishop answered, 'Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me.' Whereupon the King turned away without speaking another word.

The Episcopal party was at this time considerable. South of the Forth, Scotland was mainly Presbyterian. Between the Forth and the Tay, which includes Fife, parties were more evenly divided with a Presbyterian preponderance. North of the Tay, Episcopacy prevailed. Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Cromartie, who was no partisan, wrote in 1689: 'Episcopacy appears insufferable to a great party and Presbytery is as odious to another. The Presbyterians are the more zealous and hotter; the others more numerous and powerful. The present Parliament are more numerous of Presbyterians by the new method of election of burghs; but the major part of the nobility and barons are not for Presbytery.' [2]

However, things being as they were, the triumph of Presbyterianism was assured. It had begun already before legal action was taken, on Christmas Day, 1688, with the 'rabbling' of the clergy in the south-west. About two hundred of them were driven from their homes and parishes with every circumstance of indignity and hardship, but without bloodshed. A Scottish Parliament from which many Episcopalian supporters of the House of Stuart had withdrawn 'abolished prelacy,' imposed an oath of allegiance to William and Mary, set up the Westminster Confession as the 'allowed' symbol of faith, re-established Presbyterian Church government as in 1592, except that excommunication was no longer to entail civil penalties, passed an Act abolishing 'Prelacie and all superiority of any office in this church above presbyters,' and another forbidding any to bear office in 'any university, college, or school within the Kingdom' except those who signed the Westminster Confession, took the oath of allegiance, and submitted 'to the government of the Church now established by law.'

All the bishops and the majority of the Episcopal clergy refused

[1] Grub, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

to take the oath, like their fellow non-jurors in the southern kingdom. For the first time there was a clear division between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Hitherto, they had lain down together in one fold, both striving to make their own principles predominant. The Presbyterians now abandoned this policy. At the Restoration, it had been the aim of the Episcopal authorities to include as many as possible, Archbishop Leighton going very far in this direction. The Presbyterians now aimed at exclusion rather than comprehension, intending at all costs to purge the church of ministers, who were unsound on the point of Church government.

The immediate result was that many parishes were left vacant in spite of the fact that in the north many of the old clergy went on undisturbed and their parishes refused to receive their supplanters. According to one authority,[1] more than a third of the parishes in the kingdom were left without a minister and had to console themselves with the words of a preacher before Parliament. 'Better the temple of the Lord be sometime unbuilt and unrepaired than be repaired by Gibeonites and Samaritans.'[2] So serious was the matter that in 1695 Parliament considering that 'there are many churches vacant on the north side of the water of Forth which cannot be legally planted,' passed an act to arrange for the payment of non-resident preachers, who came to be known as *twenty mark men*.

Deprived ministers were forbidden to preach or exercise their ministry, unless undertaking to pray for the King and Queen by name and to make a declaration called *The assurance*, asserting that their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, are the only lawful and undoubted sovereigns . . . as well *de jure* as *de facto*. They were also forbidden to baptise, or marry, under pain of imprisonment, 'until he find caution to go out of the kingdom and never return thereunto.'

During the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14), the Episcopal Church prospered and the English Prayer-book became so widely used that the Presbyterian General Assembly thought it necessary to protest against innovations in worship in Episcopal meeting-houses and to direct parish ministers to proceed against those who practised them. One minister, James Greenshields, was cited by the Edinburgh Presbytery and on refusing to appear was put in prison where he remained for some months, being only released after an appeal to the House of Lords. The English Book was used because there were few copies of the Scottish Book of 1637 extant, and friends in

[1] Skinner, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

England were ready to supply English books. The University of Oxford alone, according to one writer, sent in two years above 19,000 Common Prayer-books and books of devotion.

By the Toleration Act of 1712, Episcopal clergy who were willing to take the oaths of Allegiance, Assurance, and Abjuration, were allowed to officiate in meeting-houses, non-jurors in private houses. It was passed in spite of the bitter protests of the Presbyterians. The General Assembly petitioned the House of Lords for permission to state a case against the Bill. 'We have a boundless toleration put upon us,' wrote Wodrow, 'and the English service is setting up in all corners of the Church. Pelagian and popish doctrines are being vented by the protected party and shipwreck made of the faith of many.'[1]

In 1705 the bishops took steps to preserve the succession by consecrating two new bishops. At one consecration Bishop Hickes, the non-juring Dean of Worcester, took part, and on several occasions Scottish bishops assisted in the consecration of non-jurors.

After the accession of George I and the unsuccessful rising of 1715 the laws were tightened up and executed more severely. Every clergyman who had not taken the oath became liable to six months' imprisonment if he officiated at a service at which more than nine persons were present (1719). Nevertheless, the Church held its own. Wodrow wrote of Gadderer, Bishop of Aberdeen (1721–33): 'He stirs up divisions in parishes who adhere to their Presbyterian minister, which is no difficult matter in that country. I think there are upwards of twenty meeting-houses set up in the shire of Aberdeen since last year—in short, the Presbyterian ministers there in some places are speaking of leaving their charges': and again, 'I fear a few years will bring about a terrible and fearful change in the Church and the inclinations of the most part will be bringing in the English services among us. The Lord pity us.' We read of 300 communicants at Easter in a parish in the diocese of Aberdeen in 1733. Even later, Robert Forbes, Bishop of Caithness and Orkney, 1762–76, recorded in his register 'long lists of young people whom he had from time to time confirmed in different parts of his diocese.'[2] Bishop Keith wrote of this period: 'Her clergy were numerous, many of them learned, whilst her chapels were frequented by all orders of the people from the highest peer to the lowest peasants, even judges and magistrates joining in her worship.'[3]

[1] *Wodrow's Correspondence*, i. 390. [2] Pullan, *Religion since the Reformation*.
[3] *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 265.

The Rebellion of '45 was attended with disastrous consequences to the Episcopal Church. For some months the Highlands were under martial law and general directions were given to destroy Episcopal meeting-houses. 'Parties were sent out (after Culloden) who burnt or demolished thirty or forty of these places of worship, burning the very Bibles and Prayer-books.' Skinner, himself a sufferer, thus wrote of this reign of terror: 'In most country-places, the meeting-houses were burned to the ground by parties of the military detached on purpose. In towns or villages where burning was not safe they were shut up or demolished. The clergy themselves were obliged to leave their houses, which sometimes were plundered, and to skulk where they best could, that they might not fall into the soldiers' hands; their hearers stood aghast between pity for their ministers and fear for themselves, being under the same suspicions and equally uncertain what might be the issue.'[1] When civil administration returned and 'the law began to take notice of us once more,' the penalties forbidding non-jurors to conduct services were made more severe. A private house attended by five persons besides the family was considered a meeting-house. A *complier*, as those willing to take the oaths were called, had to register his orders before a magistrate, a *non-complier* was only allowed to read prayers in his own house. We read of an Episcopal minister taking the service sixteen times at one festival. The penalty for infringement of the law was imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation to the plantations for life for the second. By an Act of 1748 no orders conferred by a Scottish bishop after September 1748 were recognised by the Government. Laymen were liable to fine or imprisonment, disfranchisement, and disability from holding civil office.

John Skinner (1721–1807), Episcopal minister of Langside in the diocese of Aberdeen, though no Jacobite, had his house pillaged and chapel burned. Nevertheless, being a *complier*, he was able for a time to conduct services in such buildings as were to be had. But under the new Act his orders were no longer valid for the purpose of registration, and he could only conduct services in his own house. Even so he was charged with some evasion of the Act in 1753, and spent six months in the Aberdeen jail. After the accession of George III the laws were executed with comparative mildness. Prince Charles died in January 1788, and in the same year the Church agreed to pray for King George by name, but the penal

[1] *Op. cit.*, ii. 663.

laws were not removed until 1792, and even then the Scottish Episcopal clergy were required to assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, and were not allowed to officiate in England.

From the last persecution the Church never seems to have recovered. Numbers declined, largely owing to the scarcity of clergy. Churches were closed and congregations went where they could. Another cause of decline was the depopulation of the Highlands through emigration.

If the Episcopal Church of Scotland had done nothing else during this long period of depression, it would have made itself a lasting name by the consecration of Samuel Seabury, a missionary of the S.P.C.K., as Bishop of Connecticut. The clergy of that Province had sent him to England for consecration. The English bishops received him kindly, but being rather at a loss how to act in the absence of civil authority, kept him waiting so long that he had recourse to the Scottish bishops and was duly consecrated in an upper room at Aberdeen, November 14, 1784. Their action was received with ridicule and contempt in some quarters, but the clergy of Connecticut who were principally concerned had a proper estimate of the service rendered and expressed the wish 'that wherever the American Episcopal Church shall be mentioned in the world, this also that the bishops of Scotland have done for her, may be spoken of for a memorial of them.'

The history of the Episcopal Church since 1792 has been comparatively uneventful. It held its first General Synod since the Revolution in 1811. In 1840 Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Mr. James Hope founded an Episcopal College at Glenalmond, 'in which a secular education should be given, but the chief object should be the education of a Scottish priesthood.' Glenalmond survives and flourishes to this day, but as a public school. The education of the priesthood has been transferred to a separate institution in Edinburgh. In 1876 a Representative Church Council was formed which included laymen.

Presbyterianism

The Scottish Reformation had begun and been carried through in the teeth of opposition from the Crown, which may have been the reason why the Presbyterian Church has always been so sensitive on the point of Erastianism. 'The curious result followed that a Church which rejected with peculiar violence the faith and obedience

of Rome was obliged in self-defence to retain Rome's ecclesiastical philosophy and to re-affirm it with ever increasing vehemence. The doctrines of Hildebrand were adopted without scruple and, embodied in such resounding catchwords as *non-intrusion*, *spiritual independence*, and *the Crown Rights of the Redeemer*, were enjoined to be believed on peril of perdition.'[1] It was held not only that the State must not interfere with the Church, but that it must also enforce the decrees of the Church. An early seceder from the Church, John Glas, whose followers became known as Sandemanians, was condemned by the General Assembly in 1730 for holding that it was unlawful to uphold Christianity by force of arms.

Patronage was the rock of offence for 150 years. The Act of 1690 had ratified Presbyterian government as established in 1592 except in the matter of church discipline. But an Act of Queen Anne (1712) restored the system of private and Crown patronage, in spite of protests from the General Assembly. It was on a question of patronage that a body afterwards known as *the Secession Church* separated in 1733. The Secession Church itself divided in 1746 and each part in turn subdivided. Charity was not the strong point of the Secession Church. Whitefield when in Scotland asked its representatives what they wished him to do. They answered, 'That they did not desire him to subscribe immediately to the Solemn League and Covenant, but to preach only for them, till he had further light.' 'Why only for them,' he asked. Ralph Erskine replied, 'They were the Lord's people.' He asked, 'Were no other the Lord's people but themselves? If not, and if others were the devil's people, they have more need to be preached to; that, for his part, all places were alike to him, and that if the Pope himself would lend him his pulpit, he would gladly proclaim in it the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ.' Wesley complained both of the bigotry and of the coldness of the Scottish character, and asserted that the Seceders were more uncharitable than the Papists. 'I have not yet,' he said, 'met a Papist in this kingdom who would tell me to my face that all but themselves must be damned; but I have seen Seceders enough who make no scruple to affirm, none but themselves could be saved.'

In 1761 another body seceded, also on a question of patronage, and formed a communion known as the *Relief Synod*.

The intrusion of ministers into parishes against the wish of the parishioners became a grievance more and more acutely felt.

[1] Carswell, *Brother Scots*.

Decisions of the civil courts were resisted, and in 1838 a bold attempt was made to abolish lay patronage by the legislative authority of the Church. Attempts were also made to get it abolished by Act of Parliament. The movement culminated in 1843 when the non-intrusion party numbering about a third of the ministry and a like proportion of the laity seceded from the established Church. The seceders called themselves the Free Church of Scotland and built a church and provided a minister in every parish in Scotland. This was the Disruption. 'So praised and magnified that in many Scottish minds it ranks as the most important event in the history of Christianity since the day of Pentecost.' [1] Their strength lay in the towns and they had strong financial backing from the wealthy manufacturers and tradesmen. They also represented Pietism in Scotland.

However, centripetal as well as centrifugal tendencies were at work. In 1820 the various factions of the Secession Church were united under the name of *The United Associate Synod* and in 1847 coalesced with the Relief Synod to form *The United Presbyterian Church.* In 1900 a movement for union between the United Presbyterians and the Free Church was consummated. A small dissentient minority of the Free Church, known as the *Wee Frees*, claimed all the endowments of the Free Church as the only valid representatives of that body. They won their case and it required a special Act of Parliament to effect an equitable division of the property. The union stimulated the desire for healing the breach between the Free and the Established Church. The domination of the State alone stood in the way, but in 1921, an Act of Parliament was passed giving the Established Church complete freedom in spiritual matters, while retaining its endowments and privileges. The right to modify its Articles of faith was expressly included in the Act. Reunion with the United Free Church has since been accomplished (1929).

XIV

THE EASTERN CHURCH AFTER THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The immediate effect of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks was to increase the secular power of the Greek Patriarch, for three principal reasons.

[1] Carswell, *Brother Scots.*

1. The Sultan regarded the Pope as the rallying centre of hostility to Islam in the West and was quite ready to support the Patriarch against the Pope.

2. The Emperor had always controlled ecclesiastical policy, and kept the Patriarch in subordination, a recalcitrant Patriarch being deposed or executed. The Mohammedan rulers, on the other hand, had no desire to interfere in Church affairs. As a matter of convenience the Sultan put the whole of the 'Greek religion,' as he called it, under the control of the Patriarch.

3. Not only was religion put under the Patriarch, but a great deal of civil business as well. He was regarded as the representative of the Greek nation, and most civil cases, provided Moslems were not concerned, were settled in ecclesiastical courts. The Patriarch was even made responsible for the collection of tribute from Christians. Unfortunately for the Church, the Sultan discovered that men were willing to purchase so valuable an office. The sum demanded rose fast until it reached 180,000 ducats.[1] The Patriarch repaid himself by extracting enormous sums as fees for consecrating bishops. Bishops got money from the clergy, and the clergy from the people. The Eastern Church tended to get more and more under the power of the Phanariots, or the rich Greeks of the Phanar, the name given to one of the districts of Constantinople. The Phanariots at one time provided the Turkish Empire with merchants, bankers, civil servants and, so far as its Christian subjects were concerned, spiritual heads. Nearly all the higher clergy, not only in Greek-speaking districts, but in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania, were Greeks; even the Patriarchs of Antioch, who ruled over Arabs, were Greeks from 1724 to 1900. A Jesuit writing in 1714 complained that the Phanariot Greeks were full of pride, being puffed up with wealth and the memory of their former greatness and that they despised the Latins.

Nevertheless, the Patriarchs lived very simply. 'I was surprised,' wrote a Jesuit in 1714, 'to see him lodged and attended in extreme simplicity. His room was poor and bare. He had only two badly turned out servants to wait on him and two or three clergy. When he visits he always goes on foot.'[2] The writer contrasted this exterior poverty with the Patriarch's insistance on the title *Universal Bishop*, which had so vexed the soul of Gregory the Great.

[1] Oceanus, *Turkey in Europe*.

[2] *Lettres édifiantes*, etc.

One Patriarch deserves a passing mention, Cyril Lucaris, who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1621. He had been educated at Geneva, had corresponded with Archbishop Laud, and had presented the *Codex Alexandrinus* to Charles I, but is chiefly famous for a Calvinistic Confession of Faith published in 1629. This Confession was formally anathematised by his successor, a condemnation repeated in 1672 at the Synod of Jerusalem, which published a Confession still accepted by the Orthodox Church: therein it is asserted that the Church is infallible and her authority equal to Scripture.

Autonomy

The genius of the Orthodox Church has always tended to produce independent national churches, in communion with Constantinople, just as the Roman Church has instinctively suppressed them. It was only during its Phanariot and most degenerate period that what may be called the Ultramontanist tendency asserted itself effectively. This drift towards autonomy is illustrated in the history of the churches of Eastern Europe.

The Church in the Balkans.—Bulgaria and Serbia for instance, which were the two chief Balkan nations, in their ecclesiastical history followed much the same course—'alternate dependence on Rome or Byzantium in troubled times, and the creation of an independent Patriarchate when circumstances permitted.' [1]

Bulgaria.—The first Christian ruler of Bulgaria, after some hesitation, had chosen Constantinople. However, when the Latin kingdom was set up (1204), the Czar of Bulgaria submitted to Rome and received from Innocent III a crown, a *pallium*, and a Cardinal, who was to consecrate a primate and two archbishops. Thirty years later, when the Latin Empire was overthrown, the Czar repudiated the Pope and re-established an independent Patriarchate. This independence was maintained as long as the Bulgarian kingdom was strong.

After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople the Bulgarian Church, like the Serbian, was Hellenised. All the higher clergy were Greeks from Constantinople and used their position to extort money from the Christian populations of those countries. The Slavonic clergy were treated with ignominy. The Greek language was substituted for Slavonic and Slavonic manuscripts and monu-

[1] Oceanus, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 262.

ments were destroyed. Montenegro alone preserved its independence in Church as well as State. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian Church remained nominally independent until 1767, when its Patriarchate was abolished.

The first stirrings of Bulgarian nationalism made themselves felt in an effort to throw off the ecclesiastical authority of Constantinople and to regain a national Church with Bulgarian bishops, and services in the vernacular. The movement began in the eighteenth century, was obstinately resisted by the Patriarch, and was not finally successful until 1870, when, under pressure from England, France and Russia, the Sultan issued a *firman*, constituting an independent Bulgarian Church, to be presided over by an Exarch, who was to reside in Constantinople. Bulgaria did not then exist as a State, and its Church included not only the area which afterwards became the Kingdom of Bulgaria, but also a large part of Macedonia, which was outside the boundaries of the principality, and which had always been recognised as belonging to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, since it was as much Greek as it was Bulgarian. Greek bishops continued to minister there and the situation has led to much bitterness, the Patriarch asserting the principle that there could be only one bishop in a diocese, and stigmatising as *Phyletism* the doctrine that persons of a particular tribe or nation were entitled to claim a separate ecclesiastical organisation. The Patriarch in a local synod declared the Bulgarian Church schismatic in 1872, a sentence which has not, however, been endorsed by the Churches of Russia, Serbia or Rumania.

The Serbian Church. — The history of the Serbian Church followed much the same course. Converted in the ninth century, the Serbs first acknowledged the Pope about 1050, and their ruler received from Gregory VII the title of King and a consecrated banner. Papal authority was not, however, permanent. St. Sava, a great Serbian hero, crowned in 1222 with the rites of the Eastern Church King Stephen, who had been crowned five years previously by a Papal legate. The Pope was not again recognised in Serbia. In 1346 the Archbishop of Ipek was made Patriarch, and henceforward the Serbian Church was recognised as autonomous, though after 1453 it suffered no less than its neighbours from the policy of Hellenisation, which prevailed throughout the Balkans.

Under Phanariot influence the Patriarchate was abolished in 1766. It was restored in 1830. Since the establishment of the

modern Serbian kingdom the independence of the Serbian Church has been recognised at Constantinople.

The Russian Church.—The Russian Church was an off-shoot of Constantinople and remained for nearly 600 years in the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch. The Metropolitan resided first at Kieff and, after 1320, at Moscow. In 1582 Job, the forty-sixth Metropolitan, was appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Patriarch of Vladimir, Moscow, and all Russia.

Peter the Great (d. 1725) abolished the Patriarchate and vested the ecclesiastical government in the Holy Synod, consisting of five or six bishops and of lay officials representing the Czar. The Russian Church had three metropolitans, but none could exercise authority in the see of another. Only the Holy Synod, which was held to possess Patriarchal authority, had jurisdiction throughout the Russian Church. The lay members of the Synod made no attempt to interfere with doctrine, but doctrine apart, the Church under the Synod was a Church in chains. Nevertheless, it has done splendid missionary work in the Far East, notably in Japan.[1]

The Revolution (1917) was followed by the Decree separating Church and State, and a bitter and bloody persecution. Many bishops and hundreds of priests were shot, churches were plundered and desecrated, bishops were not allowed to travel, the training of ordination candidates was prevented, religious education forbidden and blasphemy officially propagated.

However, the Church has survived and in 1917 revived the Patriarchate, and the venerable Bishop Tikhon, whose sufferings made his name well-known in England, was drawn by lot to renew the line of Russian Patriarchs.

The Greek Church.—In the Kingdom of Greece the independence of the Church succeeded that of the State. The Patriarch of Constantinople had shown scant sympathy with the national movement and had even in 1828 exhorted the rebels to submit to the ' world-renowned clemency of the Ottoman government.'[2] In spite of these protests the movement was successful and an independent Greek kingdom set up. This was followed in 1833 by a Synod which met in Greece and declared (1) That the Hellenic Church was autonomous and that no foreign authority had any power over it, and (2) That the ecclesiastical power should be exercised by a Synod, appointed by the King on the model of the Russian

[1] Pullan, *Religion since the Reformation.* [2] Oceanus, *op. cit.*

Church. The independence of the Greek Church was recognised by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1850.

Rumania.—The Rumanian Church became independent in 1855 with the consent of Constantinople, its boundaries being conterminous with the newly established Rumanian Kingdom.

The Albanian Church.—This is the latest branch of the Orthodox Church to become autonomous. The letter to *The Times*, printed below, illustrates perfectly two tendencies :

(1) The desire for Church autonomy on the part of States politically independent.

(2) The reluctance on the part of the Œcumenical Patriarch to grant it.

'Sir,—With reference to the letter from Archbishop Germanos in your issue this morning, it is quite true that the Albanian Orthodox Church was, in keeping with every other Balkan Church, an integral part of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and it applied to the latter for formal recognition by the issue of the relevant Tomos. The Œcumenical Patriarchate, however, in keeping with its traditional policy in the case of every other self-emancipated Church in the Balkans, has refused to grant Tomos except, in the present instance, on terms which are not consistent with Albanian sovereignty. With the attainment of her political independence, Albania decided to follow the custom of all other Balkan States by proclaiming the independence, or autocephalous status, of her Orthodox Church. As the Œcumenical Patriarchate withheld recognition, the Albanian Church, in order that it should not remain indefinitely without proper administration and a suitable hierarchy, took advantage of the sympathy of the Serbian Autocephalous Church to constitute on February 18 last an Albanian Holy Synod, whose members were duly consecrated in strict conformity with the Canon Law of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

'Albania, it is interesting to note, is following the example of Greece herself, who in 1833 declared her Church independent of the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople but did not obtain the Synodal Tomos of recognition until 1850.

'It is not true that the Orthodox population of Albania "are deeply stirred and disturbed over the *coup* perpetrated against their Orthodox faith." The failure of the Œcumenical Patriarchate to recognise the independence of the Albanian Church was a disappointment, but with formal canonical constitution of their Church Orthodox Albanians realise, as the Greeks realised between 1833

and 1852, that it was impossible for an independent Albania to tolerate the kind of intervention in their national affairs that the Œcumenical Patriarchate seeks to enforce.

'I am, etc.,

'EKREM BEY VLORA.

'Royal Albanian Legation, 116, Inverness-terrace, W. 2, March 12' (1929).

The Uniate Churches.—The Uniate Churches are Eastern Churches which, while united to the Roman see, retain certain local customs, laws, and rites. Ever since the sixteenth century the Roman Church has carried on proselytising efforts among the Churches of the East, mainly under the *ægis* of France. French policy, inaugurated by Francis I, has been to constitute France as the protector of Western Christians in the East and to secure as many privileges as possible for them, so that their numbers might grow, and the French sphere of influence might be correspondingly enlarged. The Near East became the hunting ground of many Latin religious orders, notably of the Jesuits. The French not only protected Western Catholics residing in the East, but also Eastern Orthodox, who wished for any reason to become Catholics. Louis XIV developed this policy to the uttermost. He arranged for the education of Levantine youths in the Jesuit college in France, 'in order that they might take home again hearts full of gratitude to the King and esteem for France, and that they should be able to communicate their religion to their compatriots.'[1] 'The late King,' wrote a Jesuit in Syria just after his death, 'always attended to what could procure the glory of God, even in countries far distant from his realm, and thought it right to send missionaries in 1698 to Egypt.'[2] In any difficulty with Patriarch or Pasha the missionaries could appeal to the French ambassador at Constantinople or direct to the King of France with the certainty of intervention, which was generally successful.

The Jesuits found an *entrée* everywhere through their knowledge of medicine and their readiness to put their skill and remedies at the service of the sick. Their devotion in times of plague was beyond praise. The success of one father, who, we are told, had won over 900 families in twenty-four years, was largely due to his skill as a doctor. 'The success of his remedies added to his disinterestedness and his charity to the sick caused him everywhere to be in request. He profited by the confidence of his patients to work further con-

[1] *Lettres Edifiantes et curieuses de Levant.* [2] *Ibid.*

versions.' 'Thanks to medicine,' wrote another in 1723, 'we gain the protection of Turkish officers and open the doors of Christians to the word of God.' Education was another key. Everywhere they established schools. 'We regard our schools as so many seminaries which give the Catholic Church well-instructed proselytes capable of instructing others.' [1]

Their success was great. We read that one father reconciled 400 Armenians in 1712 and as many the year before. Even bishops were won over. A Jesuit *relation* records the submission of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Aleppo and Damascus to Clement XI. The Jesuits had missionary settlements in Constantinople, Cairo, Salonika, Damascus, Smyrna, Aleppo, and the islands of the Ægean. From all these stations came optimistic and hopeful accounts of what the writers call 'fruit,' between 1714 and 1725. They even converted a Greek monastery near Tripoli through the agency of 'two young disciples' who were received as novices with the connivance of their Jesuit instructor 'who explained to them how to make doubts grow in the minds of the monks concerning the dogmas they upheld.' As a result the whole monastery went over.[2]

Their success was not unnaturally resented by the Greeks. 'Schism,' wrote a Jesuit missionary, 'inspires them with implacable hatred against Catholics and particularly against the missionaries.' The superior of the Syrian missions wrote to France in 1723 to complain that 'it is forbidden to Christian subjects of the Sultan to embrace the Catholic religion or the Latin missionaries to have any communication with Greeks, Armenians, or Egyptians, under pretence of instructing them.' The blame for this was attributed to 'the schismatic Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Damascus.'

This decree was not, however, long in force, the Roman missionaries resumed their activities and in every part of the Eastern Church there exists side by side a Uniate Church in rivalry. There are Byzantine Uniates, Armenian Uniates, Chaldean and Coptic Uniates, and Maronites. Among the Maronites, however, the Uniate Church is the only Church. At the beginning of the war there were in the Turkish empire besides 100,000 Latin Christians, 700,000 [3] Christians, subject to Rome, and protected by France.

[1] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Levant.*
[2] *Ibid.*, i. p. 201.
[3] Oceanus, *op. cit.*

XV

ANGLICANISM IN AMERICA

After Newfoundland, Virginia was the first American colony. Its settlers took a chaplain with them and had 'daily common prayer morning and evening; every Sunday two sermons; and every three months the holy Communion till their minister died; after that prayers daily with a homily on Sundays, two or three years, till more preachers came.' [1]

The colony underwent many vicissitudes but when it made good the Church was established and endowed, as it was later in Maryland. The clergy were mostly sent out from England and, according to American writers, were generally of bad character, so that when the war came and endowments were lost, the Church in those States sank into a state of temporary inanition. Spottswood, Governor of Virginia (1715–22), wrote: 'This government is in peace and tranquillity under a due obedience to the royal authority and a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England.[2]

In New England the colonists had no intention of tolerating Anglicanism and conditions were very different. The minister of Plymouth, John Lyford, who came out in 1624, and one Oldham were said to have intended 'to join together and have the sacrament and this according to his former calling' (1624).[3] Both were expelled. Lyford returned to England and died at Bristol. Oldham was contumacious and was eventually compelled to run the gauntlet through a guard of musketeers, of whom 'every one was ordered to give him a blow on his hinder parts with the butt end of his musket, and then he was conveyed to the waterside, where a boat was ready to carry him away with this farewell, "Go and mend your manners."' [4]

At Salem, two brothers, Samuel and John Brown, 'both of them men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place,' 'gathered a company together in a place distinct from the public assembly and then the Book of Common Prayer was read, unto such as resorted thither;' they were summoned to appear before the governor, to whom they accused the ministers of being separatists and said that 'for themselves they would hold to the orders of the Church of England.'

[1] Bacon, *Hist. American Christianity.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *New England's Memorial.*
[4] *Ibid.*

Accordingly, ' finding those two brothers to be of high spirits and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them that New England was no place for such as they,' [1] and they were deported (1629).

Thomas Morton, a layman, was another adherent of the Prayer-book of a less reputable character. He read prayers to his household and led them on May Day in revels round a maypole. These proceedings annoyed his neighbours, as did his skill in trading with the Indians, and he was accused of selling muskets to the natives and of ' maintaining a school of Atheism,' this last accusation according to one writer, John Fiske, being based upon the fact that he used the Book of Common Prayer. He also disliked the Puritans as much as they him. ' I found two sorts of people, the one Christians, the other infidels ; these I found most full of humanity and more friendly than the other.' [2]

When Sir Ferdinando Gorges got a grant of land in Maine, Episcopal clergy were established at Portsmouth and Portland. However, Massachusetts intervened and the use of the Prayer-book was forbidden. One, Robert Jordan of Portland, was several times fined and imprisoned for using it. When he died in 1679 there was no Episcopal clergyman left in New England.[3]

After the Restoration royal governors were sent out from England and required Prayer-book services for themselves and their retinue. In New England the difficulty was to find a suitable building. When the governor came to Boston he could find no building in which such services could be held. Applications were made for the use of one of the three meeting-houses in Boston. The Puritan ministers met and reported that they ' could not with a good conscience consent that our meeting-house should be made use of for the Common Prayer worship.' [4] Eventually the governor and his council built the King's Chapel (1688). Before the church was completed the governor was expelled and soon after the chaplain returned to England. Whereupon the Puritans showed their dislike of Episcopacy by breaking the windows of the building and defiling it with filth, according to a contemporary ' in the rudest and basest manner imaginable.' [5]

Thomas Bray visited America as commissary of the Bishop of London in 1700, and made a visitation of the clergy of Maryland. The report gives a glimpse of the Church in that colony. Seventeen

[1] *New England's Memorial.* [2] Platner, *op. cit.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

clergy attended. Bray characteristically laid stress first of all on the instruction of children. He warned the clergy not to give any clergyman a charge unless he had a good character from the ship he came out in, 'whether in his whole passage he gave no manner of scandal, and whether he did constantly read prayers twice a day and catechise and preach on Sundays, which, notwithstanding the common excuses, I know can be done by a minister of any zeal for religion.' Unfortunately, the clergy received their appointments from London and it is not easy to see how the local clergy were to prevent a scandalous cleric from taking up a living, as in fact such men frequently did. At least American historians seem unanimous on this point. However, Bray had only one such to deal with : a certain 'Mr. T——' who had married in Maryland, there being 'violent presumptions that Mr. T—— had a wife in England.' 'Mr. T——' admitted that there had been a lady, but denied that he had married her.

We learn also from resolutions passed by the clergy that there was a shortage of clergy. 'There being very many clergy wanting to supply the vacant parishes of this province.' We learn also that the quality of those who came was not always good. At least the signatories say that it is 'of the greatest consequence that they should be the best chosen.' They hoped that 'his Reverence,' as they styled Dr. Bray, 'would return with them and so may the better know their behaviour at sea.' [1]

After 1703, when the S.P.G. fixed on the Reverend Thorowgood Moore 'to be their missionary to the Indians bordering on New York,' that Society upheld the banner of episcopacy in America. During a period of seventy-five years it maintained more than 300 ordained missionaries. Their business was to convert the Indians and to minister to the settlers. John Wesley was one. They penetrated to New England, and by 1730 there were four episcopal churches in Rhode Island and three in Massachusetts. New York was largely Dutch Calvinist and Presbyterian, but Anglicanism was patronised by the Government. In 1730 there were working in New York the minister of Trinity Church and ten S.P.G. missionaries. In 1745 there were twenty-two churches in New York and New Jersey served by missionaries.

But the real revival of episcopacy, when it came, was a home growth and not an importation. In 1722 Timothy Cutler the Rector, and Daniel Brown the tutor, of Yale College in Con-

[1] Visitation held by Dr. Thomas Bray at Annapolis on May 23, 1711.

necticut, as a result of their studies became uneasy about continuing 'out of the visible communion of an Episcopal church' and presented a statement to the trustees of the college signed by themselves and five Congregational ministers of Connecticut. 'Some of us,' they declared, 'doubt the validity, and the rest of us are more fully persuaded of the invalidity of Presbyterian ordination in opposition to Episcopal, and should be heartily thankful to God and man if we may receive from them satisfaction therein, and shall be willing to embrace your good counsels and instructions in relation to this important affair as far as God shall direct and dispose us to do.'[1] As a consequence three of the signatories sailed to England for ordination. Brown died of smallpox on the voyage, Cutler became the first rector of Christ Church, Boston, and Samuel Johnson returned to Connecticut, in which State, when he began his ministry in 1724, he was the only Episcopal clergyman. But within twenty years, fourteen churches had been built and an Episcopal revival begun. Of Yale itself he wrote, 'A love to the Church gains ground greatly in the college. Several young men that are graduates, and some young ministers, are very uneasy out of the communion of the Church, and some of them seem much disposed to come into her service.'[2] Two of these, Pierson and Brown, went to England for ordination. Samuel Seabury, whose son became the first bishop of Connecticut, came in from the Congregational ministry.'

After the Revolution the President of Yale enumerated among twenty disquieting signs of the times 'an alarming increase of wickedness and Episcopacy.'[3] The effect of the war was wholly disastrous for Episcopacy. Everywhere except in Connecticut the Episcopal clergy had close ties with England. Many took sides for the King and preached against rebellion. Some fled. Of those who remained, some were mobbed, others imprisoned. One when preaching against rebellion was shot when in the pulpit by an aggrieved parishioner. Another who persisted in praying for the King was 'brought expeditiously to the floor.'[4] Edward Bass, the first bishop consecrated in America (1797), as rector of Newburyport continued the services of the Church throughout the Revolution, omitting the state prayers and keeping clear of politics. 'Temperate and uniform in the discharge of the duties of his mission,' said his wardens, 'his conduct has been such as should give cause of offence to no party.' Even so, he did not escape being 'pursued along the street by near two hundred persons who pelted him

[1] Platner, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

with dirt and stones and treated him with the most indelicate language.'[1]

In the south the Church almost ceased to be. 'You know,' wrote Bishop Hobart, thirty years after the war, 'how I have mourned over the desolations of our Zion in your state (Virginia), and how my heart has grieved at beholding that Liturgy, which was the delight and glory of holy saints now in that paradise for which its sacred devotions prepared them, neglected, mutilated, despised, almost trodden under foot.'[2]

Moreover the enfeebled flock was without a shepherd. The want of a bishop had long been felt. In the south unworthy clergy had no supervision. Everywhere candidates for orders had to go to England, and make a long, expensive, and dangerous journey, facing the perils of pirates, drowning, and small-pox. Johnson wrote to the Bishop of London 'that a considerable number of young gentlemen, of the best educated among us, for want of Episcopal ordination, decline the ministry, unwilling to expose themselves to the dangers of the sea and distempers; so that the fountain of all our misery is the want of a bishop, for whom there are many thousands of souls in this country who patiently long and pray.'[3]

In a letter to the S.P.G., dated 1761, by a Convention of Episcopal clergy presided over by Samuel Johnson, it was stated that 'not less than one out of five who having gone home for Holy Orders from the northern colonies have persisted in the attempt, ten have miscarried out of fifty-one.'[4] In 1783 ten of the fourteen clergy of Connecticut met and chose Samuel Seabury to go to England and seek Episcopal consecration. This he failed to get from the English bishops but obtained in Scotland. Shortly afterwards the difficulties in the way of consecration in England were overcome, and in 1787 William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel. The sermon, preached by one of the Archbishop's chaplains, 'had,' we read, 'little reference to the peculiarity of the occasion,'[5] but the chaplain having been called upon at the last moment preached an old sermon.

An American historian, L. W. Bacon, dates the revival of Anglicanism from the consecration of Bishops Griswold and Hobart in 1811. Bishop Hobart has a special interest as he anticipated the Tractarians. As early as 1805 he published a *Companion for the*

[1] Platner, *op cit.*
[2] M'Vicar, *Early Life and Professional Years of Bishop Hobart*, 1838.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] Beardsley, *Life of Bishop Seabury*, App. [5] M'Vicar, *op. cit.*

Festivals and Fasts of the Church, and founded a Tract Society in 1810 with the same aim that twenty-three years later possessed the Oxford Tractarians, that is, of disseminating the knowledge of Church principles. 'My banner,' he wrote, 'is Evangelical Truth and Church Order.' His treatise, *Apology for Apostolic Order*, procured him the commendation of Archdeacon Daubeny and Norris of Hackney, two of the precursors of the Oxford movement, and of Hugh James Rose, one of its founders. He founded a Theological College and was an ardent advocate of missions to the heathen. His views met with considerable opposition. When he published a collection of tracts on episcopacy, 'Its positions,' wrote one of the leading Presbyterians in New York, 'are of such deep-toned horror as may well make one's hair stand up like quills upon the fretful porcupine and freeze the warm blood at the fountain.' [1]

John Henshaw, Bishop of Rhode Island, also published a tract on Confirmation (1818) for the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, and another *The Apostolic Ministry*, 'giving his views most distinctly on Apostolical Succession,' [2] while Richard Moore (1762–1841), Bishop of Virginia, spoke of Bishops Seabury, White and Provoost as 'securing to her the Apostolical Succession.' [3]

When, as in England, a so-called 'ritual' movement began, it was met by the same shocked surprise and horror. Bishop Eastburn of Massachusetts in 1845 admonished an incumbent after a confirmation in these words: 'I observed,' he said, 'to my inexpressible grief and pain, various offensive innovations upon the ancient usage of our Church. In the form of the communion table; in the decorations of golden candlesticks and of a large wooden cross by which it is surmounted; and in the postures used in front of it by the assistant minister. . . . I perceived with sorrow superstitious puerilities of the same description with those which already, in the case of another parish church of this diocese, had called forth a public expression of disapprobation, first from my revered predecessor, now resting from his labours, and subsequently from myself.'

The Incumbent in his reply quoted from a tract by Bishop Henshaw—*The True Construction of the Terms, Altar, Priest and Sacrifice*, 'while the vestry claimed that a daily service, the observance of Holy Days, the introduction of a regular offertory, free sittings and of simple and ancient music, and the frequent celebration (*i.e.* monthly) of the Holy Communion, had resulted in increasing congregations.' The Bishop insisted that 'if the

[1] M'Vicar, *op. cit.* [2] *Life*, by J. N. Norton. [3] *Life*, by Henshaw.

prayers be said at a desk you will kneel at it according to previous custom with your face towards the people.' [1]

The question of rites and ceremonies was, however, settled more easily and with less bitterness than in England and on the whole, the followers of Bishop Hobart have prevailed.

The following commentary on the Episcopal Church by one who is not a member of it, is worth recording. 'A more important fact is this: that in spite of these agitating internal strifes, and even by reason of them, the growth of the denomination was wonderfully rapid and strong. No fact in the external history of the American Church at this period is more imposing than this growth of the Episcopal Church from nothing to a really commanding stature . . . so that, although it is still to be reckoned as one of the minor sects numerically, it has reached a measure of dignity and influence quite out of proportion to its numbers.' [2]

The Canadian Church.—Charles Inglis, the first Bishop of the Canadian Church, was driven out of his N. York parish during the war and took refuge in Nova Scotia. He was chosen to be its Bishop and consecrated in England (1793). Jacob Mountain became Bishop of Quebec (1797) and was succeeded by Charles James Stewart, who had originally come to Canada "desiring to take some post for which no one else seemed likely to volunteer." His successor George Jehosaphat Mountain among many notable achievements secured the independence of the Canadian Church. Since 1857 it has had the right to regulate its own worship and discipline. During the last century in no part of the world have more arduous and heroic labours been undertaken for the Church than by Bishop Bompas and other apostolic men in Canada.

The Canadian Church has now four provinces, including British Columbia, besides Newfoundland.

XVI

THE WELSH CHURCH AFTER 1500

In Wales as in Ireland the Reformation was political, destructive, and confiscatory. It destroyed monasteries and schools, defaced

[1] *Correspondence between the Bishop of Massachusetts and the Rector of the Parish of the Advent* (1845–56). Printed, not published. Copy in the British Museum.

[2] L. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

churches, and confiscated endowments. It is significant that there were no Welsh martyrs in Mary's reign, but several under Elizabeth.[1] Two Welshmen helped Allen to found his seminary at Douay. The first head of the Douay offshoot at Rome was a Welshman, Owen Lewis, who was said to favour his fellow-countrymen and was replaced by a Jesuit.[2] Much counter-reformation propaganda was translated into Welsh. William Barlow (Bishop of St. David's, 1536–48), one of Parker's consecrators, was the first Welsh bishop to try to propagate the new opinions. He carried on a constant but unsuccessful warfare against relics and saint-worship and was denounced by his chapter as a heretic. Wales was, however, treated better than Ireland. The New Testament and the Prayer-book were translated into Welsh in 1567, the whole Bible in 1588, and a metrical version of the Psalms was published in 1621. The Psalms became the Hymn-book of the Welsh and quickly attained popularity. 'They endeared the Reformed Church to the Welsh people and popery receded into the background.'[3]

Laud, who was Bishop of St. David's (1621–26), twice visited Wales, and saw the importance of appointing Welshmen to the chief positions in the church. Later on he compelled Welsh bishops to reside in their dioceses. Eighteen Welshmen were appointed to Welsh sees in the seventeenth century.

Stephen Hughes (d. 1688) is said to be the father of Welsh Nonconformity. He officiated during the Commonwealth, was deprived after the Restoration, as he refused to accept episcopal ordination, and itinerated until his death in 1688. He also issued many Puritan books in Welsh, including Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted.*

During the Commonwealth the Welsh Church suffered grievously. A Commission was sent down to extrude unworthy ministers, headed by a certain Vavasour Powell, a millenarian. 'No one was more active than Powell in the business of displacing clergy for alleged incompetence and substituting Puritan preachers, often unordained.' Alexander Griffith, one of the dispossessed ministers, called him 'Metropolitan of the Itinerants

[1] A. Jones, *History of Church in Wales.*

[2] This Lewis was a thorn in the side of William Allen. Before the sailing of the Armada Allen had drawn up a list of the names of those who were to fill the chief offices in Church and State. Allen himself was to have been Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor. Lewis wanted to be Archbishop of York. Allen wished him to have Hereford or Worcester or the best paid bishopric in Wales to get him away from Rome, 'for fear he should come to Rome to countermine and form new intrigues as he has begun to do.' *Records*, etc.

[3] Jones, *op. cit.*

and one of the Executioners of the Gospel,' and asserted that after the ejections 'there are above 700 parishes in the thirteen counties unsupplied with any ministers and you may ride ten or twenty miles on the Lord's Day where there is twenty churches and not one door opened.' The Itinerants he called 'Ignorant persons and some of them scandalous.'[1]

Comparatively few ministers were ejected in 1662 and many of those have English names. Nor was the number of dissenting congregations set up large. In 1675 one Maurice compiled 'a catalogue of all the congregated churches in Wales.' This list survives. The number was less than thirty. There was no dissenting 'gathered congregation' in Anglesey, Flintshire, Merioneth or Montgomeryshire, and only one in Pembrokeshire. The Episcopal returns give the number of Dissenters at 4193.

Methodism.—The coming of William III brought in non-resident bishops and encouraged absentee clergy and apathy. Nevertheless, Wales suffered less than England and a revival in the Welsh Church began before Wesley preached. Of this movement Griffith Jones, vicar of Llanddowror, was the hero. He preached to vast crowds in his own parish and elsewhere, and so prepared the way for the Methodists, but his chief claim to fame rests on his foundation of circulating schools for imparting religious instruction in the Welsh language. It was a stupendous work covering almost the whole of Wales.[2] He also founded the first teachers' training college.

The leaders of Welsh Methodism proper, Daniel Rowland, Howell Davies, and Howell Harris, were all influenced by Jones. 'All three came out of Mr. Jones's shop with their heads turned exactly the same way.'[3] The way was paved by absentee and non-Welsh speaking bishops. 'No bishop in Wales from 1714 to 1870 knew enough Welsh to ordain and confirm in the language of the people.'[4] The pioneer of Methodism in Wales was Whitefield, not Wesley. In 1739 he itinerated with Howell Harris. In 1743 he wrote: 'The work begun by Mr. Jones spread itself far and near in South and North Wales where the Lord had made Mr. Howell Harris an instrument of converting several clergymen as well as laymen. . . . The power of God at the Sacrament under the ministry of Mr. Rowland was enough to make a person's heart burn within him. At seven in the morning I have seen perhaps 10,000 from different parts, in the midst of a sermon

[1] *Strena Vavasoriensis.* [2] Jones, *op. cit.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

crying out . . . and ready to leap for joy.' They were organised by the Countess of Huntingdon and being followers of Whitefield were Calvinists. Ever since the most numerous denomination in Wales has been that of Calvinistic Methodists.

The Church began to revive in the nineteenth century, though it was not until the advent of Mr. Gladstone to power that it became the rule to appoint Welsh-speaking bishops. In 1921 the Welsh Church was disestablished, partially disendowed and separated from Canterbury. It is now a separate province with its own archbishop and representative church bodies.

XVII

MODERNISM OUTSIDE THE ROMAN CHURCH

Modernism is an attitude of mind which tends to minimise the importance of tradition and authority, and to emphasise the need of restating traditional teaching in the interest of the intellectual needs of the day. Its aim is, it is stated, 'to affirm the continuous and progressive character of the revelation given by the Holy Spirit in the spheres of knowledge and conduct.' It refuses to be bound by the opinions of the Apostles, the words of Scripture, the traditions of the early Church, or the decisions of the Councils. It accepts wholeheartedly the doctrine of development, though hardly the *doctrina Romanensium*, and would affirm the principle that the test of legitimate development must be the judgment of the best religions and scientific opinion of each age. It wants the great dogmatic definitions, so far as they are needed, to be made afresh by each generation to suit the intellectual needs and theories of its own day.

Rousseau, according to Dr. Pullan, was the first to use the word and was himself a modernist. He was religious, but the religion he believed in was not the religion of Rome or Geneva. 'The reading of the Bible, especially the Gospels, to which I had for several years devoted myself, had taught me to despise the low and foolish interpretations given to the teaching of Jesus by persons utterly unworthy of understanding it. In a word, philosophy while firmly attaching me to what was essential in religion had released me from the petty and rubbishy forms with which it has been observed.'[1] In the 'Savoyard Vicaire,' he gives us his idea of the Christian religion.

[1] *Confessions.*

There we seem to have the kernel of modernism, namely, the attempt to give the essence of religion released from 'petty and rubbishy forms.'

On The Continent

The Catholic revival in Germany was short-lived. It found in Lutheranism a soil with no depth of earth, in other words, no Catholic body, in which to root. The new enthusiasm and interest in religion expressed itself mostly in modernist forms. Schleiermacher (1768–1834) had, both as preacher and theological professor in Berlin, headed a reaction against Illuminism, and 'like a second Luther called his generation back to religion, and showed that true culture and perfect humanity are to be found in Christ and His Kingdom alone.'[1] But even Schleiermacher was not orthodox, as he was inclined to a Sabellian doctrine of the Trinity and rejected the Virgin Birth and the Ascension. The revival was only in part a Conservative reaction. The rationalist influence was strong enough to make those who wanted a religion endeavour 'to create a new dogmatic, rather than revivify the old.' Its work has been largely negative. 'It has,' according to Dr. Schweitzer, 'cleared the site for a new edifice of religious thought.'[2]

Five names stand out from the army of German theologians, critics, and historians, during the nineteenth century. The first is F. C. Baur (1792–1860), the most famous of the destructive critics of the New Testament. He rejected all the New Testament writings except Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Revelation, treating the rest as forgeries of the second century, the outcome of the struggle between the Petrine and Pauline factions in the Church. Baur belonged to the University of Tübingen, which gave its name to the *Tübingen School*, famous for the advanced views of its disciples.

The second is David Strauss (1808–74). In 1835 he threw a bomb into the orthodox camp by publishing his *Life of Jesus*. This book has had immense influence in Germany and elsewhere, especially in England, where it was translated by George Eliot the famous novelist. Strauss used the *myth* theory to explain the difficulties of the Gospel, holding that sufficient time elapsed between the events and the record of them in the Gospels to allow for the free admixture of legends. 'He made an end of miracle as a matter of historical belief and gave the mythological element its due.'[3]

[1] Munro, *Schleiermacher*, p. 19. [2] *The Quest of the Historic Jesus.* [3] *Ibid.*

He acquitted the Apostles of fraud, for believing in the Resurrection, and explained their belief in it on the *vision-hypothesis*. He rejected the Fourth Gospel as an historical authority for the life, holding it to be a second-century document, arguing that its theological character was so distinct from that of the synoptists that it was impossible to accept both as authentic.

A. Ritschl (1822–89) represents a partial reaction from criticism. His is an attempt to make the best of both worlds, to accept the conclusions of criticism while retaining the faith of the Gospel. When he wrote, Orthodox Christianity was attacked by the philosopher, the scientist, and the biblical critic. Ritschl tried to make the disciple of Christianity proof against these attacks by separating religion from other branches of knowledge and laying down that while they might be inquired into objectively, religion was not to be tested by its intrinsic truth, but by its effect on ourselves, by the *value-judgments* we form. The question we are to ask of religion is not 'is it true?' but 'what use is it to me?' He held, like Kant, that the theoretic or pure reason could give no knowledge of God or proof of His existence. Faith, however, could give this knowledge, which would come from the impression made on the soul by Christ. Christ, whatever He was in Himself, has the *value of God* for the believer, and His death, whatever may have been the original motive, the *value* of an atonement. Ritschlianism has had a considerable vogue in Germany, as it appealed to those who wanted to be Christian, but do not want to feel themselves in conflict with current opinion, in criticism, philosophy or science. When Ritschl began to teach, the Lutheran Church had almost completely lost its hold on educated men. Since then, there has been a considerable revival, for which Ritschl was largely responsible.

The two other names are of living theologians. One, Professor Harnack of Berlin, excited lively interest in Germany, England, and America, by his lectures delivered in 1899–1900, and published under the title *Das Wesen des Christentums*, or as rendered in the English translation *What is Christianity?* His views were attacked both by the enemies and friends of Orthodox Christianity. He seems to reject the divinity of Christ. 'So it stands in the Gospels,' he says, 'there is nothing there that can be turned or twisted. This feeling, praying, working, struggling and suffering individual is a man who includes himself also with other men over against his God.' He sums up the essence of Christianity as a revelation of (1) the Kingdom of God, and its cause, or the rule

of God in the soul; (2) The Fatherhood of God and the infinite value of the human soul; (3) The higher righteousness and the commandment of love. Jesus is the revealer of these truths not of Himself. 'The Gospel as Jesus proclaimed it has to do with the Father only, and not with the Son.'

This was a return to the Christ of Liberal theology, appealing to the humanitarian ideals of the nineteenth century while indulging its dislike of dogma and objection to miracles. The core of the Gospel comes to be belief in the Fatherhood of God and obedience to the moral teaching of Jesus.

Hard on the heels of Dr. Harnack came 'The Quest of the Historic Jesus' by Dr. Schweitzer, famous alike as a musician, a medical missionary and a critic of the New Testament. Dr. Schweitzer is a convinced eschatologist and thinks that the Jesus of the Gospels can only be understood if the eschatological key is applied to every lock. He sees no alternative between thorough-going scepticism and thorough-going eschatology. He holds that the mission of Jesus was entirely dominated by the eschatological conception: that when He sent the Twelve to proclaim the coming of the Kingdom He expected it to be manifested before their return. That it was only when this hope failed that He resolved to die. Suffering and tribulation He believed to form part of the mystery of the coming of the Kingdom. When the Kingdom failed to come at the expected time, He concluded that the pre-Messianic tribulation was reserved for Himself alone and is to be fulfilled by His passion and death at Jerusalem. The whole Gospel story is thus conditioned by eschatology. The ethics of the gospel are *interim ethic*, ethics suitable for a stage of existence on the point of passing away.

Renan.—Renan, who published his *Life of Jesus* in 1863, is the best-known writer of modernist views in France during the nineteenth century. His book is a sentimental and lyrical effusion, rather than a serious contribution to history. Schweitzer describes it as 'Christian art in the worst form, the art of the wax image.' 'The gentle Jesus, the beautiful Mary, the fair Galilæans who formed the retinue of the "aimable" carpenter might have been taken in a body from the shop-window of the ecclesiastical art emporium in the Place St. Sulpice.' Nevertheless, the book was of outstanding importance because it had an enormous circulation and made its readers acquainted with the works of Strauss, Baur, and the German critical school.

In England

Neologians.—With the dawn of the nineteenth century a new school arose at Oxford, which had its headquarters at Oriel College, its disciples were known as *noetics* or *neologians*. The best known are Thomas Arnold, Whately, and Hampden. A contemporary at Oxford considers them to have been the legitimate precursors of the Oxford Movement. Though not in his view men of learning, 'they sat in their chairs and talked.'[1] They discussed and argued and compelled people to examine conclusions and test preconceived opinions. They were modernist in the sense that they were not prepared to take accepted views for granted and were dissatisfied with current theology. The dissatisfaction led people to inquire and was a cause both of Tractarianism and the Broad Church Movement. A. P. Stanley (1815–81), a pupil of Arnold's, and Benjamin Jowett, the famous Master of Balliol College, kept up the Noetic tradition, but by 1850 the Noetics were beginning to be known as Broad Churchmen.

The Expulsion of F. D. Maurice.—The first sign that new ideas were in the air was due to one who always repudiated the title of Broad Churchman, namely, F. D. Maurice. He was Professor of Theology at King's College, London, and was expelled in 1853 for asserting in a volume of Essays that 'eternity had nothing to do with time or duration,' and that Eternal Death was the refusal to participate in Eternal Life, which, he insisted, was participation in the Eternal Life of God. Maurice, however, if a modernist at all, was one in spite of himself, for he affirmed continually that he had discovered nothing; that what he said was to be found in every creed of the Catholic Church. J. S. Mill wrote of him: 'I have always thought that there was more intellectual power wasted in Maurice than in any other of my contemporaries. Few of them certainly have had so much to waste.' He went on to complain that Maurice had wasted these powers in proving to his own mind that the Church of England had known everything from the first and that the truths on which the Church had been attacked were better expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles than by those who reject them.[2] His influence was great. Though opposed to the Broad Churchmen who were his contemporaries, he combined a liberal attitude to theology with faithfulness to the creeds and

[1] Ollard, *op. cit.*

[2] *Typical English Churchmen.*

sacraments of the Church. He was one of the pioneers of social work as a proper field of Christian activity, and founded the Working Men's College in 1854.

Essays and Reviews.—Broad Churchmen proper first excited general attention by the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860. This volume consisted of Essays by different writers and professed to be an attempt at 'a free handling in a becoming spirit of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by the repetition of conventional language and from traditional methods of treatment.' To the modernist of to-day, though one essay seemed to deny the possibility of miracles, the volume would seem conservative, but in 1860 it roused the greatest excitement and indignation. Bishop Wilberforce charged against it and declared his conviction that the writers of the essays could not 'with moral honesty maintain their posts as clergymen of the Established Church.'[1] Rural deaneries from all parts of the kingdom sent in protests to the archbishops. The two archbishops and twenty-four diocesan bishops replied to a protest from a Dorset Rural Deanery, by a letter in which they expressed pain that 'any clergyman of our church should have published such opinions as those concerning which you have addressed us.' Archdeacon Denison declared in the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation that 'of all books in any language, which I ever laid my hands on it is incomparably the worst.'[2]

It was condemned by both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury 'as containing teaching contrary to the doctrine received by the United Church of England and Ireland in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ.' But before this judgment was pronounced two of the Essayists had been prosecuted in the Court of Arches and condemned on the charge of having denied the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, one of them also on the charge of having denied the eternity of future punishment. On appeal to the Queen in Council they were acquitted on both charges by the Judicial Committee of seven members, which included the two archbishops and the Bishop of London.

The result of the appeal caused widespread indignation and alarm. A joint committee of Tractarians and Evangelicals circulated a declaration, affirming the belief of the Church in the inspiration of Scripture and the everlasting nature of eternal punishment, which was signed by 11,000 clergy in a few weeks. The

[1] Davidson and Benham, *Life of Archbishop Tait*, i. 278.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

two primates had dissented from the judgment of the Privy Council and an address of thanks signed by 137,000 lay members of the Church was presented to them by a deputation at Lambeth. This hostility did not injure the sale of the book which went through four editions in less than two years.

The Colenso Trial.—Two years after the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, when the storm it had aroused was at its height, John William Colenso (1814–83), Bishop of Natal, published the first three volumes of a critical work on the Pentateuch which added fuel to the flames. Colenso, who was a distinguished mathematician and the author of an Elementary Arithmetic, once much used in schools, was reported by his brother-in-law to have said that he could 'believe a miracle but not in a bad sum,'[1] and came to the conclusion, partly on mathematical grounds, that a large part of the Pentateuch was neither historical nor inspired. F. D. Maurice, a friend of Colenso, described it as 'the most purely negative criticism that I ever read,' and wrote of it 'His idea of history is that it is a branch of arithmetic.'[2]

An informal gathering of forty-one bishops, English, Irish and Colonial, assembled at Lambeth, sent a joint remonstrance to Bishop Colenso, asking him to resign his see, if he could not modify his opinions. This he refused to do. The quarrel was transferred to South Africa, where he was tried by Bishop Gray, condemned, excommunicated, and deprived. Bishop Gray consecrated a successor: whereupon Colenso appealed to the Privy Council and was acquitted. This led to the formation of an autonomous Church of South Africa, in communion with Canterbury, but free from the restrictions placed on the Church at home through its State connexion. Colenso himself remained in possession of the temporalities of the see and continued to minister to his adherents until his death in 1883. The schism was not healed until the present century.

The failure of these prosecutions ensured for their victims and those who shared their views a place within the Church of England, nor has the profession of modernist opinions proved any bar to preferment. Queen Victoria pooh-poohed 'the bugbear of Broad Church'[3] and was their patron, writing to Mr. Disraeli 'not to listen to people who would recommend either Ritualists or people belonging to the Evangelical school, than whom no more narrow-minded and uncharitable people exist. Beware of such.' Arthur

[1] *D.E.C.H.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Letters.*

Stanley, who had defended the Essayists in a violent article in the *Edinburgh Review*, became Dean of Westminster in 1864, in which position he laboured to gather together men and women of every denomination or of none, going so far on one occasion as to admit a Socinian to Holy Communion.

The distinguishing note of the Broad Churchman was not so much that he offered new dogmas for old, as that he suggested that dogma did not really matter. This is borne out by the *soubriquet* of one eminent Broad Churchman, William Rogers (1819–96), who was known as 'Hang Theology' Rogers, from a remark he was said to have made at a Committee which was engaged in discussing a religious syllabus for children. Rogers was a city incumbent for fifty years, devoting himself to secular education and welfare work, and was returned at the head of the poll when the first London School Board was elected in 1870. An admirer once said of him: 'He may be an atheist, but he is a gentleman.'[1]

The appointment of Frederick Temple to be Bishop of Exeter in 1869 caused another storm, as Temple had written the first essay in *Essays and Reviews* and though his own essay was orthodox, he had steadily refused to dissociate himself from his fellow-essayists, whose essays were the principal objects of attack. The writers had expressly disclaimed any responsibility for each other's opinions, and that he felt was sufficient. Though a firm believer in the orthodox creed and in many points a High Churchman, he was an advocate of free inquiry into the Bible and thought that to face boldly all questions that might be raised would do more good than harm.

The appearance of *Lux Mundi* in 1889, a volume of essays written by Oxford Theological Tutors, marked a new development. The writers were all High Churchmen and disciples of the Tractarians, who were convinced of the truth of the doctrinal statements of the creed, and wrote not as 'guessers at truth,' but as interpreters of the faith they had received, thinking that in view of the great development of knowledge, some restatement and interpretation of theology was necessary. The volume included a challenging essay by Gore entitled *The Holy Spirit and Inspiration*.

Henceforward the Modernists were really divided into two groups. Those who were in the tradition of the eighteenth-century Latitudinarians, of Rogers and Stanley, who, if they believed the distinctively Christian articles of faith, appeared to minimize them and were inclined in public teaching to slur them over, and those,

[1] *D.N.B.*

like Temple and the writers in *Lux Mundi*, who held to the traditional body of faith, but believed in a liberal approach to it and encouraged a spirit of inquiry and investigation, holding that the findings of science would be found compatible with the teaching of faith, though many accretions that had overlaid the original deposit, such as belief in verbal inspiration, might have to be given up.

The more advanced section of the English Modernists formed themselves into a union, called the Churchmen's Union, in 1898, having for its primary aims :

1. The affirmation of the continuous and progressive character of the revelation given by the Holy Spirit.

2. The maintenance of the right and duty of the Church of England to restate her doctrines from time to time in accordance with this revelation.

In Scotland

The Free Church of Scotland furnished the fourth of the four great battles between modernism and traditional theology in Great Britain. Robertson Smith was the youthful but brilliant professor of Oriental languages and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College at Aberdeen. Though an orthodox evangelical, he had studied in Germany and accepted the principles of the higher criticism, on which he based his teaching, without apparently attracting any attention for six years. But in 1876 two articles he wrote, on *Angel* and *Bible*, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* aroused the suspicion of a traditionalist reviewer. The cry of heresy was raised. After proceedings which lasted over three years, the General Assembly failed to find him guilty of heresy, but dismissed him from his post by large majorities (1881). The action was illegal and Robertson Smith, the incriminated author, if he had chosen to appeal to the civil court would, no doubt, have won his case. He preferred to accept the decision and retired to Cambridge where he became Professor of Arabic, and remained until his death in 1894. But the battle for the Higher Criticism in Scotland had been fought and won.

In England and Scotland modernists have by no means on the whole repudiated the orthodox faith, while claiming liberty of restatement. In France and Germany the tendency has been for those who have accepted critical principles to discard the orthodox faith in any recognisable form.

XVIII

THE PAPACY SINCE THE REVOLUTION

The three most striking features of the Papacy during this period are: (1) the vicissitudes that have attended its Temporal Power; (2) its attitude towards modern developments in criticism, and political and social theories—in a word to modernism; and (3) the triumph of ultramontanism, or papal autocracy.

The Temporal Power

By this phrase is meant the sovereignty of the Pope as a *quasi* secular prince over Rome and an indeterminate extent of adjoining territory. Its origin is obscure, but when the Emperor ceased to reside in Rome and still more when the Western Empire collapsed, the popes, notably Gregory I, took over some of the functions of the civil government. By this time the Pope had also acquired as 'the patrimony of St. Peter,' a strip of territory adjoining Rome. By 700 the patrimony of St. Peter had become the *ducatus* (duchy) *Romae*.

In 756 the first definite grant was made, when Pepin gave the Exarchate of Ravenna to Stephen II, which was to be a precedent for subsequent grants from himself and Charlemagne. During the degradation of the Papacy in the ninth and tenth centuries all these acquisitions were lost, the *ducatus* only remaining. But the popes never abandoned their claims which were given a *quasi* legal sanction by the publication of the Forged Decretals, containing a grant of territory by Constantine to Pope Silvester.

These claims were in part made good in the great days of the Papacy, and were one of the principal causes of strife between Pope and Emperor.

The Temporal Power declined during the period covered by the residence at Avignon and the Great Schism, but recovered under the Renaissance Popes, and reached its zenith under Alexander VI (d. 1503), whose notorious son Cæsar Borgia (d. 1507) is credited by some historians with the intention of setting up an Italian Kingdom, and Julius II (d. 1513), the fighting Pope, whose martial appearance at the head of his troops shocked Luther.

Their acquisitions were added to rather than diminished by their

successors, and in 1797 the Pope ruled as sovereign over the whole country between the Po and the kingdom of Naples with the exception of the grand duchy of Tuscany.

Then came the French Revolution, the invasion of Italy and the loss of nearly all the States except Rome. In 1809 the Pope was taken prisoner, the Papal States annexed to the French Empire, and the Temporal Power abolished. But on the fall of Napoleon the Temporal Power and most of the Papal States were restored.

The Risorgimento.—After the Restoration the Papacy had to contend with two forces, both adverse to the Temporal Power—Liberalism and Nationalism. In the eyes of the liberal the Papal States were object-lessons in tyranny and bad government. Macaulay wrote from Italy in 1849 that the papal government was 'the worst in the civilised world.' 'When you meet a man who is neither in canonicals nor in rags you may bet two to one that he is an Englishman.' The importance of the observation does not depend on its truth, but on the fact that influential people believed it to be true.

During the pontificate of Pius IX, 1846–78, the spirit of Italian nationalism was growing. In 1860 the Italian kingdom was proclaimed, and as the result of a *plébiscite* the Papal States joined the new kingdom, the Pope retaining Rome itself and not much besides. But, though there was much to be said for making the civil capital elsewhere, 'Rome was an idea,' and the nation would not be satisfied with any other city for its capital. In 1870 Garibaldi entered Rome, the Temporal Power was taken away, the city annexed to the Italian kingdom, and the Pope became 'the prisoner of the Vatican,' refusing to leave its precincts lest he should by doing so appear to acknowledge the Italian kingdom. Hence arose the *Roman question.*

For a long time relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal were unfriendly, but according to Mr. Wickham Stead they became less strained after 1898. Up till then clericalists and republicans had worked for the destruction of the monarchy. Afterwards it was feared that the forces which were to overthrow the throne might not spare the altar. He says that a show of hostility had to be kept up and quotes Admiral Cameraro as saying that the Vatican sanctioned the appointment of chaplains to the fleet during the late war on condition that there should be no change in the outward hostility of Church and State. It was feared that if the Vatican were to be too closely allied with the Italian Government it would

be suspected of nationalist sympathies. 'Any such suspicion would signify the beginning of the end of the predominance of Italian ecclesiastics in the government of the Roman Church.' [1]

After these words were written there came the news of the agreement arrived at between the Pope Pius XI and Signor Mussolini in February 1929, by which the Roman question is for the moment settled. Full sovereignty is to be restored to the Pope over a State consisting of little more than the Vatican and St. Peter's. Over £20,000,000 are to be paid by way of compensation. The Church is to control religious teaching in all schools. The control of the clergy over the marriage law is to be restored.

To quote a writer in the *Church Times*, 'The dreams of the Jesuits of the Counter-reformation have been realised. Church and State in Italy are not one ; but the State is bound to the Church, and in great spheres of legal administration the Church is sovereign.' It is the greatest success the Jesuits have obtained in the political world, where they have always aimed at the control of the State by the Church. The same object has been obtained more or less at various times by the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Puritans in New England. The experiment has never been successful. Even the Jesuit *reductions* tended to die of inanition.

It must be remembered that the Liberals in Italy are not extinct, and that if they ever attain to power again they are hardly likely to acquiesce in this reversal of their policy. There is also the possibility of international complications. For centuries France has been the official protector of Roman Catholics in the East, a position she has not been slow to take advantage of for political purposes, and if the Italian kingdom, now that it is reconciled to the Church, should claim to share this privilege, difficulties will certainly arise. The issue of the *concordat* will be watched with interest and good-will, not unmixed with anxiety.

Modernism

Renan was outside the pale, but Duchesne and D'Hulst were pioneers of more orthodox modernism. Duchesne, editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*, did not confine scientific methods to secular history, and rejected on critical grounds the tradition that the Church of Chartres had been founded by our Lord's disciples. In consequence, his great work was put on the Index. D'Hulst, in an article

[1] W. Stead, *Through Thirty Years.*

on inspiration (1892), allowed the existence of errors in the science and history of the Bible. An encyclical appeared in reply, in which the Pope refused to confine inspiration to matters of faith and morals. 'Divine inspiration,' said the Pope, 'by its very nature excludes all error.'[1]

In 1902 Loisy published 'The Gospel and the Church,' which he claimed to have written to show that 'the Catholic principle can adapt itself to all forms of human progress.' He claimed that his life had been spent in showing that 'Catholicism is compatible with the full exercise of reason and with free critical research.' He was a New Testament scholar and the results of his researches undermined traditional beliefs. He held that Catholicism was a legitimate development from the original Gospel, while as a critic he rejected many things which had traditionally been regarded as essential parts of that Gospel—the Virgin Birth, for example, and the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel. He was condemned and in the end excommunicated. Tyrrell wrote of him in 1908: 'He will go down to posterity . . . as the man who put the question definitively, whether the truth of Roman Catholicism was compatible with the truth of Biblical and historical criticism. With one voice, if not with one mind, the Roman Pontiff and the entire episcopate have answered that question with an emphatic negative.' Tyrrell himself had been expelled from the Society of Jesus (1906) for writing the 'Much Abused Letter,' in which he defended modernist views, and died excommunicated.

Pius X with the help of Jesuit advisers published an anti-modernist syllabus in 1907 and followed it up with the encyclical *Pascendi Gregis*, in which modernist views were vigorously attacked. He execrated the view that 'there are passages in the sacred books referring to history and science, where manifest errors are to be found,' declaring 'that this is equivalent to attributing to God Himself the lie of utility.' Modernists were to be strongly discouraged. 'Venerable brethren, it will be your first duty to resist such victims of pride, to employ them in the lowest and obscurest offices.' The censorship was to be tightened and vigilance committees formed in every diocese. No author was to know the name of the censor until his book had been passed.

A Biblical Commission appointed by Leo XIII has had, among other things, the task of defining what is permissible in Biblical criticism. Its decisions were recently collected in one volume

[1] Sparrow-Simpson, *French Catholics in the Nineteenth Century*.

issued by authority. Its contents were summarised by a writer under the well-known initials W. J. S. S. in the *Church Times* as follows: 'To summarise briefly the restriction imposed by the Biblical Commission on members of the Roman Church. They are these: "No Roman Catholic may deny the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Bible, nor teach that the first three chapters of Genesis are not literal history, nor teach that they consist of primitive mythology purified from polytheistic ideas and adapted to a monotheistic religion, nor teach that they are allegorical, nor may he question whether the formation of the first woman from a rib of Adam is literal fact, nor may he question whether David wrote the 110th Psalm, nor maintain that any Psalm dates from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Neither is it permissible for a Roman Catholic to maintain that St. Mark's Gospel was written first and St. Matthew's afterwards, nor may he question that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul."

'It is important to ask what authority these decisions of the Biblical Commission possess. We know, of course, that none of its decrees are issued without being approved by the Pope. A Roman writer on the value of doctrinal and disciplinary decisions of the Roman see says that Roman congregations are supreme tribunals from which there is no appeal. Their decrees, therefore, are to be received with obedience and religious assent. But they are not infallible.'

Americanism.—This movement might almost be described as modernism applied to social and political life. It has been the Catholic tradition—or, rather, part of the heritage left by the Counter-reformation—to look askance at democracy, human progress, education not controlled by the Church, the human reason when unfettered, and the *natural* virtues—honour, courage, truthfulness, as compared with the theological virtues. It was the aim of Hecker, chief exponent of Americanism, to claim the fruits of civilisation and the natural virtues as part of the Catholic heritage.

Father Hecker (1819–83), American by birth, at one time a working baker, became a convert to Catholicism, was ordained priest, and made it his life's work to convert Protestants to the Catholic Faith, with which object he founded the Society of St. Paul. An American himself, he was in sympathy with the American point of view. He was a believer in progress, in the improvement of external conditions, in liberty, in the sacredness of reason, and in democracy. He laid special stress on the practice of

the natural virtues. In a word, he was a humanist. He exalted family life as against monasticism, holding that in these days the home and the workshop form the sphere of the saint. 'The cares, the labours, the duties, the affections, and the responsibilities of daily life form pillars of holiness for the Stylites of our day. It is under this form that Christian virtues will triumph henceforward.' [1]

He died in 1883. His life was published in New York with the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Corrigan. Cardinal Gibbons wrote a letter of praise to the author. Mgr. Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, contributed an introduction in which he said 'We always consider Isaac Hecker as the ornament and jewel of our American clergy, as a type which we would like to see reproduced as much as possible among us.' The book caused a lively controversy in France, and opinions attributed to Hecker were attacked vigorously, notably by the Jesuits, one religious paper going so far as to describe Archbishop Ireland as 'an apostate.' [2] At length, in 1899, Leo XIII wrote an encyclical, calling attention to the book and condemning the new opinions of 'the Americanists,' namely, 'that in order to spread more easily Catholic teaching, the Church ought to adapt itself more fully to the civilisation of an adult epoch, and, relaxing its ancient severity, make concessions to new tendencies and principles.' Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and the other American bishops wrote to associate themselves with the sentiments expressed in the letter, whereupon the Jesuit review, The *Civiltà Cattolica*, compared them to the sailors who threw Jonah into the sea. Americanism found a responsive chord among French Catholics with Modernist sympathies. The 'Life' was translated into French, and by 1898 in its French dress was in its sixth edition. Albert Houtin, a French Modernist with strong Gallican sympathies, published an account of the controversy in his *L'Amercanisme.*

Pius X in his encyclical *Pascendi* condemned the Modernists because, among other enormities, 'with regard to morals they adopt the principle of the Americanists, that the active virtues are more important than the passive and more to be encouraged in practice.'

In respect to toleration the Roman Church is consistent and has steadily refused to trim its sails to suit modern ideas. Pius IX in an encyclical (1864), accompanied by a syllabus of errors, condemned the teaching that 'the Church has no right to coerce by temporal penalties those who transgress Christ's laws.' Socialism, communism,

[1] *Life of Fr. Hecker.* [2] Houtin, *L'Americanisme.*

secret societies, Biblical societies, and societies of liberal clerics, are lumped together as 'pests.' He was no friend to toleration. 'The Pope would like to have freedom of conscience in Servia and Russia, but he does not wish for it in principle, but only as a means which may be used by Providence to propagate the truth in those countries.' 'Pius IX and Mgr. Pie were agreed that only in countries where Catholics were in a minority might religious freedom be wished for by Catholics.'[1]

Much the same view is expressed in the 'Catholic Encyclopædia,' in the article on *Persecution*. 'That they should abandon their right to command allegiance is a natural result of Protestantism; whereas it is the Church's claim to be the accredited and infallible ambassador of God, which justifies her inconsistency. Such intolerance, however, is not the same as persecution, by which we understand the unlawful exercise of coercion. Every corporation lawfully constituted has the right to coerce its subjects within due limits. And though the Church exercises that right for the most part by spiritual sanctions, she has never relinquished the right to use other means.'

Ultramontanism

The period since the Revolution has seen the triumph of Ultramontanism in the Roman Church. There are three outstanding landmarks.

1. **The Restoration of the Jesuits (1814).**—The Jesuits have always been the special champions of the Papal power and of Ultramontanism.

2. **The Definition of the Immaculate Conception (1854),** not so much in itself as in the attendant circumstances.

When the definition was determined on, no Council was summoned, but about forty bishops were invited to hear it. They and other bishops who were in Rome were told by the Pope that they were not a council and must not discuss the question. The Bull was read and a few remarks made. 'One was of opinion that it was too much to say that the Bible taught the Immaculate Conception; another had scruples about finding patristic support for it in the spurious writings of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. But there was no real discussion, and the definition was proclaimed on the sole authority of the Pope.'[2]

The circumstances of the definition were significant. Opinions

[1] Nielsen, *Hist. Papacy in Nineteenth Century*, ii. 264. [2] *Ibid.*

were invited from Catholic bishops, some of which were unfavourable, but most were enthusiastic, the Archbishop of Trani going so far as to say that he hailed the forthcoming definition with delight, because it would be made clear that Mary was the complement of the Trinity (*nec non Trinitatis complementum*) and above all our co-redemptress.[1]

A Jesuit commenting on the procedure wrote in 1865 : 'it is an act peculiar to the pontificate of Pius IX and one to which no former pontificate can show any parallel, for the Pope has defined this dogma independently and of his own sovereign authority without the co-operation of a Council. Pius by his action on December 8, 1854, did not indeed theoretically define, but practically claimed, infallibility for the Pope.'

Dr. Nielsen calls the proclamation of the dogma [2] 'a pilot balloon for the definition of the Pope's infallibility.'

3. **The Decree of Papal Infallibility.**—Finally, the decree of Infallibility was proclaimed in response to the request of the Vatican Council in 1870. It states that the Roman Pontiff, when in discharge of his office as supreme pastor of all Christians he defines *ex cathedra* doctrine in faith or morals, speaks infallibly ; and further that such decrees are of themselves irreformable and not from the consent of the Church.

Many of the most distinguished members of the Church, including Cardinal Newman, Bishop Hefele, the historian of the Councils, and Lord Acton, were opposed to the definition, but accepted it when promulgated. A small minority in Germany, including von Dollinger, refused to submit, out of whom was formed the Old Catholic Church, on the model of the Dutch Old Catholic Church.

XIX

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND AFTER THE REFORMATION

The miserable condition of the State Church set up at the Reformation continued for some time : the clergy few, ignorant, and often non-resident ; the bishops shameless pluralists. Roman Catholics were too strong to be actively molested. In the reign of Charles I the English House of Commons presented a remonstrance,

[1] Nielsen, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

alleging that 'the popish religion was publickly professed in every part of Ireland.' In 1630 Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, complained to Laud that 'every parish has its priest, and some two or three apiece, and so their mass-houses also. For our own there are seven or eight ministers in each diocese of good sufficiency, and, which is the cause of the continuance of the people in popery still, English.' [1]

There was an improvement when Laud was Archbishop of Canterbury and Strafford Lord Deputy of Ireland. A Court of High Commission was set up and drastic measures were taken to correct non-residence of clergy, the non-observance of holy-days, and the dilapidation of churches. Pains also were taken to appoint good men as bishops. Three are remembered to this day—Ussher, Bramhall, and Jeremy Taylor—Ussher as the great scholar, who identified the seven authentic epistles of Ignatius, Bramhall as a writer and as a bishop, who actually did what the Lambeth Conference of 1920 recommended—ordain Presbyterian ministers conditionally, using the words *non annihilantes priores ordines (siquos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes.*[2]

Bishop Bedell made the first of several attempts to convert the Irish and had the Prayer-book read in Irish in his cathedral, and compiled a catechism in Irish. Later on, Robert Boyle subscribed generously for the dissemination of Irish Bibles and Prayer-books, and we come across isolated efforts by individual bishops and clergy, all of which met with some success, but failed for want of concerted effort and following up.

However, these efforts were cut short by the rebellion which broke out on October 23, 1641, when the strong hand of Strafford was removed, and the executive weakened by the resistance of the Long Parliament. Lord Clarendon says that above 40,000 were massacred at the first outbreak. Sir William Petty, who surveyed the kingdom after the war, says that 37,000 were killed in the first year. The provocation had been great, but the outrages were savage beyond measure. The rising was called a war by an Irish Roman Catholic synod which met in March 1642, and, declaring it to be lawful and pious, exhorted all persons to join in it. When order was restored, it was by Oliver Cromwell, and thenceforward until 1660 Puritanism was in the ascendant. After the Restoration the Church of Ireland was once more in power. An Act of Uniformity was passed, but not until 1665. No action to enforce it was taken until 1667.

[1] Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland.* [2] *Ibid.*

It should be remembered that the Irish Church had its own Convocation and Ireland its own Parliament. The Irish Convocation accepted the Thirty-nine Articles in 1615. It passed its own canons, and the Irish Parliament its own Act of Uniformity.

The benefits of toleration were not extended to Ireland at the Revolution, but both bodies of Dissenters seem to have been pretty well able to take care of themselves. Archbishop King, writing in 1702, complained that Dissenters 'do not now plead conscience for their nonconformity, but say they can't do it safely, their dependence being on that party (*i.e.* Nonconformist) who are able to ruin them if they do not stick to them.' Again, 'Their insolence has much increased. They have insulted both clergy and laity and made our ecclesiastical offices more and more every day.'[1] Writing in 1692 of the two previous reigns, he said: 'There was a free liberty of conscience by connivance though not by law.'[2]

The Hanoverian succession brought relief to the Nonconformists by the passing of a Toleration Act, 1719, which was conceived on more liberal terms than the English Act of 1689. That was all to the good. But the Hanoverians inaugurated in Ireland, as in England and Wales, a succession of worldly bishops. We hear again and again complaints of the non-residence of bishops and clergy, and of the poverty of the incumbents of poor livings.

In 1732 a Bill was brought into the Irish Parliament to impose residence on parochial clergy, but was thrown out because 'of the inconvenience which might be occasioned to the beneficed clergy.'[3] After the Union an Act enforcing residence was passed (1808), but bishops were allowed to dispense from it, and were themselves excluded from its operation. Lord Bristol, Bishop of Derry (1768–1803), resided principally in Italy. Bath and Edinburgh provided homes for many Irish bishops. From the accession of George III until the Union, of forty bishops appointed, twenty-two were Englishmen and seventeen of these had been chaplains to the Lord Lieutenant.

Wesley paid the first of many visits to Ireland in 1747 and preached in Dublin 'to as gay and senseless a congregation as eve I saw.'[4] The society in Dublin then numbered 280 members. Wesley also noted in his 'Journal': 'Nor is it any wonder that those who are born Papists live and die such when the Protestants can find no better ways to convert them than Penal Laws and Acts of Parliament.'[5]

[1] Mant, *op. cit.* The blank is in the original. [2] *Protestants of Ireland.*
[3] Mant, *op. cit.* [4] *Journal.* [5] *Ibid.*

Roman Catholics were not emancipated until 1829. A census taken in 1834 showed that Roman Catholics numbered six and a half millions, Church of Ireland 850,000, Presbyterians 650,000, other Protestants 22,000. Methodists at their own request were included in the Church of Ireland.

Revival.—A religious revival in Ireland began in the nineteenth century. Roman Catholics were principally affected. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare, was the protagonist. In 1820 he held a ten days' retreat in Carlow attended by every diocesan bishop and over a thousand priests. He gave three addresses each day, and at the end the aged Archbishop of Dublin wept like a child and kissed the conductor.

A great awakening also took place in the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterian body. Foreign missions and the Bible Society were vigorously supported. The revival took one form characteristically Irish. 'The din of theological controversy was to be heard all over Ireland.'[1] Public disputation became popular between Romans and Protestants. Pietism proper, however, never took hold. The nineteenth century was a period of great activity and growth. All parties alike were occupied in building churches, providing machinery generally, and in supporting missionary work. The Roman Catholics also provided clergy over and above their own requirements to English-speaking people outside Ireland. There is a certain piquancy in the situation at Maynooth, their principal seminary, as it was mainly supported by an annual grant made by the very Protestant Parliament at Westminster.

Since the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, it has steadily advanced. But it is only fair to add that the advance was visible long before the Church was disestablished. 'It had made greater progress in the supply of clergy and of Church accommodation within the preceding seventy years than it had ever made before in the same length of time.'[2]

XX

NOTES OF THE MODERN CHURCH

Apart from its attempt to cope with the intellectual problems arising out of the scientific spirit of the age and the criticism of the

[1] Killen, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland.* [2] *Ibid.*

Bible, which has been dealt with under Modernism, the most striking features of Christianity to-day are :

(1) A growing uneasiness in the relations between Church and State in what are called *Established* Churches, that is, Churches which have some kind of *concordat*, tacit or expressed, with the State ; (2) missionary movements ; (3) the movement towards re-union, and (4) the recognition of the social implications of Christianity, which is chiefly conspicuous among the English-speaking races.

Questions of Church and State

The growing secularity of the modern State has made more and more impossible the mediaeval theory taken over by Hooker and the Elizabethan and Caroline divines, that Church and State were one, and that quarrels about jurisdiction were rather quarrels between different sets of officials in the same body than quarrels between two bodies. Hence the control of the Church by the State is becoming more evidently an anachronism.

In some cases the relation has been put an end to at the instance of the State, as in the disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869), the dissolution of the *concordat* between Church and State in France (1905), the suppression of the Russian Church (1917), and the disestablishment of the Welsh Church (1920). In Wales and Ireland the question at issue was disendowment rather than disestablishment. The dominant party in the State maintained that the endowments ought by right to be used for the benefit of the whole, not a minority, of the nation, and were willing, in return, to allow freedom of action to the disendowed Church. The motive which impelled the politicians who disestablished the Welsh Church was not the desire to relieve the State of the responsibility for appointing Welsh bishops, but the wish to redistribute the endowments of the Welsh Church.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the Church while remaining *established* has, by the Church of Scotland Act (1921), obtained complete independence from interference by the State.

The Enabling Act.—In England an attempt was made to secure freedom for the Church, while it remained *established*, by the *Enabling Act*. The passing of this Enabling Act in 1919 is the greatest constitutional change which has happened to the Church of England since the Reformation. The need had arisen through the increasing difficulty of getting Church Bills through Parliament

on account of the congestion of business and the nature of Parliamentary procedure, which made it possible for one member to hold up any Bill, not being a Government Bill. The new bishopric of Chelmsford was held up in this way for years. By the Enabling Act any measure requiring Parliamentary consent, if passed by the Church Assembly constituted for this purpose, becomes law on two conditions :

(1) It must pass a Committee consisting of fifteen members of the House of Lords nominated by the Lord Chancellor, and fifteen members of the House of Commons nominated by the Speaker, who are to state ' the nature and legal effect of the measure and their views as to its expediency, especially with relation to the constitutional rights of His Majesty's subjects.'

(2) Each House of Parliament must pass a resolution asking that it be presented for the Royal Assent. Parliament can veto but not amend.

The Assembly therefore has of itself no canonical authority. It is merely the body authorised by Parliament to send measures to it that require its consent. The Assembly consists of the two Houses of Convocation of Canterbury and York together with a number of lay members elected by the Diocesan Conferences. It was opposed both by Erastians, who thought it gave the Church too much power as against the State, and by those who denied the right of Parliament to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs at all. These last held that the Royal Supremacy had never passed to Parliament, that so far as the ecclesiastical powers of the Crown had been devolved, they had been devolved *de jure* on the representative assemblies of the Church ; that Parliament had no more right to control the Church than it had in the reign of Elizabeth, and that the powers it exercised were usurped. In their view the Act gave Parliament a right it had never had before, and to assert that Parliament would never exercise the right in doctrinal measures, was no justification for giving it the power.

Though the Act enabled the Church to create new bishoprics, to establish a Pensions Measure and a Dilapidations Act for the clergy, the House of Commons twice, in 1927 and 1928, threw out the Revised Prayer-book Measure sent up to it by the Assembly, thus claiming and exercising the right to have the decisive voice in a question of doctrine and worship.

Though the Assembly can give no canonical authority to doctrinal decisions, as that authority can only be given by Convoca-

tion, it can discuss questions of doctrine, and if such decisions require, as did the Revised Prayer-book, an Act of Parliament if they are to have coercive authority, the Assembly has not only a voice, but the power of veto. This gives the laity an important share in deciding such questions.

Hurrell Froude the Tractarian was the first churchman in modern times to advocate giving laymen a share in the government of the Church. 'I think,' he wrote in 1833, 'if we manage well, we may make the idea of a lay Synod popular.'[1]

It must, however, be remembered that disestablishment is, of itself, no remedy.[2] The Church might be disestablished and in fetters. The only remedy is the recognition by Parliament of the Church as a divine society possessing by inherent right large powers of self-government. In Scotland the Presbyterian Church of Scotland has obtained more complete freedom to adapt and interpret its doctrinal standards than is possessed by the non-established churches in England, as witness the fact that the three chief Methodist bodies are unable to unite and pool their endowments without a special Act of Parliament.

The Modern Missionary Movement

The modern missionary movement may be said to have begun with the founding of societies, an outcome of the new life generated in the Church, and outside it, by the Evangelical movement. The Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792, was the first, and was soon followed by the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795.

The Clapham sect distinguished itself as much by its zeal for the conversion of the heathen as for the abolition of the slave trade. The Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799, the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1807, the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in 1809. Of these, only the Church Missionary Society was distinctively a Church Society. It was founded at a meeting of sixteen clergymen and five laymen who resolved that 'there seems to be still wanting in the Established Church a society for sending missionaries to the Continent of Africa or the other parts of the heathen world, and that the persons present at this meeting do form themselves into a Society for that purpose.'

William Wilberforce was one of the original Committee. In 1928 it supported 1231 European missionaries, 286 of them being

[1] *Remains.* [2] Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State.*

clergy, and 10,325 native missionaries, of whom 665 were ordained, while its income for that year amounted to £451,251.

The S.P.G., which in 1745 employed fifty-four missionaries and enjoyed a fixed certain income of £600 a year, in 1927 employed 1528 missionaries, including 628 European clergy, and received an income of £331,540.

Only the merest sketch can be given of the missionary work of the Church in the nineteenth century, but a few names and events stand out as missionary landmarks. William Carey was sent out to India by the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 with two companions. Before he died he translated the whole of the Bible into Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit, and Marathi. Missionaries were sent out from Serampore to Agra, Delhi, and Bombay, in one direction, and to Burma and Java in another. Nevertheless, Carey was the first missionary in India to realise the value of the principle of concentration as opposed to diffusion in missionary work.

In 1813 one of the clauses in the new charter of the East India Company ordered the appointment of a bishop and three Archdeacons in India. Alexander Duff, who worked in Calcutta from 1830 to 1863, was the pioneer of English education for the Indian, and as such has had profound influence on secular history. A new departure was made by the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, and the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, which cater principally for the educated and higher caste of Indians.

In China, Robert Morrison, who reached Macao in 1807 as the representative of the London Missionary Society, was the pioneer of non-Roman missions in China. He translated nearly the whole of the Bible into Chinese and was pioneer of medical missions in China. The first Anglican bishop arrived at Hong-Kong in 1850. In 1912 the representatives of the eleven dioceses in China decided to form a national church. Japan had done the same in 1887, when the Nippon Sei Kokwai or Holy Catholic Church of Japan was formed.

Modern missions in Japan date from 1859, when, as a result of treaties, foreigners were permitted to reside at certain ports. The majority of foreign missionaries in Japan are American. In fact, it is stated that more than two-thirds of the non-Roman missionaries working abroad are American. The most successful mission to Japan in modern times is that of the Orthodox Church. Its founder, Nicolai, afterwards Archbishop, began in 1861 and worked until his death in 1912. When the Russo-Japanese war broke out

he was asked to stay in Japan, and at his death he left 33,000 communicants.[1]

Captain Cook discovered Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific islands between 1770 and 1779. For many years government chaplains were the only clergy in Australia. Bishop Broughton was its first Bishop (1834). Samuel Marsden, after working in Australia, began work in New Zealand (1814). George Selwyn, its first Bishop, began the work of what is now the Melanesian Mission in 1848. That mission will long be celebrated for its connexion with John Coleridge Patteson, who joined it in 1855, became Bishop in 1861, and was martyred ten years later.

In Central Africa the discoveries of David Livingstone led to his famous appeal in the Senate House at Cambridge in 1857. 'I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open. Do not let it be shut again. I go back to Africa to try and make a path for Commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work I have begun. I leave it with you.' The appeal led to the formation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa.

H. M. Stanley's explorations led him to write a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* in April 1875. Though the bearer was murdered, the letter was subsequently discovered in one of his boots and was published in the *Daily Telegraph* of November 15, 1875. In the letter he wrote: 'Oh, that some pious practical missionary would come here! . . . Here, gentlemen, is your opportunity, embrace it! The people on the shores of the Nyanza call upon you. Obey your own generous instincts and listen to them; and I assure you that within one year you will have more converts to Christianity than all other missionaries united can number.' Within a week of the publication of the letter the Church Missionary Society resolved to send a mission to Uganda. Within two years, of the original party of eight two were martyred, two died of disease, and two were invalided home. One of the survivors, Alexander Mackay, a Scotch engineer, was the real founder of the Church in Uganda. A cross marks the place where six native Christians were martyred in 1885. The first Bishop of Uganda, Bishop Hannington, was martyred on his way to his see.

In the Moslem world no missionary enterprise has ever been undertaken on a grand scale. Aggression has been mainly on the

[1] Pullan, *op. cit.*

other side. The North African Church, perhaps the most flourishing in Christendom, was wiped out. Persia and Asia Minor and Egypt, once predominantly Christian, became almost solidly Moslem. Mohammedanism has made great advance in Central Africa. The Church has done little in the way of counter-attack. In modern times Henry Martyn may be called the pioneer of missions to the Moslem. He has had followers, but on the whole the attack on Mohammedanism is the weakest point in missionary enterprise during the nineteenth century. The Church Missionary Society mission to Cairo is at the most important strategic centre at the present time, as Moslem students come from distant parts of Africa and Asia to attend the University of Al Azhar.

World Call Reports.—The Church of England has one great achievement to its credit. In 1926 the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Salisbury, published a series of reports, under the general title of the 'World Call to the Church,' in which every part of the world was surveyed, and the missionary work reported on: what had been done, what was being done, above all, what needed to be done by the Anglican communion.

Roman Missions.—The missions of the Roman Church can show even greater growth. By 1912 the 300 missionaries of 1800 had increased to 12,377 priests, 2300 lay brothers and 19,373 sisters.

Reunion

The desire for unity has appeared spasmodically ever since the break-up of the Church in the sixteenth century, but the impulse has gathered strength in recent years, largely owing to increased missionary efforts, and is now a distinguishing mark of twentieth-century Christianity.

With the Church of Rome.—The reaction from Calvinism under the Stuarts produced the first *rapprochement* between Canterbury and Rome. Panzani, an Oratorian, sent by Urban VIII in 1634, discussed reunion with Bishop Montague. The Jesuits and Puritans were regarded as the chief obstacles to an understanding. In 1633 a Franciscan, Sancta Clara, published a learned exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. 'He held eighteen to be orthodox, two mere logomachies, and the remaining nineteen to be patient but not ambitious of a Catholic interpretation.'[1] It is supposed to have

[1] *D.E.C.H.*, art. by Canon Ollard.

furnished the foundation of Tract 90. Anglican orders were held to be valid. Canon Ollard says that the Jesuits failed to secure the condemnation of the book.

Between 1717 and 1720, Archbishop Wake carried on negotiations for union with the Gallican Church, whose leaders were disgruntled by the high papal pretensions of the Bull *Unigenitus*. The project was discussed by the Sorbonne and favourably received. The French divines were satisfied as to English orders, but the Jesuits were hostile, and on the death of Du Pin, the chief negotiator on the French side, the matter was allowed to drop.

After this failure there were only spasmodic and individual efforts for more than a century, such as those by Le Courmayer, a French Augustinian (1723), Shute Barrington, an English bishop, and J. Doyle, an Irish Roman Catholic bishop (1824).

In 1857 an Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom was founded, including clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Orthodox communities. There followed in 1860 Pusey's 'Eirenicon' and in 1868 Bishop Forbes's book on the Articles with a preface by Pusey. In 1870, before the opening of the Vatican Council, informal steps towards reunion were taken by Dr. Pusey and others, with which Mgr. Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and Dr. Newman were sympathetic. Archbishop Manning was hostile. 'The Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom,' he wrote, 'was deceiving many Catholics.'[1] To Mgr. Talbot, who had expressed the opinion that 'Dr. Newman's spirit must be crushed,' he wrote, 'What you say about Newman is true. He has become the centre of those who hold low views about the Holy See, are anti-Roman, critical of Catholic devotions and always on the lower level. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary Oxford tone transplanted into the Church, in a word, it is worldly Catholicism. . . . Between us and them [Newmanists] there is a far greater distance than between them and Dr. Pusey's book [the 'Eirenicon']. What makes me the more anxious is that there is a similar school growing up in France.'[2] As a result the Association was condemned. The declaration of papal infallibility the same year for the moment extinguished hopes of reunion.

At the end of 1889 Lord Halifax met the Abbé Portal in Madeira. From that chance meeting sprang a consideration of the validity of Anglican orders by the Roman authorities, which lasted until 1896. In 1896 the Pope appointed a commission to

[1] Lord Halifax, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*. [2] *Ibid.*

consider the question, composed entirely of Roman Catholics, whereas it had been hoped that a joint conference would consider the question. Cardinal Vaughan left no stone unturned to procure an unfavourable decision. The Commission reported adversely and in the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* (1896) the Pope declared Anglican orders invalid. The Abbé Portal was told to desist from his activities, and the editor of the *Anglo-Roman Review*, which had been started in the interests of reunion, was directed to cease publication. Nothing further in this direction was attempted until what came to be known as the *Malines Conversations* were held.

In 1921 Lord Halifax met Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, and arranged with him that an informal meeting of Anglicans and Roman Catholics should meet at the Archbishop's house at Malines the same year. The meeting was to be unofficial, but before it was held the Cardinal had informed the Pope, and Lord Halifax the Archbishop of Canterbury, as to what was proposed, and were both encouraged to go forward. In all, five conferences were held, the last in 1926 after the death of Cardinal Mercier. His successor, who had been an original member of the conferences and was in full sympathy with them, presided. It had met to prepare reports for publication. After it was held, the new Archbishop was told that the Conversations must cease, and the Roman Catholic representatives were forbidden to publish their account of the proceedings. It had been agreed that each side should publish its own account of what happened. The Conversations had begun by being unofficial, but during their course were recognised by both Rome and Canterbury. That the participants should have been able to discuss in a spirit of amity and complete frankness the outstanding questions that divided them marked an advance on anything that had been done in the direction of reunion since the Reformation. Towards the solution of outstanding questions, they made little progress. The papacy was the principal question discussed. At the second conference the Anglicans present seemed, though without committing themselves, to toy with the Roman suggestion that, if the principle of his universal jurisdiction were admitted, the Pope might consent to limit its exercise in the provinces of Canterbury and York. Bishop Gore, who had not been present, thought that the 'concessiveness of our representatives was disastrous and perilous.' [1] He was present at the next conference, when it was made quite clear

[1] G. L. Prestige, *The Life of Charles Gore*, p. 480.

that Anglicans could not accept the phrase 'universal jurisdiction,' however carefully guarded. Another question that did not come up but might have proved as difficult, if it had, was the position of Our Lady. According to Bishop Gore's biographer, 'Mercier had set his heart on furthering the belief in the mediation of Our Lady and the devotion to her under the title of *Mediatrix*; he hoped to see the principle that divine grace was bestowed only through the intercession of Mary promulgated as a doctrine of faith by the Roman Church.[1] Another point that seems to emerge is that though an advanced Anglo-Catholic like Lord Halifax and a liberal-minded prelate like Cardinal Mercier might conceivably arrive at a formula upon which they could agree, they would be very far from carrying with them the majority of Anglo-Catholics, not to mention the great mass of Protestant-minded churchmen on the one hand, or the Italian Cardinals and the inner circle of the papal entourage on the other. It must also be borne in mind that the influence of the Archbishop Bourne and of English Roman Catholics generally had been bitterly hostile to the Conversations from the beginning, and is not likely to be more accommodating if the attempt is repeated.

With the Orthodox Church.—Relations between England and the East were hardly possible until 1579, when a commercial treaty with Turkey was made and the Levant Company formed. For a long period relations were cordial, especially during the reign of Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria (1602–21) and of Constantinople (1621–38), who corresponded with Archbishop Abbot, sent a Greek priest to study at Oxford, and presented Charles I with the Codex A. Cyril was murdered through Jesuit intrigues.[2] Individual Anglicans continued to show interest in the Eastern Church, but no corporate action was taken until 1716. Bishop Campbell of Aberdeen, with whom were associated some of the Non-Jurors, negotiated with an Egyptian bishop, Arsenius, who had come to England to beg for Egyptian Christians. The British prelates asked for some relief, so far as their own belief and practice was concerned, in respect of adoration of our Lady, invocation of saints, ikons, and the definition of the manner of the presence in the Eucharist. The original proposals had been entitled 'A proposal for a *concordat* between the Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church.'

[1] G. L. Prestige, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

[2] Ollard, *D.E.C.H.*

In the end the Eastern bishops refused to make any concession, and negotiations came to an end with the death of Peter the Great.

In 1839 the Grand Duke Michael visited Oxford and as a result one of the Magdalen Fellows, William Palmer, went to Russia to explain the position of the English Church. Nothing came of it except a most learned work by Palmer, 'Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Eastern Church.' Palmer was required to anathematise the Thirty-nine Articles and negotiations came to an end. He eventually joined the Church of Rome. In 1862 the Eastern Church Association was founded to bring about a better understanding with the Eastern Churches. John Mason Neale also did a great deal in the same direction by his history of the Eastern Church and translations of Greek liturgies and hymns. The labours of W. J. Birkbeck and others have also tended to make a bridge between East and West.

The war speeded up the process and created a strong desire for closer intercourse on the part of Easterns. In response to an invitation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Patriarch of Constantinople sent a delegation of Eastern bishops 'for purposes of consultation with bishops attending the Lambeth Conference on relations between the Orthodox and Anglican Communions.' This delegation conferred with a committee appointed by the Conference presided over by Bishop Gore. The delegation reported the results of its discussions on ten principal points. It desired the abolition of the Thirty-nine Articles, which seem specially obnoxious to the Orthodox, and pointed out that the recognition of the validity of Anglican eucharists and confirmations must depend on the previous recognition of Anglican orders. As a result of the delegation, in 1922 Meletios, Patriarch of Constantinople, declared that the Holy Synod of Constantinople had concluded that ordinations in the Anglican Episcopal Confession of bishops, priests, and deacons possess the same validity as those of the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches possess, inasmuch as all essentials are found in them which are held indispensable by the Orthodox Church. In this decision the Holy Synod of Jerusalem and the Church of Cyprus subsequently concurred. For the decision to become an œcumenical act, it would have to be endorsed by all Eastern Patriarchates and autocephalous churches severally or by a General Council.

Reunion between the Church of England and Foreign Protestants.—In spite of the efforts of Cranmer to unite the English

Church with foreign Protestants, nothing effective was done. In the next reign, although communications between the English bishops and the Genevan divines were fairly constant, foreign ordinations were not accepted. It was objected to Whittingham, Dean of Durham in 1578 'that he was not made minister after the Orders of the Church of England, but after the form of Geneva.' Travers might have been Master of the Temple (1583) if he had been willing to be re-ordained. More attempts at reunion were made after the Restoration and the Revolution, but nothing came of them. Canon Ollard [1] says: 'The official view of the English Church was expressed by the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury in 1639, when in an address to the Crown it vetoed the words *The Protestant religion in general*, lest it should own the Presbyterian Churches of the Continent.' The practice of the English Church has been to re-ordain foreign Protestant ministers, while recognising the orders of Rome and the Eastern Church. The question of Moravian orders came before the Lambeth Conference of 1878 and 1888 and of Swedish orders in 1888. A Committee of the Conference in 1906 found the claim to episcopal succession among Moravians not proven. But in 1920 a great advance was made when intercommunion was established with the Lutheran Church of Sweden, which has retained the episcopal succession, but is in communion with the non-episcopal Lutheran Churches of the Continent.

Home Reunion.—The eighteenth century had been fissiparous in its effect on religion at home. At the beginning Presbyterians, already lapsing into Socinianism, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Quakers were organised bodies. Wesley definitely broke away from the Church in 1784 by ordaining two ministers, and Methodism was now added to the number of divergent bodies. Methodism in turn disintegrated and became the parent of United Methodists, Primitive Methodists, and Bible Christians. They are now, 1929, only waiting an Act of Parliament to be reunited.

Home reunion has been considered at successive Lambeth Conferences since 1888, which laid down four principles of reunion. (1) The Holy Scriptures to be the rule of faith; (2) the Apostles' and Nicene creeds; (3) the two sacraments of the Gospel; (4) the historic episcopate. After the war the feeling for reunion was intensified, and the Conference of 1920 issued the celebrated Lambeth appeal. Its novelty lay in its proposal of conditional re-ordination for both parties. 'Bishops and clergy of our communion would

[1] *D.E.C.H.*

willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations,' while ministers who had not received it were urged to seek Episcopal ordination. No one, however, was 'to be taken to repudiate his past ministry.' The reception of this *eirenicon* was not encouraging, as all the Protestant bodies concerned refused to consider any scheme of reunion involving re-ordination, however conditional.

Meantime things have happened in India. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists have united, and propose with Wesleyans, Baptists, and Anglicans to make up a South Indian United Church. The Scriptures as the ultimate rule of faith, the two creeds, the two sacraments, and even the historic episcopate, with qualifications, form its basis. The intention is that while all existing ministers should rank as ministers of the United Church without re-ordination, all future ministers are to be ordained by a bishop.

The scheme came before the Lambeth Conference in 1930, and though the Conference refused to approve it or take any responsibility for it, its promoters were encouraged to continue their work. It also declared that the United Church, while it might be regarded as part of the Catholic Church, would not be considered as a province of the Anglican Communion.

In the 1943 edition of the scheme the uniting churches declare their belief 'in Jesus Christ the incarnate Son of God.' In the 1936 edition this section spoke of Jesus Christ as 'Himself God incarnate.' As in the same section the uniting churches 'accept the fundamental truths embodied in the creeds named as providing a sufficient basis of union but do not intend thereby to demand the assent of individuals to every word and phrase in them, or to exclude reasonable liberty of interpretation,' it suggests that some of those responsible for the current draft were not prepared to accept the clause in the Nicene Creed 'very God of very God.' No ordinal has been published, but the ordination of presbyters and the consecration of bishops is to be accompanied with the laying on of hands and prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit, which would leave the way open for a form of words like that which Bucer pressed on Cranmer in 1550. The scheme is to come before the next Lambeth Conference in 1948 when presumably a decision will be reached.

Lausanne Conference

An important conference was held at Lausanne in 1927, at

which, with the exception of Roman Catholics, all the leading Christian bodies were represented. In respect to the real *crux*, that is, the transmission of Holy Orders, its conclusions were rather nebulous, but suggested that while no one was to disown his past ministry inasmuch as the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational systems possessed each their own 'peculiar treasures,' in the Church of the future each of these 'elements' must be retained. In other words, ordination for the future would be by a bishop, while the Church constitution would contain Presbyterian and Congregational features.

Jerusalem Conference

At this Conference, held in 1928, to consider missionary problems, the question of reunion came very much to the front, as the various native churches were pressing hard for reunion and, not having to face the problems peculiar to England, manifested a certain impatience, some of their representatives expressing an intention of reuniting among themselves, whatever the Church in England may do. The Missionary Church overseas is, in fact, forcing the pace, and the question is likely to be a main preoccupation in the Lambeth Congress of 1930.[1]

The Social Implications of Christianity

Industrial Conditions.—No aspect of Christianity excites keener interest to-day than its application to the problems of daily life. Nothing in its history provokes more hostile criticism than its failure to deal adequately with the evils generated by the industrial system.

Looking back, we see that the Church as long as it was a select body, chosen out of a Jewish and pagan mass, did carry into effect its own law of love to the brethren. It dealt, not only with effects, but causes. To feed the hungry and nurse the sick were obvious duties. It was less obvious that the prevention of poverty and sickness was an even more effective fulfilment of the law of love. But St. Paul discovered the evil of indiscriminate charity, and that honest labour was the best remedy for poverty, saying, 'if a man will not work, neither let him eat.' Later, the Church, as we see by the Church Orders, anticipated the Charity Organisation Society of

[1] See also Slosser, *Reunion*.

to-day, in the care it took to prevent fraud, and to make the indigent self-supporting. Orphans are not only to be fed and clothed, but if boys, taught a trade, if girls, married. In other words, it endeavoured to prevent poverty as well as to relieve the poor.[1]

Afterwards, either because of the increase in numbers or because of the demoralisation caused by the barbarian invasions, the Church was content to palliate without attempting to prevent. The charitable were only asked to give. The swarms of necessitous folk receiving alms at the gate of the monastery or castle were considered an edifying spectacle. It is true that many of the mendicants sympathised with the Peasants' Revolt after the Black Death, but the higher clergy were hostile and the question of making the hire worthy of the labourer did not really arise until comparatively recent years.

Not that the Church was indifferent to the condition of the poor. An interesting provision of St. Edmund of Canterbury (1236) directs that women are not to sleep with their infants for fear of overlaying, nor to leave them alone near water or in a house with a fire, directions which have a surprisingly modern sound.

When the industrial era began in 1760, the growth of mines, factories, and towns produced an appalling system of sweated labour in town and country. Wages were supplemented out of the rates until the Poor Law of 1834, and after that date the pious continued to supplement them by doles, blanket and coal societies, and similar means. Frederick Denison Maurice was the prophet of the Christian Social Movement, which worked for better social conditions, but his disciple, Charles Kingsley, in *Alton Locke*, first drew public attention in England to wages. Afterwards the Christian Social Union, founded by Westcott and others in 1887, made wages a chief point in its programme. White lists of tradesmen were drawn up, sweating exhibitions held, public opinion roused, and the way prepared for a statutory minimum wage, which has been imposed in many trades since the war.

There were other evils besides sweated labour. The condition of the gaols, for instance, was appalling. To Edward Howard, a Dissenter, and Elizabeth Fry, a Quaker, the credit for their reformation is chiefly due.

Slavery.—As slavery, like poverty, was recognised in the Bible, the Church was long content to palliate its evils without trying to end it as an institution. However, it is recorded of the Nestorians

[1] Clarke, *Church History from Nero to Constantine.*

on the Hsi-an Fu monument, 'They keep neither male nor female slaves.' When it had died out in Europe, the discovery of America gave it a fresh lease of life. The system of bringing natives from Africa to work as slaves in the New World was suggested by Las Casas, the humanitarian bishop and champion of oppressed Indians, who hoped by this means to relieve the sufferings of the oppressed natives. The Jesuits were slave-owners. So was Whitefield. John Wesley may have been the first prominent churchman to protest against the system. John Newton, the Evangelical, remained a slave-trader even after his conversion.

The slave trade was abolished so far as England was concerned in 1807. Slavery itself in the British Empire became illegal in 1833. Both these measures were the direct outcome of an agitation carried on by the Evangelical party, with Wilberforce as standard-bearer and Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, as chief of staff. But the trade was carried on by American traders until the forties, and in the United States of America slavery was not abolished until 1864.

Education.—Christianity was first preached in a world in which schools were already provided and were after the first century *public* in the strict sense. After the break-up of the empire the Church became responsible for education. First the bishops —Augustine established a school at Canterbury in 598—then the Cathedrals were responsible. Down to the Reformation the Church covered the ground fairly successfully and has an honourable record. At the Reformation much of the existing educational machinery was scrapped. In England, in spite of the efforts of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the efforts of the clergy, the lost ground had not been regained, when the rapid increase of population and its concentration in large towns made the educational provision wholly inadequate. In spite of the heroic efforts of Hannah More, Hannah Bell, who founded the first Sunday school at High Wycombe, and the Sunday School Movement generally, the undenominational system of Joseph Lancaster and the church schools built under the auspices of the National Society, the ground was not covered until education was made compulsory in 1870. In Scotland, Knox aimed at the same goal in his *First Book of Dicipline*, where it is laid down that 'every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed,' and that it was the duty of the godly magistrate to provide a system of schools and universities. 'No father was to bring up his children at his

own fantasy, but 'all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.' Opinions differ as to what religious teaching ought to be given in State day schools, and how it shall be given, but the duty of providing the best possible secular education, apart from its religious value, is a matter of general agreement.

As regards secular education, Western Europe was centuries behind the Eastern Empire. In giving an account of the vast orphanage maintained by the Emperor Alexius, Anna Comnena wrote, 'At the right hand of the large sanctuary stood the grammar-school for orphans gathered in from every race, in which a master presided and the boys stood round him; some puzzled over grammatical questions, others writing what are called grammatical analyses.'[1]

The Settlement Movement.—Another movement, mainly operative in England and America, had reference to general social conditions, including opportunities for recreation. This was the Settlement Movement. Edward Denison (1840–70), who settled in Stepney for eight months in 1867, during which time he built and endowed a school and discovered 'the unsatisfactory results of giving relief by doles,' was the pioneer. He was followed by the various Public School and University Missions, Uppingham and Clifton in the east end and Bristol respectively, were the first of the schools; Christ Church (Oxford), 1881, led the way for the Universities by sending a mission to Poplar. They had many imitators. In 1906 a meeting of school and college missioners was held in South London, at which over thirty were present. They are of two kinds:

(1) *Settlements proper*, where the object is primarily to settle and ostensibly to learn as much as to teach. Of these, the best known are Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, The Oxford House in Bethnal Green, Mansfield House in Canning Town.

(2) *Missions*, where the primary object is to convert. The Missions are largely centred in South London and undertake the pastoral care of parishes or districts. The Settlement movement has also made considerable headway in America.

At the present time the Industrial Christian Fellowship claims to be the specifically Church Society for the improvement of social conditions. 'The reconciliation,' to quote from one of its pamphlets, 'of the ethics of Christianity with the stern facts and problems of modern industrialism is the paramount task of the Church to-day.'

[1] *Alexiad*, etc., p. 411.

War.—The war roused the conscience of Christians, and there is a far stronger feeling than ever before in Europe, and even more in America, that Christians as such ought to take an active part in making another war impossible.

EPILOGUE

Here perforce this history must break off, when we are apparently at the threshold of most interesting and important events. Two concluding observations may perhaps be permitted. The first concerns Anglicanism. By Anglicanism I mean the decentralised Catholicism of Hooker and Laud, which, while deferring to the authority of the Bible and the Church and holding fast to the historic episcopate, contrives to find scope for both reason and conscience, for the judgments of man and the inspiration of God, and thus endeavours to harmonise the conflicting claims of order and liberty. I believe that Anglicanism has a real contribution to make to the re-united Church of our dreams, and that it cannot perish in the country of its birth without serious loss to Christianity as a whole. The other is this. After surveying the whole course of Christianity, I am left with the definite impression that it has never been in a better state and that its prospects have never been brighter than they are now. Whether we regard the extent of the diffusion of interest in Christianity, or the number of its professed adherents, who are ready to bear witness to their sincerity by the sacrifices they are willing to make on its behalf, I do not myself think that any former age of the Church has surpassed the present. Certainly never were the opportunities greater than they are now, or more abundant harvests ripe for the sickle. No previous generation of churchmen has had better reason to thank God and take courage.

APPENDICES

A. INDULGENCES

Whether the use of Indulgences as declared by the Council of Trent is *maxime salutaris* to Christian people or not may be an open question, but there can be no doubt that their sale as carried on during the later Middle Ages was a cause of scandal.

An Indulgence was a remission, wholly or in part, of the temporal penalty due to sin. The commission of sin involved the sinner in *Culpa* or guilt, which unrepented of would lead to hell, repented of and confessed would be forgiven on condition of satisfaction, or acceptance of the due *poena*, which had to be worked out by penance in this world or purgatory in the next. The scourging of Henry II by the monks of Canterbury after the murder of St. Thomas is a well-known instance of the acceptance of the *poena*, which usually took the form of fasting, devotions, pilgrimages, or flagellations. These penances were prescribed in the various penitentials and were laid down with some particularity, and often took years to perform. The Indulgence was a commutation of this long-drawn-out penance for a specific act of piety or almsgiving. An Indulgence might be *limited*, that is, a remission of so many days or years of penance, or *plenary*, that is, a remission of all penances due.

The innovation was popular, and Indulgences gradually became the spiritual coin with which the popes rewarded those who served them, and persuaded people to undertake difficult, dangerous, or distasteful tasks. Plenary Indulgences were offered as an inducement to people to go on crusades, whether to the Holy Land, or against heretics, or some prince whom the Pope wished to punish, and they were freely lavished on Inquisitors and their more active helpers. Limited Indulgences were granted for attendance at the services during the newly instituted festival of Corpus Christi (1262), for those who brought faggots for the burning of a heretic, or were even present at an *auto da fe*.

One consequence of their increasing popularity was that learned men set to work to discover a theological basis for what seemed an innovation, and to an English Franciscan, Alexander of Hales, belongs the credit of having developed the theory of the treasury of merit. The theory was that the Church possessed a treasury of merits accumulated by the sufferings of Christ and the supererogatory merits of our Lady and the saints, upon which the Pope was entitled to draw and to assign the merits to the credit

of the Indulgenced, thus making the power to grant Indulgences the peculiar prerogative of the Pope.

Indulgences were discredited because they were looked on as means of raising money and serving the private ends of the Pope, and because of the indecent way in which they were hawked about Christendom. Wycliffe protested against the Indulgence by which the Bishop of Norwich tried to raise men and money to assist Pope Urban II in the crusade he had proclaimed against his rival Clement VII. Huss protested even more vehemently against the Indulgence offered to those who should take part in the crusade against Ladislas, King of Poland. The sellers of Indulgences, or Pardoners, as they were called in England, were satirised by Langland in the 'Vision of Piers Ploughman.' The Pardoner is represented as producing a Bull offering pardons 'which the wicked bought and continued in their sins'; 'Lewd men loved him well and lyked his words.' In the 'Canterbury Tales' Chaucer has pilloried the Pardoner as a plausible rogue, versed in every artifice by which he may persuade credulous and simple people to buy his wares, of the worthlessness of which he is himself aware. So many of the clergy in France and Burgundy protested against Indulgences in 1447 that the Inquisition was ordered to suppress their protests, which nevertheless grew more and more frequent. Erasmus openly mocked at them in his 'Praise of Folly.' They were included in the list of grievances presented by the States of Germany in 1510 to the Emperor Maximilian—so that Luther's protest was the culminating link of a long chain.

In course of time they had become a most important source of the Papal income. When Boniface VIII instituted the year 1300 as the Jubilee year, he offered Plenary Indulgences to all who would make a pilgrimage to Rome in that year and perform certain specified acts of devotion. Though money payment was not a condition for receiving the Indulgence, large sums were given by the vast crowds who flocked to Rome.[1] Subsequent Popes allowed those unable to make the pilgrimage in person to purchase the benefits at a percentage of the estimated expense of a pilgrimage. Besides the direct sale of Indulgences, the Pope received large sums by the grant of Indulgences to cities, kings, churches, and religious orders. A regular tariff survives of the fees to be paid by preachers requiring Indulgences for those who listen to their sermons, and others who needed to gain money for the rebuilding of a bridge, church, or monastery.

Sixtus IV in 1476 first made Indulgences apply to souls in purgatory (*per modum suffragii*). This enlarged their sphere very considerably, and made the task of the Pardoner comparatively easy. The egregious Tetzel, whom Luther attacked, appealed to the living to have mercy on their dead parents and friends, and asked them if they did not hear them crying 'Pity us,'[2] while tormented in the flames of purgatory, when for a trifling expenditure their souls might be wafted to Paradise.

[1] Raynaldis, *Ann.*, iv. 287. [2] Kidd, *Documents*.

B

The following scurrilous lines were discovered by the Warden of St. Deiniol's, written in the fly-leaf of a volume of Deistical pamphlets, and sent to *The Times* (1929). They are dated 1714 and have some interest as showing the state of feeling at the time and the resentment recorded by the worthy, but somewhat self-righteous Latitudinarian Bishop of Salisbury :

1714.

On Gilbert Burnett, late Bishop of Salisbury.

Here Sarum lies, a casuist wise, as learned as Aquinas.
Lawn sleeves he wore, yet was no more a Christian than Socinus.
Oaths *pro* and *con* he swallowed down, loved gold like any layman,
Wrote, preached & prayed, and yet betray'd God's holy Church for mammon.
Of every vice he had a spice, altho' a Reverend Prelate
He lived & died, if no bely'd, a trew dissenting zealott.
If such a soul to Heaven hath stole, and scaped old Satan's clutches,
Then we presume there may be room for M———h and his duchess !

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 354.

The desecration of churches and sacred buildings was not an exclusively Puritan failing. The most revolting desecrations on record are those by Crusaders at the capture of Constantinople. Adam de Usk records of Henry IV, a pillar of orthodoxy, that the English in 1401 invaded North Wales and left it a desert, ' not even sparing children or churches, nor the monastery of Strata Florida, wherein the king himself was being lodged, and the church of which and its choir, even up to the high altar, they used as a stable and pillaged even to the patens.'

C

Stephen Gardiner (1497?–1555) was a native of Bury St. Edmunds. He entered Trinity Hall in 1511, where he remained for thirteen years, devoting himself chiefly to the study of law, and becoming a Doctor both of Civil and Canon law. He entered the service of Wolsey in 1524, and a little later that of the King, who employed him on various diplomatic missions, notably in a mission to the Pope to plead his case in the divorce. In this matter he took a leading part, and spared no pains to procure the consent of the University of Cambridge, and other universities, to a declaration that marriage with a deceased brother's wife was forbidden by both divine and natural law. He was rewarded by being made Bishop of Winchester, next to Canterbury, the richest see in England. At Ann Boleyn's coronation, he supported her on one side, and Stokesley, Bishop of London, on the other. In 1535 he went to France as Ambassador, and remained there for three years. On his return he became the leader of the conservative party in the Council in opposition to Cromwell and Cranmer. Cromwell soon fell, but three separate attempts to get Cranmer convicted of heresy all failed. He was reputed to have had a chief hand in drawing up the *Act of the Six Articles*, which was called by some of the Reformers, *Gardiner's Gospel*.

He was a man of quite remarkable abilities, and hampered by few moral scruples. He was consistently, like nine-tenths of his fellow countrymen, a conservative in religion, and hated the reformation and all its works, and disliked all unnecessary changes. If he had any genuine religious convictions they were for Catholicism without the Pope. But he was an episcopal Vicar of Bray.

He took a leading part in compiling the *King's Book*, and remained powerful at Court until the end of the reign. Nevertheless Henry left him out of the will in which he named those who were to form the Council after his death. When Edward VI came to the throne in January 1547, Gardiner found himself under a cloud. Though he professed his willingness to accept the Prayer-book of 1549, and to keep the law, he was known to be hostile to the rulers of both Church and State and was too powerful to be left unmolested. He was deprived of his see in February, 1551, and spent the remainder of the reign in the Tower, where Mary found him on her arrival in London. She promptly had him released, made him a member of

her Council, and Lord Chancellor. He at once became her most trusted adviser in affairs both of Church and State. There was a temporarory estrangement when he opposed the Spanish match, but as soon as he saw that the marriage was determined upon he withdrew his opposition, and helped it on to the best of his power, and the breach was healed. He took a leading part in getting Parliament to withdraw its opposition to the marriage, his most effective argument being the promise that holders of monastic property should be left in possession. He took a leading part in obtaining the repeal of the anti-Roman laws of the reign of Henry VIII, and the revival of the laws against heresy, including the celebrated *de heretico comburendo*. At first he took a part in putting these laws into force. But, as Bonner said of himself, he had no delight in burning, thinking that the threat of it would be sufficient. He took endless pains to procure recantations, his object being to get apostates, not martyrs. Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, went so far as to call him 'a most tender hearted and mild man,' but it is to be feared that the protestants never discovered it. He could not altogether outlive his past. An English version of *De Vera Obedientia* appeared soon after the Queen's Accession and rapidly went through three editions, which caused him considerable annoyance. According to Foxe, when John Rogers was brought before him, he greeted the prisoner with these words: 'Art thou come thou villain? Darest thou look me in the face for shame?' Rogers was unabashed, and accused the bishop of being forsworn by having broken the Oath of Supremacy. 'Tush, tush,' answered the bishop, 'that was Herod's oath, unlawful and therefore worthy to be broken . . . our Holy Father hath discharged me of it.'

After the arrival of Pole in November 1554, and in view of the Queen's persistence in the policy of persecution, which he now saw to be futile, his influence at Court declined. His health too was failing, and he died in November 1555.

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of the
SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER
c.B.C.300
ILLYRIA
KINGDOM OF LYSIMACHOS
ODRYSAE
CHERSONESUS
MACEDONIA
Byzantium
Heracleia
Sinope
EPIRUS
ACHAIA
Pergamos
Ipsus
KAPPADOKIA
Oxus Fl.
Maracanda
SOGDIANA
Ephesus
PAMPHYLIA
KILIKIA
ARMENIA
BACTRIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
ATROPATENE
PARTHIA
Indus Fl.
Hyphasis R.
Kyrene
Barka
Alexandria
Sidon
Tyre
SYRIA
KINGDOM OF SELEUKOS
Memphis
Babylon
SELEUKEIA
NABATHAEI
Persepolis
PERSIS
CARMANIA
GEDROSIA
EGYPT
ARABIA
Nilus Fl.
ÆTHIOPIA

THE WORLD
c. A.D. 100
BRITANNIA
HIBERNIA
GAUL
Noviomagus
Colonia Agrippina
Moguntiacum
Burdigala
Tolosa
Arelate
Narbo
Tarraco
SPAIN
Carthago Nova
Gades
MARCOMANNI
BASTARNÆ
RÆTIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
DACIA
Aquileia
Ravenna
Zermizegethusa
ILLYRICUM
ITALY
CORSICA
Capua
SARDINIA
SICILY
Syracusæ
MŒSIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Heraleia Chersonesus
SARMATIANS
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Artaxata
CAPPADOCIA PONTICA
ARMENIA
CAPPADOCIA
COMMAGENE
Edessa
Nisibis
MESOPOTAMIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Seleucia
Babylon
Corinthus
ACHAIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
Antioch
SYRIA
CYPRUS
CRETE
PALESTINA
Cæsarea
Alexandria
Petra
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
Carthago
AFRICA
EGYPT
ARABIA

EUROPE
during the
BARBARIAN INVASIONS
c. A.D. 500
PICTS
SCOTS
Eboracum
Londinium
SAXONS
THURINGIA
FRANCIA
Trier
Mainz
Paris
FRANKISH KINGDOM
Orleans
Metz
ALEMANNI
BURGUNDIAN K.
Lyons
Geneva
Milan
LOMBARDS
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SLAVES
HUNS
Bordeaux
SUEVIAN K.
Toulouse
Arles
Narbonne
Barcelona
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Toledo
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EAST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Ravenna
ROME
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Cherson
THRACE
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EUROPE
at the death of
JUSTINIAN
C.A.D. 565
ANGLES
SAXONS
FRISEANS
London
Winchester
Koln
Trier
Mainz
Metz
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Orleans
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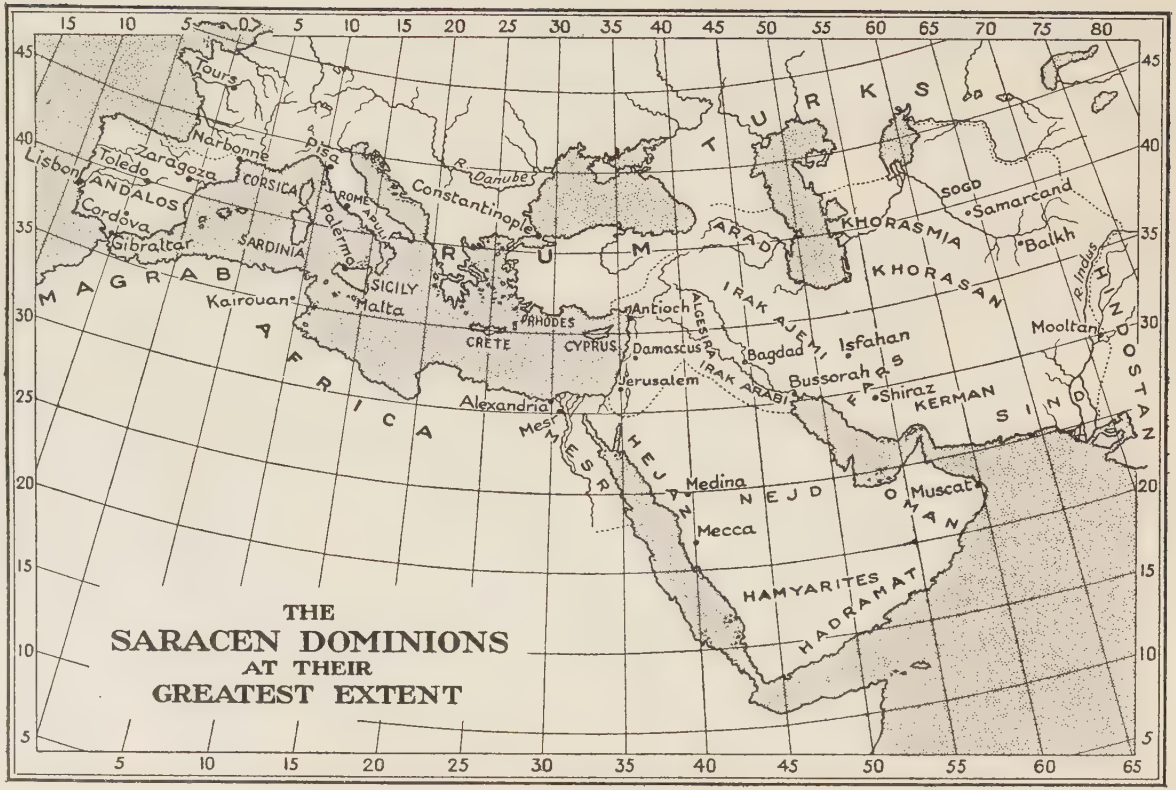
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SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
c. A.D. 1105
To illustrate the Crusades
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HUNGARY
PATZINAKS
CROATIA
SERVIA
DALMATIA
BULGARIA
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SICILY
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ARMENIA
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c. A.D. 1555
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LONGMANS